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Kosmos Indikopleustus and Western India

BY

DR. B. A. SALETORE

In the previous issue of this Journal, we gave an historiographical account of the central part of Western India based on Ptolemy's *Geography*. We shall be concerned here with an account of the oceanic outlets of Western India in the sixth century A.D., as given by Kosmos Indikopleustus. A word about this foreign traveller-author may be mentioned. He was a monk and a native of Alexandria. In his work entitled *Christian Topography* he deals with the refutation of the Ptolemic theory that the earth and the heavens are spherical. This work "inspite of the absurdity of its main arguments", is highly valued "for notices of great importance on certain points of history and more especially geography". It was published some years before the middle of the sixth century A.D. Kosmos was a merchant who, in the pursuit of his profession, visited regions far removed from Alexandria. He relates that he sailed in the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. "He travelled over much of Ethiopia—a name by which he designated the vast region which stretched southward from Egypt to the Equator". The surname given to him, Indikopleustus, "the Indian Navigator", seems to imply that he made a voyage to the shores of India, but it is doubtful whether he had gone so far East. But McCrindle writes that "His description, however, of Ceylon and the Malabar coast and of the nature of the commerce carried on the eastern sea, is so circumstantial and accurate, that one may well make it to have been penned by a personal observer". According to the same authority, "It is one of his conspicuous merits that in relating his travelling experiences he adheres strictly to the truth".[1]

The age in which he lived (sixth century A.D.) was a period of great expansion in the political and commercial spheres of the people of Western India. In the field of commerce, the ancient links connecting the Persian Gulf with the western coast of India, seem to have been strengthened. Besides the Persians were the Arabs who now began to monopolize the trade with India. The reign of the great Persian monarch Naushirvān (A.D. 531-578) witnessed the height of the trade between Persia and the western coast of India.[2] It has been maintained that it was in this age that the Lower Euphrates came to be called Hind following an ancient practice.[3] With the Arabs in the international field of commerce, the Persian Gulf again became prominent. Obollah (Abillah, the Greek Apologos), near the mouth of the Euphrates and the Tigris, not far from Basrah, became the terminus of the Indian and Chinese vessels which were too large to pass up the river Euphrates to Hira. So intimate was the trade between the western coast of India and Obollah that the Talmud writers spoke of it as Hindike or Indian Obollah.[4] This contact between Obollah and the western coast of India has been dated to the period ranging from A.D. 400 to A.D. 600.[5] The close relationship between the western coast of India and Persia in the sixth century A.D. is reflected in the cordial political relations which existed between the most prominent Karnāṭaka royal family of the age, the early Cālukyas of Bādāmi, and the royal house of Persia. When the famous Cālukya monarch Pulikeśin II (A.D. 609-642) exchanged letters and presents with the equally well known monarch of Persia, Khusru II, (A.D. 591-628),[6] he added one more chapter to the history of the good relations that had existed for centuries between India and Persia.

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[1] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 156.

It is in this age that we find some additional names of commercial centres as given by Kosmos, who writes thus—"And from the inner countries, I mean China and other marts in that direction, it receives silks, aloes, clove wood, sandal wood, and their other products, and these it again passes on to the outer ports, I mean to Male, where pepper grows, and to Kalliana, where copper is produced and sesame wood and materials for dress; for it is also a great mart of trade; and to Sindu also, where musk or castor is got, as well as Androstachus, and to Persia and the Homerite country, and to Adule. Receiving in return the traffic of these marts, and transmitting it to the inner ports, the island exports to each of these at the same time her own products. Sindu is the frontier country of India, for the river Indus, that is, the Phison, which empties itself into the Persian Gulf, separates Persia from India. The following are the most famous marts in India: Sindus, Orrhotha, Kalliana, Sibor, Male, which has five marts that export pepper, Parti, Mangarouth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, Poudopatana".[7]

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[2] Nairne, *History of Konkan*, p. 14 (Bombay Gaz. Series).

[3] Yule, *Cathay and the Way Tither*, I, p. 56 (Hak. Society); Nairne, *ibid.*, p. 14, n. (4).

[4] Rawlinson, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXVII, p. 186; Nairne, *ibid.*, p. 14, n. (4).

[5] Nairne, *ibid.*, p. 14, n. (4).

[6] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (NS), pp. 157, 165; 167; Bhandarkar, R. G., *Early History of the Dekhan*; p. 185 (Bombay Gaz.); Fleet; J. F., *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 352 (Bom. Gaz.).

Of the above centres, Kalyān (Kalliana), near the seaport of Ṭhāṇā near Bombay, has figured also in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (A.D. 60).[8] Bhandarkar had opined that it "must have been a place of great commercial importance since a good many of the donors whose names are inscribed in the caves at Kanheri and some mentioned in the caves of Junnar were merchants residing in Kalyan".[9] Now this was the condition of Kalyān in the first century A.D. That it continued to be a prosperous port in the succeeding ages is proved by the fact that when we reach the time of Kosmos in the sixth century A.D., we find that it produced the following articles of trade—copper, sesame wood, and dress materials, and that its general status is summarized in the statement that it was a great trade mart.[10]

In the passage from the *Christian Topography* cited above, we find a region mentioned twice by Kosmos—once in an earlier context, when he affirms that from the inner countries, articles were received and passed on to the outer ports, by which he means Male, "where pepper grows", and then, again, in a later context, when after mentioning Sibor—which McCrindle identifies with Chaul—Kosmos mentions "Male which has five ports that export pepper, Parti, Mangarouth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, Poudopatana."[11] I shall confine myself to the identification of this region called Male.

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[7] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 161.

[8] Schoff, W. H., *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 43, 195, 197 (London, 1912).

[9] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[10] McCrindle, *ibid.*, p. 161.

McCrindle has not identified it but its outward form seems to justify its identification with Malabar proper. Indeed, the outward similarity of the two names Male and Malabar is so close that there seems hardly any need to doubt the accuracy of this identification.[12] Nevertheless on the following grounds we may reject this identification of Male with Malabar, and maintain that the region named Male mentioned by Kosmos was the Malerājya of Karnāṭaka history. In order to substantiate this we have to begin again with Kosmos himself. In a still later context of the same work, that foreign traveller-merchant relates the following. "The kings of various parts of India possess elephants as, for instance, the kings of Orrhotha and Kalliana and Sindhu and Sibor and Male. They have each six hundred, it may be, or five hundred more or less. But the king of Sielediba obtains by purchase both the elephants and horses which he possesses."[13] Here we have the kings of the following regions mentioned: Orrhotha (Saurāṣṭra), Kalliana (Kalyāṇ), Sindhu (Indus), Sibor (unidentified), Male, and Sielediba (Simhaladvīpa, Sihaladvipa, Ceylon). Kosmos himself, therefore, would make Male a kingdom or *rājya* with a king over it, and with a contingent of six hundred or five hundred elephants under the latter.

The second point to be noted is that, according to the same authority, Male was a kingdom that exported pepper. This is

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11. McCrindle, *ibid.*, and n. (11).

12. The confounding of Male with Malabar is noticeable in the writings of all travellers and writers of the past and the present times. Linschoten, for instance, who visited the Deccan in A.D. 1583, wrote thus:—"The Malabares, are those that dwell on the Sea Coast.....between Goa and the Cape de Comorin Southward from Goa, where the Pepper groweth", (Purchas; *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 268). Without citing the examples of modern European scholars, who have confounded Male with Malabar, I may give the instance of an Indian scholar to whom, so it appears, the geography of the central part of the western coast is still a sealed book. Mr. Sayyad Sulaiman Nadavi confounds Coromandel with Malabar, and Honor (Honnāvūru) with Coromandel, while commenting on the Arab accounts which mention the trade centres of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. (*Islamic Culture*, XV, p. 80, *ibid.*, XVII, p. 415).

13. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

evident from the two passages from the work of Kosmos cited above. We are, therefore, justified, in maintaining that Male was a kingdom which could be associated with the growth of pepper.

Thirdly, Kosmos locates Male next to Sibor. whatever the latter name might be, and affirms that Male had five marts which exported pepper, the first being Parti, the second Mangarouth, and three others. Of these Parti cannot be identified, although one would like to suggest that that name has a strong resemblance to Pardi, a town in the Surat district.[14] But Pardi is far too removed in the north to be satisfactorily accepted. The next mart is called Mangarouth which McCrindle had correctly identified with Mangalore, the headquarters of the South Kanara district, Mysore State.[15] The fact that Male had five marts which exported pepper again proves that it was not a town but a kingdom while the fact that Mangalore was one of those five marts shows that we have to locate Male in a region which was adjoining to, or which included, Mangalore. This region could not have been Malabar because the northern limits of Malabar never went beyond the Kāniaroṭṭu river.[16] Mangalore was always one of the most prominent towns of Tuḷuva which comprised the modern South Kanara district and a large part of the North Kanara district as far as Ankola.[17] This fact of Mangalore's having been an important town of Tuḷuva is essential in our identification of Male mentioned by Kosmos.

We have now to locate the Malerājya. Epigraphic and literary evidence supplemented by tradition enables us to affirm that the Malerājya was essentially a part of western Karnāṭaka. Epigraphic evidence of the twelfth century enables us to locate it. A stone inscription found at Haḷebīd, Hassan tāluka, Mysore State, and assigned by Rice to A.D. 1117, relates the following about the great Hoysala king, Viṣṇuvardhana—That "without stirring he conquered the whole of the Male and all the Tuḷu country".[18] In this record Male is placed just before Tuḷu or Tuḷuva. Then, again, in a stone inscription found in Bastihaḷḷi, near Haḷebīd, and dated A.D. 1133, and falling within the reign of the same illustrious monarch Viṣṇuvardhana, we are informed that "Without any show he brought into subjection the whole of the Male and the whole of the Tuḷu country," and then acquired other kingdoms (enumerated).[19] That Male was something more than a kingdom, and was probably a wide region, is evident from a later stone record discovered in the Cennakeśava temple at Dharmapura, Huṇsūr tāluka, Mysore State. It is dated A.D. 1162, and falls in the reign of king Viṣṇuvardhana's son and successor, the valiant Narasimha I (A. D. 1141-1173). While recounting the many conquests of king Viṣṇuvardhana, which begin with the Tuḷu country, and end with Gondavāḍisthaḷa, it relates that, that monarch conquered the seven Males (*eḷum Male*). The conquest of the seven Males is placed after that of Kolāla and before that of Vaḷḷūr.[20]

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[14] *Imperial Gazetteer*, XX, p. 1. Parti may equally be a corruption of Parvati, which is the name of a famous hill with a temple of that name near Poona. (*Imp. Gaz.*, *ibil.*, p. 182). But since Parvati has never grown or exported pepper. this identification cannot stand.

[15] McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 161, n. (12).

[16] Saletore, B.A., *Ancient Karnataka*, I, *History of Tuluva*, p. 2; and *ibid.*, n. (1).

[17] Saletore, *ibid.*, p. 2.

Whether Male was exactly to the north of Tuḷuva or contiguous to it in the north-western side may be determined when we note a few facts relating to Karnāṭaka history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These relate to the days when the capital of the Gangas, Taḷakāḍ, was conquered by the Coḷa monarch, Rājendra Coḷa in about A.D. 1004[21]. The conquest of this important Karnāṭaka centre by the Coḷas had serious consequences. If Karnāṭaka prestige had to be retrieved, then, Taḷakād had to be re-conquered. It was left to the great Hoysala ruler Viṣṇuvardhana to win this distinction of re-establishing the greatness of Karnāṭaka. We have shown elsewhere that the re-capture of Taḷakād by that monarch took place in A.D. 1117.[22] Now during this period beginning with the capture of Taḷakād by the Coḷas and ending with its re-capture by the Kannaḍigas, there appears to have been, according to Rice, anarchy when a powerful kingdom sprang up in this region which, if it had not been nipped in the bud, would have put into the shade another powerful Karnāṭaka royal family which had just then (in the early years of the eleventh century A.D.) stepped forward as the protector of Karnāṭaka. This latter kingdom was that of the Hoysalas, while the young kingdom which had sprung up in this region and which the Hoysalas subverted in its infancy, was that of the Male-rājas concerning whom Rice has the following details to narrate. The strong-hold of the Male-rājas was Beṭṭadakoṭe on the well known Gopālasvāmi hill. It belonged to a family of nine brothers called the Nava Daṇḍanāyakas. Of these the names of three brothers have come down to us, Bhīma Daṇḍanāyaka, Perumāḷa Daṇḍanāyaka, and Mañca Daṇḍanāyaka. These three were the most famous of the nine brothers. The nine brothers fell out into two parties—one party comprising four brothers was led by Perumāḷa Daṇḍanāyaka, and the other consisting of five brothers led by Mañca Daṇḍanāyaka. Bhīma Daṇḍanāyaka and Perumaḷa Daṇḍanāyaka quarrelled with the other five brothers, captured Nagarapura (Nañjanagūḍ), and Ratnapuri (Heḍataḷe), and set up their own government, while Mañca Daṇḍanayaka continued to govern Beṭṭadakoṭe. After some time Bhīma Daṇḍanāyaka and his three brothers attacked Beṭṭadakoṭe which fell by a strategem after a siege of three years. Its defender Mañca Daṇḍanāyaka on seeing it fall, leaped from the hill and was killed. The four victorious brothers, after placing a junior member of their family in charge of the government of Beṭṭadakoṭe, set forth on expeditions of conquests, in the course of which they penetrated as far as Goa in the north, Devasibeṭṭa (southern limit of Coorg) in the south, Bisale Ghat (north-west of Coorg) in the west, and Satyamangala (to the north-east of the Nīlagiri mountains) in the east. This large kingdom comprising the entire hill-forest region (Malenāḍu) lay to the west and south of Mysore, and the rulers of the Malerājya (Hill-Forest kingdom) came to be called Male-rājas (Hill-Forest kings). These were precisely the Male-rājas whom the Hoysalas subdued.[23]

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[18] Rice, Lewis, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 213; Fleet, *DKD*, p. 496.
[19] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, V, Bn. 124, p. 81.
[20] *Ep. Car.* IV, Hs. 137, p. 96.
[21] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 85.
[22] Saletore, B.A., *Mediaeval Jainism with Special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire*, p. 119 and n. (2), where I have given reasons for placing this event in A.D. 1117.

While the account given by Rice admirably fits in with the conquest of the Male-rājas by the great Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana, we have yet to answer a question relating to the topic under discussion. We came across the earlier reference to the Male kingdom in the work of Kosmos Indikopleustus of the first half of the sixth century A.D., while the account given by Rice relates to the events of the eleventh and twelfth century A.D. How could the existence of a kingdom founded in the troublesome days following the conquest of Taḷakād by the Coḷas (the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D.) be made to agree with a reference to the Malerājya in the sixth century A.D.? To answer this question, we have to note the extent of the Malerājya in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as given above. It extended from the southern limits of Goa to the southern limits of Coorg, and from the north-west of Coorg to the north-east of the Nīlagiri mountains. Was this the earlier Male kingdom mentioned by Kosmos? We have reason to believe that the Malerājya of the sixth century A.D. comprised the region around Goa and the western strip of the coast extending southwards from Goa to the northern limit of Tuḷuva. That Goa was included in the large Malerājya so late as the fourteenth century A.D. will be evident when we shall cite epigraphic evidence to this effect presently.

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[23] Rice, *My. Ins.* Intr. pp. lxxvi-lxxvii. On p. lxxvii. Rice states that the exact spot where Mañca Daṇḍanāyaka took the fatal leap, is still pointed out.

But the question that still remains to be put is the following: What was the political status of the coastal strip from Goa to Tuḷuva in the sixth century A.D.? We are unable to describe it with certainty but it is not impossible that the Bhoja family of rulers may have governed this coastal strip in that age.[24] Only one copper plate of a ruler of that family has been discovered till now. The record has been assigned by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi on palaeographical grounds to the sixth century A.D. The ruler mentioned in it is called Kāpālivarman. The two places mentioned in this copper plate, Śivapura and Bāmasā (Pāmasā) kheṭaka, are said to have been within the Goa territory.[25] With the fragmentary details available in this record, it is not possible to assert whether the ruler mentioned in it, Kāpālivarman, was called a Malerāja. Neither is it possibe to find out the longevity of the dynasty to which that ruler belonged. All that we may assert is that with the establishment of the early Kadamba family in the third century A.D., a part of this coastal strip comprising the district of North Kanara, which was traditionally called Haiga, passed under the control of the Kadambas.[26] In the second half of the sixth century A.D., the Kadambas were subdued by the early Cālukya king Kīrttivarmān I (A.D. 566-597).[27] This was precisely the age of Kosmos. It must be confessed, however, that with the available epigraphic evidence before us, it is not possible for us to maintain that this region was called by the name Malerājya. But it is exactly here that we see the value of the testimony of Kosmos. What the epigraphs do not reveal is given by that foreign traveller who, therefore, is the earliest witness to maintain the existence of a Male kingdom, six centuries before the nine brave brothers had carved out a principality for themselves with Beṭṭadakoṭe as their centre.

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[24] The Bhojas were a family of considerable antiquity. They governed this vast region for a long time, as I shall describe in a subsequent paper.

[25] Panchamukhi, *Progress Report of the Kannada Research Institute for 1947-52*, pp. 4, 16.

We may revert to the history of the twelfth century when, as mentioned above, the Male kingdom is mentioned separately as a political unit which brought on itself the wrath of the famous Hoysala ruler, Viṣṇuvardhana. One of the many stone records of that ruler mentions the fact that he ruled over many kingdoms among which are mentioned Male and next the Seven Tuḷus.[28] It may incidentally be mentioned here that the general who conquered the Male kingdom for king Viṣṇuvardhana was Boppa Daṇḍanayaka. This is gathered from a stone record dated A.D. 1183 in which the praise of king Viṣṇuvardhana is sung thus—that the whole of Male became his possession along with other kingdoms (enumerated). In the same record it is related that Boppa Daṇḍanāyaka brought Malenād, Tuḷunād, and other territories into subjection to his royal master, king Viṣṇuvardhana. This inscription, however, falls within the reign of king Ballāḷa (A.D. 1173-1220).[29] The importance of this record for our purpose lies in the following — that while singing the praise of king Viṣṇuvardhana, and while enumerating the conquests of General Boppa, the Male kingdom is described as a separate entity, preceding the Tuḷunād.

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[26] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 21 ff.

[27] *Epigraphia Indica*, VI, p. 5; Rice, *ibid.*, p. 23; Fleet, *D.K.D.*; p. 325.

[28] *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XI, p. 259, Fleet, *D.K.D.*, p. 499.

[29] *Ep. Car.* V, Bl. 137, pp. 90-91.

If the existence of a separate political kingdom like the Malerājya is thus proved, it remains to be seen whether we could likewise prove that it had a people of its own. This is evident when we note the name given to the people who inhabited this particular region. They were called the Malepas or Malevar. This is borne out by the fact these people are mentioned in two of the many birudas or titles of the Hoysalas. These were the *birudas, Malerājarājanum* (King of the Hill Chiefs of Male), and *Maleparoḷ gaṇḍanum* (Champion over the Hill Chiefs). These we come across in the numerous epigraphs of the Hoysalas.[30] The continued use of these titles by the Hoysalas proves that there were both a region called Male and a people called the Malepas or Malevars, and that their subjugation by the Hoysalas was an event of great importance which was remembered for ages.

How the Malerājya was associated with the viceroys who governed the ancient province of Kadambaḷige is proved when we see the next reference to the Male kingdom in A.D. 1189. This was in the reign of the last Western Cālukya, king Someśvara IV (A.D. 1182-1189), when his viceroy the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kāvadeva, Kāmadeva, also called Tailamana-aṅkakāra (Champion of Tailama), of the Kadamba family, ruled over the Banavasi 12,000, the Pānugal 500, and the Puligeṟe (Lakshmeśvar) 300 Provinces, after subjugating the Male and the Tuḷu countries, the Koṅkan, and the Western Ghats.[31] The close association of Male with Tuḷuva, Konkan, and the Western Ghats made in this record hailing from Hānugal, substantiates our statement made above that the Malerājya could have been only in the western region of Karnāṭaka.

Much more than either the Kadamba viceroys or their suzerains, the Western Cālukyas, it was the Hoysalas who, as we have already seen, were essentially connected with the kings of the Malerājya. To the evidence we have cited already may be added that of a record dated A.D. 1220 of the reign of the Hoysala monarch Narasimha II (A.D. 1220-1235), and found at Harihara, Mysore State, in which we are informed that that monarch was the king of the Male kings.[32]

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[30] I shall not cite here the evidence of those records which are familiar to all students of western Indian history. But see Rice, *My. and Coorg*, p. 96.

[31] Fleet, *D.K.D.*, p. 563, and *ibid.*, n. (1).

The individuality of the Male region is noticeable in the Vijayanagara age (A.D. 1346-1646). The Malerājya figures from the beginning of Vijayanagara history. A damaged and unfinished stone inscription (discovered on a pillar set up in the government cattle-breeding farm at Bankāpura, Bankāpura tāluka, Dharwar district), of the reign of the early Vijayanagara king Harihara Raya, written in Kannaḍa, relates that Mādhava Mantri was the governor of the Male kingdom.[33] Since in Śaka 1309 (A.D. 1387), Mādhava Mantri is styled "Lord of Gove" (Goa) in another stone inscription dated in that year,[34] it is evident that his capital was Goa. Mādhava Mantri figures conspicuously in early Viayanagara history as the minister of one of the founders of the Viayanagara kingdom, Mārappa, in Śaka 1268, (A.D. 1346-7), as one who drove the Muslims out of Goa, and as one who made that city his capital. From these records it is evident that he governed from Goa the large Malerājya which had, as we have already seen, an earlier existence as a political unit in the days of the Hoysala kings. The Malerājya figures again in A.D. 1408 when Siriyammā's son, Gopaṇṇa, was called the *Malenād Mahāprabhu*.[35] In A.D. 1545 Malenāḍ became somewhat conspicuous because it had to its credit two taxes called *joḍi* and *beḍige,* which appear to have been peculiar to it.[36] So late as the beginning of the eighteenth century A.D., the Malenāḍ came in for some criticism at the hands of the exquisite Kannaḍa poet, Sarvajña.[37]

The above rather lengthy digression into the antiquity and importance of the Malenāḍ kingdom will enable us to affirm that the Male of Kosmos could not have been the Malabar—which itself was a distortion of the term Maleyāḷa at the hands of the Westerners,—but only the Hill kingdom we have described above. As regards the export of pepper which seems to have prompted modern scholars to identify the Male of Kosmos with Malabar proper, it may be observed that Malabar was by no means the only province that had a monopoly of the growth of pepper. Tuḷuva (South Kanara) and Male were equally famous as provinces that exported pepper. Even so late as A.D. 1601-16 three ports of the Male-Tuḷuva region, Honnāvūru, Bārakūru, and Mangalore were famous for exporting pepper. They shared this distinction with Cannanore, Cranganore (Musiris), and Cochin, as is evident from the testimony of Richard Hakluyt, the Historiographer of the East India Company, who informs us that between the years 1601 and 1616, the pepper of Malabar was embarked at "Onor (Honnavūru), Barzelor (Bārakūru), Mangalore, Cananor, Cranganor, Cochin, and Coulan".[38]

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[32] Fleet, *ibid.*. p. 507.

[33] *No.* 1 *of the Bombay-Karṅatak List for* 1933-1934.

[34] *Archaeological Survey Report for* 1907-1908, p. 238, and note (2); No. 387 of 1927-1928 (*Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle* for 1928-29, p. 82); *Ep. Car.* VII, Hn. 84; VIII, Sb. 375. See also Saletore, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagara Empire,* I, pp. 258, 263; II. pp. 28, 46, 47; 126; 129, 235, 236.

[35] Saletore, *S. P. Life,* II, p. 245.

[36] Saletore, *ibid.*

[37] Saletore, *ibid.,* I, p. 42.

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[38] Birdwood, George, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, pp. 5, 6, 202.

Historical Geography of Ancient India

(Supplement)

BY

DR. B. C. LAW

An attempt has been made in the following pages to put together additional geographical data from various sources, arranged systematically and alphabetically under different regions to which they belong. They are fully documented and should be treated as a supplement to my *Historical Geography of Ancient India* published by the Société Asiatique de Paris in 1954. The additional matter embodied in this article will, I believe, be of great help to geographers and historians interested in Ancient India. The accounts left by the early Greeks regarding India are very valuable. I have exhaustively dealt with this topic in my recent work entitled *Indological studies* (Pt. IV, Chapter I).

Northern India

Aciravatī—This river is called Jaina Āvī or Ādī in the Jain Canonical text, *Ṭhāṇaṃga* (5.470). It seems to be the same as Erāvai or Acirāvatī or Ajiravati. An exhaustive account of this river is given by me in the *P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume*, pp. 233 ff.; Vide also my *Indological Studies*, Pt. IV, Chapter IX.

Addhistān—Capital of Kāśmīra identified with Śrīnagara.[1]

Ahicchatra—*The Pottery of Ahichchhatra*, District Barielly, U.P. by A. Ghosh and K. C. Panigrahi; *Ancient India, Bulletin of the A.S.I.*, No. 1, January 1946, pp. 37 ff. and also *Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra*, District Bareilly, U.P., by V. S. Agrawala, *Ancient India, Bulletin of the A.S.I.* No. 4, July 1947—January 1948, pp. 104 ff., are worthy of notice.

Airāvatī—Some have identified it with the river Rāvī (the Hydraotes of Arrian) flowing from the dominions of Kambistholi

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[1] Law, *Āl-Birunī's Knowledge of Indian Geography*, p. 10.

(Kapisthala). It fell into the Akesines (modern Chenab) after receiving the Hyphasis as known to Arrian and Diodoros, Hypasis as known to Pliny and Curtius, Hypanis as known to Strabo, and Bipāsis (Sk. Vipāśā) of other classical writers, in its passage through the country of the Astrybai, as well as the Saranges, from the Kekians (the Kekaya country in the north Punjab).[2]

Akkasthalī—It was in Mathurā according to Jaina-Nisīthacūrṇī, II, p. 23.

Aṅgadapura—Kālidāsa indirectly refers to it in his *Raghuvaṃśa.* (XV. 90).

Aravāla—A lake in Kāśmīra-Gandhāra.[3]

Ariṣṭapura (*Ariṭṭhapura*)—It is a city mentioned in the commentary on the *Jaina Paṇhā-vāgaraṇāiṃ* (4. p. 88).

Aṣṭāvakra-āśrama[4]—This hermitage was situated above 4 miles from Haridvāra. Some hold that it was situated at Pauri near Śrīnagar in Garwal.

Atri-āśrama—It is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 117.5). This hermitage was in South India. It was visited by Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā while the sage Atri was living there with Anusuyā. Many hermits were engaged in spiritual practices there.

Avimukta—It was a well known holy place in Benares.[5]

Ādityatīrtha—It is on the Sarasvatī river.[6]

Āḷavī—It was visited by Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism.

Āmalakappa—It was visited by Mahāvīra. It is identical with Allakappa not very far from Veṭhadīpa. According to Beal (*Si-yu-ki*) Veṭhadīpa, the native land of the brahmin named Doṇa, has been stated to be situated on the way from Masār in the Sāhābad district to Vaiśālī.[7]

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[2] *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 68. 19-22; VII, Chaps. 113 & 114.

[3] *Samantapāsādikā*, PTS., I, 65.

[4] *Mbh.*, Anuśāsanaparva, 25.41.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. VI, April, 1958.

[6] *Mbh.*, Śalyaparva, 49.17.

[7] *Dhammapada Commy.* Harvard Oriental Series 28, p. 247; Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 25; N. L. De, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 30.

Āpayā—It is one of the seven or nine holy rivers of Kurukṣetra.[8] The Āpayā together with the Driṣadvatī and Sarasvatī was the river flowing within the boundaries of Kurukṣetra.[9]. This river is mentioned once only in the *Rigveda* (iii. 23.4). Pischel has assigned this river to Kurukṣetra. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* under the name of Āpagā (Vanaparva, LXXXIII, 6038-40; Cunningham, *ASIR.*, XIV, 88; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Tr., p. 293). This famous river was used by the perfected souls according to the *Mahābhārata.*[10] Ludwig (*Rigveda* Tr. 3.200) is inclined to identify it with Āpagā but Zimmer correctly places it near the Sarasvatī.[11]

Ārjīka (*Ārjīkīya*)—A country in or near Kashmir according to Hillebrandt.[12] Some regard *Ārjīkīyā* as the name of a river. Zimmer does not locate the river and Pischel denies the possibility of its identification. Hillebrandt thinks it to be the upper Indus.

Ātreyī—The river Atrai flows through the district of Dinajpur. It is a branch of the Tista river. This river and the lesser Yamunā flowing from the north meet together in the district of Rajshahi. The united stream receives two small tributaries, one on the right and another on the left, below which point it bifurcates east of Nator.[13]

Babhrutīrtha—It is situated at the place where the river Mahī falls into the sea.[14]

Badarikāśrama—It is modern Badrināth which is a village in perganāṁahallā Painkhaṇḍa, 55 miles north-east of Śrīnagara.[15] According to Ānandabhaṭṭa's *Ballālacarita* (II. 7) this hermitage was situated in the Devadāruvana or Dāruvana on the Ganges near Kedār in Garwal.[16]

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[8] *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, 83.68; *Vāmanapurāṇa*, 34.7.

[9] *Mbh.*, III, 83. 68; Pischel; *Vedische Studien;* 2.218.

[10] Vanaparva, 88. v. 68—*Āpagā 'nāma vikhyātā nādī siddhaniṣevitā.*

[11] *Vedic Index*, I, p. 58.

[12] *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 62-63; *Vedische Mythologie*, I, pp. 126-137.

[13] Law, *Rivers of India*, p. 28.

[14] *Skandapurāṇa*, 1.2.13.107.

[15] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, Pt. VI; April; 1936.

[16] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣkindhyākaṇḍa, Ch. 43; *Kūrmapurāṇa;* II; Chs. 37-38; Law, *Early Indian Monasteries*, The Indian Institute of World Culture, Transaction No. 29, p. 5.

Balhīka—It is a tribal name mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (V. 22. 5. 7. 9.). The Balhīkas were a northern tribe. Iranian influence should not be assessed in this case according to Zimmer.[17]

Balkh (*Fo-Ho*)[18]—This country was not very far west or north-west from Kunduz. It was rich in natural products. There were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries containing more than 3000 monks, all belonging to Hīnayāna school. On the south-west side, outside the capital, there was the new monastery which was the only Buddhist establishment, north of the Hindukush, in which there was a constant succession of masters who were commentators on the canon.[19] It was noted for its imposing structure. A monk named Pragnākāra, who was well posted in Hīnayāna Abhidhamma literature, lived in this monastery.[20]

Bamian—A town about half as large as Balkh situated on a hill. There existed some Buddhist monasteries with monks belonging to the Hīnayāna school.[21]

Banagara—It was the name of a town and a district that lay on the line of communication between Kabul and the Indus. It was visited by Fa-hien in the 5th century A.D. and Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A.D.[22]

Bāhukā (*Bāhudā*)—This river was not considered fit for internal purification like the rivers Sundarikā and Sarasvatī.[23]

Bharadvāja-āśrama—According to Kālidāsa[24] this hermitage was on the way of Satrughna, proceeding to kill the demon Lavana, from Ayodhyā to Madhupagna, 5 miles to the south-west of modern Muttra.

Bhiḍa or *Bhira* or *Bhera*—It is situated on the bank of the Jhelum in the Shahpur district of the West Punjab.[25]

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[17] *Altindisches Leben*, 130; *Vedic Index*, II, 63; Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. XI.

[18] I-Ching writes it as *Fo-Ko-lo*.

[19] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 108.

[20] Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, pp. 49-51.

[21] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 116.

[22] *Ptolemy's Ancient India*, p. 141.

[23] *Papañcasūdanī*, I, p. 178.

[24] *Raghuvaṃśa*, XV, 11.5.

[25] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 177-78.

Brahmapura—There were five Buddhist monasteries and the monks were few.[26]

Brahmāvartajanapada—It is mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, 48). It was the country between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī.

Chandrabhāgā—In the *Viṣṇusmriti* (85.48) this river is mentioned as having its bank sacred for holding religious sacrifices, etc.

Gambhīra—It is a tributary of the Yamunā above the Chambal river (Carmanvatī). It is mentioned in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, 40).

Gaṇḍakī (*Gaṇḍak*)—This river, which occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (i. 4, 1, 14 ff.) has been identified by Weber with the Gaṇḍakī.[27]

Gandari (*Gandaratis*)—It lay between the Khoaspes and the Indus and along the Kabul river.[28]

Gandhamādana—This mountain is also mentioned in Kalidasa's *Vikramorvaśiya*, p. 87.

Gandhāra—This region comprises the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi. It also includes Kabul in Afghanistan.[29] Bhandarkar says that it included the Western Punjab and Eastern Afghanistan.[30] According to Cunningham, the following boundaries to Gandhāra may be mentioned: Lamghan and Jalalabad on the west; the hills of Swat and Bunir on the north, the Indus on the east and the hills of Kālabāgh on the south.[31]

Gaṅgā—This river is mentioned in the *Kumārasambhava* (I. 30. 54; VI. 36; VII. 36, 70; Cf. *Meghadūta*, 50, 63). Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśiya* (p. 121) refers to the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā (*Gaṅgāyamunāsaṅgama*). The *Meghadūta* (50, 63) points out that the Ganges flows south-eastwards into the Bay of Bengal.

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[26] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 329.
[27] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 12,125.
[28] Ptolemy's *Ancient India*, 115.
[29] Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 81.
[30] *Carmichæl Lectures*, 1918, p. 54.
[31] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 116.

Garga--āśrama—This hermitage was located in the Rai Bareilly district opposite to Asni across the Ganges. Some say that it was in a forest at Kumaon.

Gomatī—This river occurs in the Viṣṇusmriti (85.43).

Goryaia—It designates the territory traversed by the Ghor river (Gouraios).[32] Alexander passed through Goryaia and entered the territory of Assakenoi after having crossed the Ghor river.

Govisanā (Ku-P'i-sang-Na)—There were two Buddhist monasteries with more than 100 Hīnayāna monks.[33]

Harappā—For details vide also *Harappa*, 1946, by R.E.M. Wheeler, *Ancient India, Bulletin of the A.S.I.*, No. 3, January 1947, pp. 59 ff.

Hariyūpiyā[34]—It occurs as the scene of the defeat of the Vricīvants by Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna. It was a town on the river Yavyāvatī according to Ludwig.[35] Hillebrandt holds that it was the river Iryāb (Haliāb), a tributary of Kurum (Krumu) but it is doubtful.[36]

Hastināpura—It was the earlier capital of the Kuru kingdom. Much more detailed account is given in my *Indological Studies*, Pt. IV, Chap. III.

Himavanta—The Himalaya mountain stood 5 yojanas in extent. It was adorned with 84000 peaks with 500 rivers flowing all round. In the Himalayan region seven great lakes lay covering an area of 150 yojanas[37] Kālagiri,[38] Daddara[39] and Rajatapabbata,[40] all belong to the Himalayan region. According to the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 71) Raghu is said to have ascended the Himalaya.

Hūṇa country—Raghu reached the country of the Hūṇas on the bank of the river Vankṣu or Oxus and its tributaries. The

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[32] Ptolemy's *Ancient India*, pp. 109-110.
[33] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 330-31.
[34] *Ṛgveda*, VI, 27.5.
[35] *Ṛgveda*, Tr., 3.158.
[36] *Vedic Index*, II, 499.
[37] *Papañcasūdanī*, III, p. 35.
[38] *Jātaka*, VI, 302.
[39] *Ibid.*, II, 67; III, 16.
[40] *Ibid.*, II, 67.

Hūṇas were defeated by Raghu. The valley of the Oxus was like that of the Sindhu, noted for its saffron flowers.[41]

Indapatta—A brahmin of this place was sent by a king of Vidhura, who was the chaplain of Benares king, for the solution of a knotty question. He gradually went to Benares after visiting many places.[42] King Koravya of Indapatta sent his son to Takkasilā to be educated in arts by a famous teacher.[43] King Dhanañjaya disregarded his old soldiers and showed favour to newcomers. He went to fight in a disturbed frontier province. His old and new soldiers gave no help to him with the result that he was defeated. On his return to Indapatta he realised that his defeat was due to the favour shown to the newcomers.[44] Dhanañjaya Korabba was the ruler of Indapatta (Indraprastha). Vidhurapaṇḍita who learnt all the arts at Takkasilā became his family priest and minister, who gave him instructions about temporal and spiritual matters.[45]

Isadhara—One of the seven hills encircling Sineru (Mount Meru).[46]

Jālandhara—It is known to the Chinese as She-lan-ta-lo. There were more than fifty monasteries with more than 2000 monks.[47]

Kailāsa—This mountain was known as the Aṭṭhāvaya according to the *Jambudīvapaṇṇatti*, *sū*, 70, p. 2. It was also known as Hemakūṭa according to Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalaṃ* (p. 237).

Kamboja—The Kambojas are not mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. Indirect evidence may justify the assumption that they were included among the Vedic Aryans in the Ṛgvedic era.[48] Kamboja was in the extreme north-west of India with Dvārakā as its capital.[49] According to McCrindle, Kamboja was Afghanisthan, the

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[41] *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 67.
[42] *Jātaka*, V, 59.
[43] *Ibid.*, V, p. 457.
[44] *Jātaka*, III, p. 40.
[45] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 255; Cf. *Dhumakāri Jāt.* No. 413. Vol. III.
[46] *Jataka*, VI, p. 125.
[47] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 296.
[48] Cf. *Ṛgveda*, I, p. 102; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 138.
[49] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 28.

Kaofu (Kambu) of Hiuen Tsang.[50] Some scholars hold that the Kamboja country was probably Tibet. Eliot points out that the Kambojas were an ambiguous race who were perhaps the inhabitants of Tibet or its border lands.[51] Some have placed them in Rājapura.[52] The Kambojas were defeated by Raghu,[53] who got fine horses from Kamboja and also received as presents gems and gold.[54]

Kaṃsabhoga—Identified with the Kaṃsa kingdom, having Asitañjanā as the capital.[55]

Kanakhala—It is mentioned in the *Viṣṇusmriti* (85, 14). Kālidāsa refers to it in his *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, 50)

Kaṇṇamuṇḍa—A Himalayan lake.[56]

Kapiśa—It was more than 4000 li in circuit. It produced timber along with various kinds of fruit trees and cereals. Kapiśa (*Kapis*) contained more than 100 monasteries, having more than 6000 monks who were chiefly Mahayanists.[57] Kapis may be Kafir, a name preserved in the modern Kafiristan. There was a large monastery with more than 300 Hīnayāna monks.[58]

Kālañjara—It is the well known hill fort in the Banda district, U.P., which was one of the centres of the Candellas.[59]

Kāmpilya (Pali *Kampilla*)—It also occurs in the *Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā* (XXIII, 18).

Kāñcanaguhā—A cave in the Himalaya.[60]

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[50] *Alexander's Invasion*, p. 38.

[51] Eliot, *Hinduism & Buddhism*, I; p. 268; Foucher; *Iconographie Bouddhique*, p. 134.

[52] *Mbh.*, VII, 4-5—*Karṇa Rājapuram gatvā Kambojā nirjitāstyayā.*

[53] *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, pp. 69-70.

[54] *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 70. For interesting details, vide Law, *Geographical aspect of Kālidasa's works*, Sec. I.

[55] *Jātaka*, IV, p. 79.

[56] *Jātaka*, II, p. 104.

[57] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 123.

[58] *Ibid.*, I, p. 124.

[59] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. III, July 1957.

[60] *Jātaka*, I pp. 491-92.

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Kāṇva (*Kaṇva*)—*āśrama*—Some hold that this hermitage existed 30 miles to the west of Haridvāra (Modern Hardwar). Some have placed it on the Chambal river, 4 miles to the south-east of Kota in Rajputana. Some say that it stood on the Narmada.[61]

Kānyakubjā—In the 5th century A.D. Fa-hien saw two monasteries at Kānyakubja, the inmates of which belonged to the Hīnayāna school.[62]

Kārapacava—A place on the Yamunā.[63]

Kārāpatha—It is mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (XV, 90). It seems to have been situated in the country of the Mallas.[64]

Kāroti—A place or perhaps a river mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (IX, 5, 2, 15) where Tura Kāvaṣeya made a fire-altar.[65]

Kāśi—It occurs in the *Viṣṇusmriti* (85.28). An exhaustive account of Kāśī is given in my *Ancient Indian Tribes* (1926) published by Moti Lal Banarsi Das, Chap. I.

Kāśmīr (*Kaśmīr*)—It lies on a plateau surrounded by high and inaccessible mountains. The south and east of the country belong to the Hindus and the west to various kings. The north and a portion of the east belong to the Turks of Khotan and Tibet. The distance from the Bhoṭeśvara peak to Kāśmīr through Tibet amounts to nearly 300 *farsakh*.[66] Al-Birūnī says that the inhabitants of Kāśmīra are pedestrians. They have no riding animals nor elephants. The noble among them ride in palankeens carried on the shoulders of men. They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country and therefore they take much care to guard their entrances. He further says that in former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country particularly the Jews but at present they do not allow any unknown Hindu to enter.[67] The best known entrance to Kāśmīra is from the town of Babrahān, half-way between the rivers Indus and Jailam (Jhelum). Addishtān was its capital. It is meant for Śrīnagara.[68] The city of Kāśmīra covers a space of 4 *farsakh* being built along both banks of the river Jhelum. During his long stay at Ghāznā and in the Punjab, Al-Birūnī had the opportunity of collecting information about Kāśmīra. He refers to his personal acquaintance with the fortress Lauhūr on the confines of Kāśmīra, which may be identified with the Castle of Lohārā. Its position is marked by the present Loharin on the southern slope of the Pirpanjal range.[69] Al-Birūnī's account of Kāśmīra is given in Chap. XVIII of his *India* (I, pp. 206 ff).

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[61] Law, *Early Indian Monasteries*, p. 5; *Agni-Puraṇa*, Ch. 109; *Padmapurāṇa*, Ch. 99.

[62] Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, pp. 53-54.,

[63] *Pañcaviṃśa*, *Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 10.23; Cf. *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra*, XII, 6; *Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasutra*, XIII, 29, 25; *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, XXIV; 6; 10; Weber, *Indische Studien*, I, 34; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 149.

[64] *Raghuvaṃśa*, Ed. Nandargikar, 3rd Ed., 1897, Notes; p. 322.

[65] *Vedic Index*, I, p. 151.

[66] One farsakh=4 miles. Al-Birūnī values his farsakh at 4 Arabian miles = 771/1093 English miles. For further details vide Law, *Al-Birūnī's Knowledge of Indian Geography*, p. 6, f.n. 1.

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Kedāra—It occurs in the *Viṣṇusmriti* (85.17). It is also mentioned in the two inscriptions of the time of Gaṇapati.[70]

Kiṭāgiri—A country according to the *Samantapāsādikā*, P.T.S., p. 613.

Kotera—At the foot of this mountain there are remains of twelve temples clustered in a corner of an old fort. It was a ruined fort in northern India as Cunningham points out.[71]

Krauñca—It is a mountain mentioned in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (1.31.2).

Krumu—It is mentioned in the *Ṛigveda* (V. 53.9; X, 75.6; Ludwig, *Rigveda* Tr., 3.200) as a stream identified with modern Kurum, a western tributary of the Indus.[72]

Kubjāmraka—A sacred spot in Haridvāra or in a place close to it. There was the hermitage of Raibhya here.[73]

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[67] Alberuni, *India*, I, pp. 206-207.
[68] Law, *Al-Beruni's knowledge of Indian Geography*, p. 10.
[69] *JASB.*, 1899, Extra No. 2, p. 22.
[70] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. VII.
[71] *AGI.*, pp. 145. 682-683.
[72] Roth, *Nirukta*, *Erlanterungen* 43; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 14.
[73] *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, 84.10; *Matsyapurāṇa*, 22.65; *Padmapurāṇa*, 1; 32.5.

Kulindrine (*Kylindrine*)—It is identified with Jālandhara by Cunningham.[74] It includes the territory of Kulūta which was formed by the upper part of the Vipāśā basin.[75]

Kuluta (*K'iu-lu-to*)—There were 1000 priests in about twenty monasteries most of whom studied the Mahayana doctrine.[76]

Kurujāṅgala—The *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ayodhyākāṇḍa, LXXII; Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, XIX, pp. 793-94; Ādiparva, CIX, 4337-40) refers to it. It was visited by the Pāṇḍavas who also saw the Kāmyaka forest existing here.

Kurukṣetra—Kālidāsa refers to Kurukṣetra (*Meghadūta*, Pūrvamegha, 48) as the battle-field where the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas fought.

Kusāvatī—Kālidāsa mentions it in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (XV, 97).

Lamghān—It was a small territory which lay along the northern bank of the Kabul river.[77]

Lampāka (*Lampa*, *Lambatai* of Ptolemy,[78] *Lan-p'o*)—It is identified by Cunningham[79] with modern Lamghān, 100 miles to the east of Kapisene, north-east of Kabul, which practically upholds Lassen's identification of the place with Lambagae, south of the Hindukush in modern Kafiristan. Hiuen Tsang visited it and saw more than ten Buddhist monasteries and a few Mahāyāna monks.[80]

Loharakoṭṭa—It is the same as the fort of Loh-Koṭ, mentioned in the Kashmirian chronicle *Rājataraṅginī*. Some hold that it is identical with the fortress called Lauhur.[81]

Mahāvriṣa—It is a tribal name and occurs along with the Mūjavants mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, (V. 22, 4.5.8). Bloomfield suggests that the name may be chosen more for its sound and sense than for its geographical position.[82] A place named Raikvaparṇa is said to be in the Mahāvriṣa country.[83] Hritsvāśaya was the king of the Mahāvriṣas.[84] The *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* (II. 5) mentions Mahāvriṣa.[85]

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[74] *A.G.I.*, 157.
[75] Ptolemy's *Ancient India*, pp. 109-110.
[76] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 177.
[77] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, (Majumdar Ed.), p. 106.
[78] *Ibid.*, 1927, p. 106.
[79] *AGI.*, 1924 Ed. pp. 49-50.
[80] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 181.
[81] *I.A.*, 1897, *The castle of Lohara.*

Mainākagiri—The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (1.31.2) mentions it.

Manor Avasarpaṇa—Its epic name is Naubandhana. It is the name of the mountain on which the vessel of Manu rested.[86]

Manosilā—A mountain near the Anotatta lake in the Himalaya.[87]

Mandāra—Kālidāsa places this mountain in the Himalayas. He locates it in the vicinity of the Kailāsa and Gandhamādana.[88] It was known to Megasthenes and Arrian as Mallus situated in the Banka sub-division of the district of Bhagalpur, 30 miles to the south of Bhagalpur and 3 miles to the north of Bansi. Pargiter points out that the chief territory of the Kirātas was among the three mountains, Kailāsa, Mandāra and Haima.[89]

Marud-Vridhā—According to Roth and Zimmer it is a stream formed by the combined waters of the Akesines (Asiknī) and Hydaspes (Vitastā) down to its junction with the Paruṣṇī (Rāvi).[90]

Matipura (*Mo-ti-pu-lo*)—It is represented by the Bijnor district or the eastern part of it.[91] There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries with more than 800 monks, mostly belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school.[92] There was a small monastery where

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[82] *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, 446.

[83] *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, IV, 2.5.

[84] *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāh.*, III, 40.2.

[85] Vide also *Vedic Index*, II, 142-143.

[86] *Śatapatha Brāh.*, 1.8.1.8; *Vedic Index*, II, 130.

[87] *Jātaka*, I, 232; III, 379.

[88] *Kumārasambhava*, VIII, 23.24,29,59.

[89] *Mārkandeyapurāṇa*, p. 322 f.n.; Vide also McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 110.

[90] *Ṛgveda*, X, 75.5; *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda*. 138 ff.; *Altindisches Leben*, 11,12; Stein: *On Some River names in the Ṛgveda*, *Commemorative essays presented to R. G. Bhandarkar*, p. 22.

[91] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 338.

[92] *Ibid.*, I, p. 322.

Gunaprabha composed more than 100 treatises. This place was visited by Hiuen Tsang.

Mānasa-sarovara—It is situated in the Kailāsa mountain in western Tibet.

Mānikyala—It was the place where the Buddha gave his body to feed a starving tigress. It was two days' journey to the south-east of Taxila; 8 days' journey to the south-east of the capital of Udyāna.[92a]

Mehatnu—It must have been the tributary of the Sindhu (Indus) entering that river before the Krumu (Kurum) and Gomātī (Gumti.)[93].

Meru—It is mentioned in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (I. 71, 3) as the mountain. It is identified with Sineru, the highest of the mountain peaks. It was encompassed by seven celestial ranges.[94] It was 68000 leagues high.[95].

Mucalinda—A Himalayan lake.[96]

Muni-Maraṇa—It is the name of the place where the Vaikhānasas were slain.[97]

Nagar—It contained many Buddhist monasteries and the monks were very few. Here a grand tope contained a tooth-relic of the Buddha.

Nagarahāra (*Na-Kie-lo-ho*)—It was about 600 li from east to west and 250 or 260 li from north to south.[98]

Naimiṣāraṇyā—The *Viṣṇusmriti* (85.13) mentions it. Kālidāsa mentions Naimiṣa in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (XIX. 2).[99] It is identified with modern Nimsar in U.P.

[92a] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 255.

[93] *Ṛgveda*, X, 75; 6; *Vedic Index*; II; 180.

[94] Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. xvi.

[95] *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, p. 107; *Jātaka*, I, p. 202—simply described as a mountain.

[96] *Jātaka*, VI, p. 518.

[97] *Pañeaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, 4.7.

[98] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 91.

[99] Vide P. V. Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, p. 783.

Nandigrāma—Kālidāsa mentions it in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (XII. 18) which was a suburb of Ayodhyā, where Bharata is said to have lived during the exile of Rāma.

Nepāla—The Kālī river is the western boundary of Nepāl. The river Kālī-Gaṇḍakī separates Kāshmīr from Nepāl.[100]

Nīlaparvata—It is mentioned in the Anuśāsanaparva of the *Mahābhārata* (25.13) as a holy spot. It is the mound on which the Puruṣottama Shrine stands.[101]

Paṇḍukeśvar—It is situated at a distance of 54 miles north-east of Śrīnagar in the Garhwal district of the Kumaun division of Uttarapradeśa.[102]

Pāvā—According to the *Vividhātīrthakalpa* (p. 44) Majjhimapāvā was called Apāvāpurī. As Mahāvīra died here, the name was changed into Pāvāpurī.[103]

Plakṣa Prāśravaṇa (*Plakṣa Praśravaṇa*)—It is the name of the locality where the river Sarasvatī disappears.[104]

Prakāśā—It is 25 miles north-west of Dhulia on the confluence of the rivers Tāptī and Gomatī.[105]

Prayāga—A ghat of the Ganges according to the Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa.[106]

Puṣkalāvatī—Kālidāsa mentions in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (XV. 89) that this city was founded by Puṣkala and that it was the seat of his government.

Rāsh (Dantawar)—This district may be identified according to Cunningham with the district of *Arśa* (Sk. Uraśa). It was visited by Hiuen Tsang who placed it between Takṣaśilā and Kāśmīr. It was called *U-la-shi* by the Chinese pilgrim.[107]

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[100] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, Vol. I, p. 343.

[101] *Padmapurāṇa*, IV, 17.23.35.

[102] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, Pt. VI, April, 1956.

[103] J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canon*, 268.

[104] *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 10.16.22; *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhm.*, IV, 26.12.

[105] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XVII, Pt. II, 1955.

[106] *Papañcasūdanī*, PTS., I, p. 178.

Sarabhū (*sarayū*)—There is a reference to it in the *Viṣṇusmriti* (85.32). Hopkins considers it to be a river of the west.[108]

Sarasvatī—This river is mentioned in the *Viṣṇusmriti* (85.27). This is also mentioned in the *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, 49)

Sarāvatī—The *Raghuvaṃśa* (XV. 97) refers to it. It may be identified with Śrāvastī (modern Sāheṭh-Māheṭh) in the districts of Bahraich and Goṇḍā.

Śatadru—The river Śatadru or the modern Sutlej which occurs in the *Viṣṇusmriti* (85.47) has its bank sacred for religious practices. This river has changed its course very considerably within historical times.[109]

Sāgala—In the monastery containing more than 100 Hīnayāna priests Vasuvandhu composed *Abhidarmakoṣavyākhā* (*Sheng-Yi-ti-lun*).[110]

Sārnāth—It was a monastic centre at the time of Hiuen Tsang for he found 1500 Buddhist monks, all adherents of the Sammatiya school.[111] The Sārnāth monastery was situated at a distance of 10 li north-east of the Varṇā river.

Sikkim—It lies to the north of Darjeeling District. At present it covers 3000 square miles in area, being about 80 miles from north to south, and about 40 miles from east to west. It is situated within the Himalayas. It is a small country which contains some of the highest mountains of the world. With its physical geography and diversity of climate one should not be surprised that there are landslips and avalanches of big dimensions. On the west on the Nepal boundary there is a ridge, north of Kinchinjunga, which is very high. The Kinchinjunga is of the greatest unscaled height in Sikkim.[112]

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[107] Ptolemy's *Ancient India*, p. 118.

[108] *Religions of India*, p. 34.

[109] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 23, 179; Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 10.11.

[110] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 291.

[111] *Ibid.*, II, p. 48.

[112] For further details, Vide *Introducing India*, Pt. I (*RASB* Publication), pp. 136 ff.

Sindhu—The Sindhu or the river Indus occurs in the *Atharvaveda* (III. 13.1; IV. 24.2; X. 4.15; XIII. 3.50). The *Ṛgveda* also refers to it (I. 97.8; II, 11.9; III. 53.9). Kālidāsa refers to it in his *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, 29) and in his *Mālavikāgnimitra*. (p. 102).

Śrughna—Śrughna known to the Chinese as *Su-lu-k'in-na* must have corresponded to the Dehra district and the north-eastern portion of the Ambala district with probably a portion of the Saranpur district and some of the states abutting on Dehra.[113]

Subhagavana—It was a beautiful wood at Ukkaṭṭhā. On account of the romantic nature of its surroundings people used to go there for festivities. It was not a natural grove.[114]

Susartu—It is a river mentioned in the *Ṛigveda* (X, 75.6). It is a tributary of the Indus.

Suvāstu—This river is mentioned in the *Ṛigveda* (VIII, 19.37; *Nirukta,* IV, 15). It is the modern Swat river.

Śvetyā—It is mentioned in the *Ṛigveda* (X, 75.6.) It seems to be a tributary of the Indus.[115]

Takṣaśilā—According to the Jaina *Āvaśyakacūrṇī* (p. 180) it was the capital of Gandhāra kingdom. Takṣaśilā was founded by Takṣa according to Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (XV, 89). The discovery in 1924 of a hoard of coins and jewellery of about 300 B.C. in the Bhir Mound at Taxila, the earliest of the three cities of Taxila, was the first decisive evidence of date unearthed there. In 1945 a somewhat similar hoard was discovered at the same site. It includes elements of local origin together with two remarkably fine gems in a style derived from western Asia and illustrating the mixed origin of the cultural elements in the Indian frontier region. During the excavations by the Archaeological Survey of India in January and February 1945, 18 bent-bar silver coins, some gold and silver jewellery, two Ionian Greek gems, an amethyst bead and a rock crystal bead were discovered.[116]

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[113] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*. II, pp. 337-38.

[114] *Papañcasūdanī*, I, p. 11.

[115] Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 14.15.

[116] Vide *Ancient India*, Bulletin of the Archæological Survey of India, No. I, January 1946, pp. 27 ff.—A new hoard from Taxila (Bhir Mound) by G. M. Young; vide also *Taxila* (Sirkap), 1944-45 by A. Ghosh—*Ancient India*, No. 4, July 1947-January 1948, pp. 41 ff.

Tamasāvana Monastery (*Ta-mo-su-fa-na*)—It was visited by Hieun Tsang. It had more than 300 monks of the Sarvāstivāda school. They were thorough students of Hīnayāna.[117]

Tikūṭa—Probably a mountain in the Punjab.[118]

Tokeroi country—Ptolemy mentions the people of Tokeroi who are identical with the Tukhāras as an important element of the Bactrian people.[119]

Trikakud (Trikakubh)—A mountain in the Himalaya having three peaks, the modern Trikota.[120]

Tripalakṣa—It is the name of the place where the Dṛṣadvatī disappeared near the Yamunā.[121]

Tūrghna—It is mentioned in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (V. 1) as the northern part of Kurukṣetra.[122]

Uccaśriṅgaviṣaya—It is identified with the present village of Uccaṅgidurga in the Harapandaki taluk in the Bellary district.[123]

Udakapabbatta—A Himalayan mountain.[124]

Ukkaṭṭha—It was in Kośala proper. It was so named as it was built by the light of the torches at night so that it could be completed within the auspicious time.[125] This city was given by king Pasenadi of Kosala to Pokkharasāti or Pokkharasādi for his learning.[126]

Upakārī—A town in the Pañcālarāṣṭra lying on the way from Uttarapañcāla to the bank of the Ganges.[127]

Ūrṇavatī—An affluent of the Indus mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (X, 75.8).

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[117] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 294.
[118] *Jātaka*, IV, p. 438.
[119] Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 396.
[120] *Atharvaveda*, IV, 9.8.
[121] *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 13.4.
[122] Weber, *Indische Studien*, I, p. 78; *Vedic Index*, I; p. 318.
[123] *Ep. Indica*, XXXII, Pt. V.
[124] *Jātaka*, V, 38.
[125] *Papañcasūdanī*, I, p. 10.
[126] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, 4. I, 44-45.
[127] *Jātaka*, VI, 450, 458, 427, 430.

Uttarakośala—It was the kingdom of Raghu and his successors.[128] It was also called Kośala by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (IV, 70; IX, 17).

Vaṃka—A mountain in the Himalayas.[125] Some have taken it to be an older name of the Vepulla mountain.

Varaṇāvatī—It occurs in the Atharvaveda (IV, 7.1.). Ludwig considers it to be the same as the Gaṇges.[130]

Vālmīki-āśrama—The *Rāmāyaṇa* (Uttarakāṇḍa, Ch. 58) refers to a temple erected in honour of Vālmīki at the hermitage.

Vetravatī—This river issued from the Pāripātra mountain. Kālidāsa mentions it in his *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, 24).

Vettavatī—This river was crossed by Cārudatta by the cane creeper.[131]

Veyyaḍḍhagiri—This hill lay near Gandhamādana (*Āvaśyakacūrṇī*, p. 165).

Vinītā—Also known as Ayodhyā, was one of the seven holy places of the Hindus.[132]

Vipāśā (*Vi-pāś*, fetterless)—Vipāś is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (III, 33.1.3; IV, 30.11). According to the *Nirukta* (IX, 26) the earlier name of this river was Uruñjirā. This river has changed its course considerably since ancient times.[133]

Vṛndāvana—It is near Govardhana on the Yamunā.[134] Kālidāsa mentions it in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (VI, 50).

Yāmadagni-āśrama—This hermitage was situated at Zamania in the district of Gazipur in U.P.

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[128] *Raghuvaṃśa*, V. 31; XIII, 61; 79; XIV; 29; XVI; 11-29; XVIII; 36.

[129] *Jāṭaka*, VI, p. 491.

[130] *Ṛigveda*, Tr., 3, 201; Cf. *Altindisches Leben*, 20; *Vedic Index*; II; p. 244.

[131] Cf. Jaina *Sūyagaḍaṃgacūrṇī*, p. 239.

[132] For further details vide, Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 69 ff.

[133] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 7, 138; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 11; Stein, *On some river-names in the Ṛgveda*, p. 22—*Commemorative Essays presented to R. G. Bhandarkar*; vide also Sardesai, *The Land of seven rivers* published in the *Commemorative essays presented to R. G. Bhandarkar*, pp. 93 ff.

[134] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, VI, 11, 28, 36.

Southern India

Aivarmalai—A hill situated in the village of Aiyampāḷaiyaṃ in the Palni taluq of the Madurai district.[135]

Amudālapādu—It is in the Alampur taluq where the plates of Vikramāditya I were discovered.[136]

Aṇḍavaraṃ—It is a shortened form of Aṇḍanāṭṭuveḷān. Perumanalur Chellur, Tirumāḍavanūr, Kuvalaiyasiṅganallur, and Perumur are all included in it.[137]

Andhapura[138]—A city. Some say that it was the capital of the Āndhras and some take it to be probably an ancient name of Bejwaḍā.

Andhavaraṃ—A village in the Srikakulaṃ district, Andhra State, where the copper plates of Indravarman have been discovered.[139]

Andhramaṇḍala (*An-to-Lo*)—There were 20 Buddhist monasteries with more than 3000 monks. Near the capital there was a large monastery with towers and enclosures, beautifully carved and ornamented, containing an exquisite image of the Buddha.[140]

Arikameḍu—It is on the east coast of India, two miles south of Pondicherry, on the tropical Coromandel coast. Some places at the site were excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1945. The results of the excavations at the site are of great importance.[141]

Ābhīra country—It was situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. It was visited by Vairasāmī.[142]

Bādāmi (*Vātāpi*)—It was the Cālukya capital about 640 A.D. Narasiṃhavarman was the destroyer of Bādāmi.[143]

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[135] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. VII.
[136] *Ibid.*, XXXII, Pt. IV.
[137] *Ibid.*. XXXII, Pt. VI, April, 1958.
[138] *Jātaka*, I, 111.
[139] *Ep. Ind.*, Vl. XXX, Pt. I, p. 37.
[140] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 209.
[141] Vide *Ancient India*, No. 2, *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, July 1946, pp. 17 ff.
[142] *Brahatkathākoṣa*, 138 ff; *Avaśyakacūrṇī*, p. 397.
[143] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 371.

Bhañjabhūmi—It is identified with the Mayurbhanj State in Orissa and with the pergana of the same name in Midnapur. Its antiquity is obscure.[144]

Candragiri—This hill is not far from Seringapatam.

Coḷa—According to Hiuen Tsang 'the Buddhist monasteries were in ruins. In some of them some monks lived.'[144a]

Daddara—This country was famous for its sandalwood according to the Jaina *Nāyādhammakahāo* (p. 98).

Dakṣiṇāpatha (or *Dakkhiṇāvaha*)—It was a great centre of the Jains. It was visited by Vairasāmī.[145] Dakkhiṇāpatha lent its name to the region through which it passed, the whole tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges and to the north of the Godāvarī.[146]

Dardura (*Durdara*)—It was a hill between Veluvana and the Malaya range. It is possibly the Nilgiris with the highest peak Dodabetta.[147] According to the *Mahābhārata* (II, 52, 34) this hill was associated with the Coḷa and Pāṇḍya kings.[148]

Drāviḍa—According to Hiuen Tsang Drāviḍa was more than 6000 li in circuit and its capital Kan-chih-pu-lo was above 30 li in circuit. There existed more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with more than 10000 monks of the sthavīra school.[149]

Eḍedore—It was a stretch of the country lying between the river Krisṇā in the north and Tuṅgabhadrā in the south and comprising a great portion of the Raichur district.[150]

Gaṇgavāḍi—Among the Jain states flourishing in South India in early times, it was one of the most interesting and it played an important part. It derived its name from the dynasty of the Gaṅga kings whose dominion it formed and occupied the greater portion of the existing Mysore country. It was a "ninety-six thousand" country. Its first capital was Kuvalāla, a name modified later to Kovalāla and then to Kolāla. This is the present Kolār in the eastern part of Mysore and situated to the west of the Pālār river. The Kāverī is the main river of Gaṅgavāḍi.[151]

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[144] *Indian Culture*, XII, p. 41.

[144a] Watters, *On Yuang Chwang*, II, p. 224.

[145] *Āvaśyakacūrṇī*, p. 404.

[146] *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, V, 13; *Vinaya Cullavagga*, I, 18.

[147] *JRAS.*, 1894, pp. 231 ff.; Pargiter, *Geography of Rāma's Exile*, *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 263.

[148] Vide also *Mahābhārata*, XIII, 165, 32; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Laṅkākāṇḍa, 26.42 and *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 51.

[149] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 226.

[150] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. IV, p. 165.

Godāvarī—There is a reference to this great south Indian river in the *Viṣṇusmriti* (85.42). It is said to be rich in metallic ores.[152] Sītā was carried away by Rāvaṇa from this place. Beṇṇā, mentioned in the *Āvaśyakacūrṇī,* (p. 547), was one of its tributaries. The Mandākinī, also called the Mañjirā, was the southern tributary of the Godāvarī.[153]

Gokarṇa—Kālidāsa mentions Gokaraṇa as a place of pilgrimage in southern India.[154]

Goli—It is a village situated on the river Golleru, a tributary of the river Kriṣṇā in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district. This village contains ruins of a stūpa and its railings have many reliefs illustrating Jātaka shrines as well as stories from the life of the Master.[155]

Guheśvarapāṭaka—It was the capital of the Bhaumakara kings. It may probably be identified with modern Jaipur.[156]

Hounehalli—It is in the Sirsi taluq of the north Kanara district in Mysore state.[157]

Jambukeśvara—The Jambukeśvara temple near Trichinopoly contains a *maṇḍapa* (pavilion) with many carvings. Its *gopuras* are the oldest which appear to have been built about 1250 A.D. under late Cola or early Pāṇḍya kings.[158]

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[151] Rice, *Gaṅgavāḍi* published in the *Commemorative Essays presented to R. G. Bhandarkar*, pp. 237 ff.

[152] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Araṇyakāṇḍa, Chs. 7 & 8.

[153] *Ibid.*, Araṇyakāṇḍa, Ch. 73.

[154] *Raghuvaṃśa*, VIII, 33.

[155] Vide *My Indological Studies*, Pt. II, p. 145.

[156] *Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, Pt. IV, October, 1951.

[157] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. IV, p. 205.

[158] *Introducing India*, Pt. I, published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1947, p. 8.

Jayantamaṅgala—It is modern Chennamaṅgalaṃ lying within the two arms of the Alwaye river.[159]

Kaliṅganagara—It is known to the Chinese as *Ka-leng-ka.* It is pobably the same as Nagara.[160] Kālidāsa appears to take Kaliṅga and Utkala as two separate kingdoms.[161] The eastern boundary of Utkala seems to have extended upto the river Kapiśā and to the realm of the Mekalas in the west.[162] There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries with 500 monks who were students of the Mahāyāna Sthavīra school.[163] The description of the location of Sukma, which seems to have comprised the territory on the southern side of the Ganges, extending southwards to the frontiers of Kaliṅga, east of the territory of Magadha, would make Kaliṅga extend westwards from the Ganges, at any rate from the Rūpnārāyaṇa arm of the Ganges at the mouth of which stands the ancient port of Tāmralipti (modern Tamluk).

Kaṇḍarāḍa—A village near Pithapuram in the east Godāvarī district, where the Vilāsa grant of Prolayanāyaka was discovered.[164]

Kaṇṇapeṇṇā (veṇṇā)—A river in the Mahiṃsaka kingdom.[165]

Kaṇṭiyūr—A wealthy city on the west coast in ancient times. It was the capital of Kāyaṅkulam kings who belonged to the Yādava dynasty.[166]

Karaḍikal—It is the same as Karaḍkal near Liṅgsugūr.[167]

Kauralaka—It has been modified into Kairalaka and Kerala by Fleet.[168]

Kavāṭapura—Some have identified this city with Korkai. It is famous for the pearls of the finest quality.[169]

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[159] *B. C. Law Volume*, I, p. 302.

[160] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, Pt. I, January 1953, p. 26.

[161] *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, p. 38.

[162] *Ibid.*, IV, p. 38.

[163] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 198.

[164] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, Pt. VI, April 1958.

[165] *Jātaka*, V, pp. 162-63.

[166] *B. C. Law Volume*, I, p. 298.

[167] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, Pt. IV, p. 165.

[168] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, I, 219.

[169] *Indian Culture*, I, p. 584.

Kaviṭṭha—A forest on the bank of the Godāvarī.[170]

Kāverī—This river had its source from the Malaya hills, sacred to Agastya. It was a divine stream full of good water.[171] It was crossed by Raghu.[172]

Kāviripaṭṭinām (Kāverīpaṭṭinaṃ)—*Karikal,* a vigorous ruler, made it his capital on the river Kāverī, and he secured it from floods by raising the banks of this river and by making canals.[173]

Kerala country—This country is mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (IV, 54) where women cast off their ornaments hearing the approach of Raghu's forces.

Kīlūr—It is in the Tirukkorilūr taluq, S. Arcot District.[174]

Kiṣkindhyā—About 4 miles south-east of Dhulev, the extensive ruins of an ancient town near the modern village of Kalyāṇapura mark the site of ancient Kiṣkindhyā.[175] Vālmīki gives a fine description of Kiṣkindhyā which had well-built houses, all richly furnished, together with the high style of living adopted by the Vānara-women.[176]

Kolattiri—One of the most important ancient kingdoms of Malabar. It is famous for cardamom.[177]

Koluvartanī—It is identified with the modern Śrīkākulaṃ district.[178]

Koṅkān—It was known to the Chinese as *Kung-Kan-Na-Pu-Lo.* According to Hiuen Tsang there were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries and more than 10,000 monks who were students of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools.[179]

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[170] *Jātaka,* V, p. 123, 133.
[171] *Rāmāyaṇa,* Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 41, 15.
[172] *Raghuvaṃśa,* IV, p. 45.
[173] Law, *Tribes in Ancient India,* p. 189; S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India,* p. 93.
[174] *Ep. Ind.,* XXXII, Pt. III, July 1957.
[175] *Ibid.,* Pt. I, XXX, January 1953, p. 4.
[176] *Indian Culture,* I, p. 584.
[177] *B. C. Law Volume,* I, p. 306.
[178] *Ep. Ind.,* XXXIV, Pt. IV, p. 190.
[179] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* II, p. 237.

Kottayam—This kingdom is on the eastern side of north Malabar.[180]

Krauñcālaya—It was an important forest in South India.[181]

Kumbhakonaṃ—Tirukkuḍamukku is its well-known name.[182] The Kumbhakonaṃ Temple contains a tank and a *gopura* like other south-Indian temples.

Mahābalipuraṃ—Also known as Mamallapuraṃ or Mavalivaraṃ. It was a great centre of culture and religious revival in the Pallava age. It was named after the Pallava king, Mahāmalla Narasiṃhavaraṃ, a powerful ruler of Kāñcī in the 7th century A.D.

Mahārāṣṭra (*Mo-Ha-La-Ch'A*)—This country was 6000 li in circuit and its capital was above 30 li in circuit. Five Aśoka topes were built within and outside the capital.[183]

Mahendrācala—The account of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (Chap. VII) connecting Mahendra mountain with the Malayaparvata is also proved by the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*.[184]

Mahiṃsaka—A kingdom having Sakula as its capital.[185]

Mahodayapura—It is identified with the modern Tiruvañcikkulaṃ on the river Alwaye. It was the seat of the Perumals.[186]

Malakeṭaka—This village seems to be identical with the present Malkhed in the Gulbarga district, Mysore State.[187]

Malayagiri—Kālidāsa mentions it in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (IV, 46).

Musunika—A village donated by the Musunika grant of Devendravarman III (Sūṅga year 306) has been identified with Musunūru.[188]

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[180] *B. C. Law Volume*, I, p. 306.

[181] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 584.

[182] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. VI, April 1958.

[183] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 239.

[184] For further details, vide *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 581.

[185] *Jātaka*, I, p. 356; V, p. 163.

[186] *B. C. Law Volume*, I, p. 303.

[187] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, Pt. VII.

[188] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, Pt. I, January 1953, p. 26.

Nāgārjunikoṇḍa—This hill belongs to the Palnad taluq of the Guntur district of the Andhra State. It overhangs the right bank of the river Kṛṣṇā. Nāgārjuna's hill which is a large rocky hill, lies 16 miles west of Macheria railway station. This remarkable site was discovered in 1926. Several brick-mounds and marble-pillars have been discovered. Some of the pillars bear inscription in Prākrit and in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. A number of ruined monasteries, apsidal temples, stūpas, inscriptions, coins, relics, pottery, statues, and more than 400 magnificent bas-reliefs of the Amarāvatī type are the discoveries made here. The inscriptions recovered from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa go to show that in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries A.D. the ancient city of Vijayapurī must have been one of the largest and most important Buddhist settlements in South India. The *stūpas,* monasteries, and temples were built of large bricks, the bricks being laid in mud-mortar and the walls covered with plaster. The mouldings and other ornamentation of these brick-structures were usually executed in *stucco* and the buildings were white-washed from top to bottom. At Nāgārjunikoṇḍa each monstery established was complete in itself. A *vihāra* had a rectangular courtyard enclosed by a brick wall. In the centre was a stone-paved hall with a roof supported by stone pillars. All round the enclosure abutting on the outer walls was a row of cells for the monks, often with a verandah in front. Some of the cells were used as store-rooms, a few as shrines and there was actually one large room which served as a refectory. Six such monasteries were exposed. In a large tract to the east of the shrine the three wings of the monastery were exposed with the general arrangement of five cells to each wing. In the centre of these wings there was a well-laid out pavilion. The southern wing of the cells was first exposed. The cells had each an entrance. To the east of the cell No. 5 there was a room particularly a bath-room. A similar arrangement of five cells is found in the eastern wing of the monastery. To the west of the shrine the row of five cells stands. Traces of similar plaster here and there on the wall suggest that it was originally plastered throughout.[189]

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[189] For a detailed study vide A. H. Longhurt, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa,* Madras Presidency (*MASI,* No. 54 & *ASI* Memoir No. 71, 1938).

Nelkuṇḍa—It is identified with Nalkuṇḍa situated in the district of Chitradurga, where the Nalkuṇḍa grant of Chalukya Abhinavagupta was found out.[190]

Nīla—It was a forest which lay between the river Mahājāva and the Pañcāpasara lake.[191]

Nīlā—It is identified with the river Ponāni, one of the famous rivers in Malabar.[192]

Pakṣitīrtha—It is well-known for its shrine of God Vedagiriśvara and for the hill which is the most prominent landmark in the neighbourhood. The temple on the hill, near which the sacred kites are daily fed at noon, belongs to the Pallava time.

Pampā—It was a lake adjacent to the Ṛṣyamukhaparvata.[193]

Pañcāpasaras—It was a lake which lay on the edge of the beginning of the Daṇḍaka forest at the northern side.[194]

Pāṇḍya—The *Raghuvaṃśa* (VI, pp. 59-65) refers to the Pāṇḍyas whose capital was Uragapura.

Pārāvata—It was a monastery in the Deccan visited by Fa-Hien in the 5th century A.D. It was hewn out from a large hill of rock. It consisted of five storeys. The lowest having the form of an elephant had 500 apartments in the rock; the second having the form of a lion with 400 apartments; the third having the form of a horse with 300 apartments; the fourth having the form of an ox with 200 apartments and the fifth having the form of a pigeon with 100 apartments.[195]

Pedda-bammidi—It is situated in the Narasannapet Taluk of the Śrīkākūlaṃ District, Andhra.[196]

Perumbuḷḷi—It is about 9 miles north-east of Rāmanāthapuram. It is in the Dindigul taluk of the Madurai District, Madras.[197]

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190. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. V.
191. *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, Ch. 14 ff.
192. *B. C. Law, Volume*, I, p. 305.
193. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Araṇyakāṇḍa, Ch. 73. pp. 10 ff.
194. *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 582.
195. Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, pp. 96-97.
196. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, Pt. VI, July, 1956.
197. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, Pt. VI, April, 1958.

Praśravanagiri—It lay next to the capital of Bāli. In one of its caves Rāma retired for rest after killing Bāli.[198] This hill is to be located somewhere in the modern Bellary District and close to the Hampi.[199]

Puṣpagiri—It was a hamlet of Koṭlūru, Cuddapā taluk, Andhra State, where the Puṣpagiri inscriptions of the time of Yādava Siṅghana have been found out.[200]

Rājarājamaṇḍalam—It comprises a part at least of the Pāṇḍya and Kerala country (parts of Madura and Travancore).[201]

Rāmanāthapuram—It is 6 miles due east of Diṇḍigul, a railway station on the Tirucirapalli-Madurai line of the Southern Railway, where a Pāṇḍyan inscription was discovered.[202]

Reyūru—This village is said to have been situated in the Mel-Muṇḍarāṣṭra. Muṇḍarāṣṭra roughly comprised the major part of Kovūru taluk and the adjoining area to the north and south in the Nellore district, Madras State.[203]

Ṛṣyamukha—In one of its caves Sugrīva hid himself being afraid of his brother Bāli.

Sahyādri—Raghu crossed the Sahya mountain through the Palghat gap between the Malaya and the Dardura mountains.[204] Some minor hills are connected with it, e.g., Trikūṭa, Ṛṣyamukha and Gomanta.

Sangalooda (*Sanglad*)—It is in the Akola district.[205]

Siddheśvara—This village lies in the vicinity of Jaipur (ancient Virajātīrtha) on the river Vaitaraṇī in the Cuttack district. The name of this village is derived from the name of the deity.[206]

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[198] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, p. 27.
[199] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 581.
[200] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX. Pt. I, p. 32.
[201] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, I, p. 685.
[202] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. VI.
[203] *Ibid.*, XXIX, Pt. IV, 1951.
[204] *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 51, 52.
[205] *Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, Pt. I, October, 1951.
[206] *Ibid.*, XXIX, Pt. IV, October, 1951.

Siṃhapura—This place also known as Aripura, was one of the two capitals of Kaliṅga according to the Tamil classics, *Silappadhikaram* and *Maṇimekhalai.* This has to be located in north Kaliṅga on the southern frontier of the Kāñcī district.[207]

Sirrambakkam—It is a village in Tiruvallūr taluk of the Chingleput district where the inscription of Parameśvaravarman was discovered.[208]

Śrāvaṇa-Belgola—On the top of the hill called Candrabetta there is a big statue of the Jain god, Gomateśvara.

Tanjore (*Tanjai*)—It is the name of a village.[209] The Tanjore temples contain a shrine of Caṇḍeśvara. It was the capital of the Coḷa kings, Nāyaka rulers and Mahārāṣṭra rājās. It is noted for its great Brahadīśvara (Bṛhadeśvara) temple which is the highest temple in India. The Rājarājeśvara or Śrī Bṛihadīśvara temple of Tanjore was erected by Rājarāja the Great (985-1014 A.D.).[210] The Bṛhadeśvara temple contains a very big *Śivaliṅgaṃ.* It is 216 ft. high and is a wonderful specimen of Indian architecture. It is surrounded by a big moat on all sides. The massive stone-built Nandi bull is found seated in front of the big temple. The temple contains massive *toraṇa* (gate) and *maṇḍapa* (pavilion), all built of stone. The temple was built at the time of king Rājendra Coḷa.[211] The magnificent Coḷa temple of Tanjore represents the 11th century development of the style of South Indian architecture.[212] The shrine of Tanjore (height 200 ft.), built circ. 1000, is the climax of Dravidian art.[213] Percy Brown has published a photograph of the Subramania Temple at Tanjore dated cir. A.D. 1750.[214]

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[207] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture,* I, p. 269 f.n.

[208] *Ep. Ind.,* XXXII, Pt. V.

[209] *S.I.I.,* I, p. 92; *Ep. Ind.,* XXVII, Pt. VII, July 1948—*Tiruvorriyur Inscription of Caturānana Paṇḍita.*

[210] *The Great Temple at Tanjore* by J. M. Somasundaram, 1935, Foreword.

[211] P. V. Jagadisa Ayyar, *South Indian Shrines,* pp. 87-88; Law, *Holy Places of India,* p. 41.

[212] *Introducing India,* Pt. I, *RASB., Publication,* p. 8.

[213] O. Bruhl, *Indian Temples,* Notes.

[214] *Indian Architecture, English and Hindu,* Pl. LXVI.

Inscriptions of the Hoysala kings, Someśvara and Rāmanātha, are found as far south as Tanjore.[215] Puñjai (Tanjore district) came to be known as Kiḍāraṃgoṇḍān.[216] The ancient town of Tanjore is situated on the Kāverī river, about 218 miles southwest of Madras.

Tirumali-Shai—It is situated near Poonamalle, sacred to the Vaiṣṇava Alwar of that name.[217]

Tirupparutthikunram—It is a village near Kāñcī. It is the relic of an once-famous Jaina centre. It has now got an interesting Jain temple dedicated to Mahāvīra.[218]

Tirusūlaṃ—It is a village. Its Śiva temple dates back to Coḷa times and contains inscriptions of the 11th century A.D.[218a]

Tiruvadatturai—It is in the south Arcot district.

Toṇḍamaṇḍalam—Both Kañci and Vengadaṃ (Tirupati) are included in it.[219]

Trikūṭa—Kālidāsa mentions this hill connected with the Sahya range.[220] The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* refers to it as a mountain situated at the base of the mount Meru or Sineru (V, 16.26).

Vaitaraṇī (*Vetariṇī*)—The Jain literature mentions this river as Vetariṇī.[221]

Vanavāsī—Jiyasattu, grandson of Jarākumāra, ruled in this city.[222]

Varadā—It is mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitra* (V.I. 13).

Vānmayī—It is a river on the eastern side of Koṭṭayaṃ. A temple stands on its bank.[223]

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[215] *Madras Arch. Report*, 1896-97.

[216] *Ibid.*, 1925, 188, 191 & 196.

[217] Srinivasachari, *History of the city of Madras*, XXIII.

[218] *Ibid.*, XXII.

[218a] Srinivasachari, *History of the City of Madras*, XXIII.

[219] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, I, p. 522.

[220] *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, p. 59.

[221] *Sūyagaḍaṅga Cūrṇī*, p. 159 and *Uttarāddhyayana Sūtra*, 19, 59.

[222] *Nisītha-cūrṇī*, 8, p. 502.

[223] *B. C. Law Volume*, I, p. 307.

Venkitangu—It is a village to the west of Trichur. The famous Śaṅkarnārāyaṇa temple stands here.[224]

Viḷiñjaṃ—According to some it has been identified with a fishing village of the same name in south Travancore.[225]

Waḍageri—It was in the former Hyderabad State. It belonged to the reign of Chalukya Vikramāditya VI.[226]

Eastern India

Aṅga—Kālidāsa refers to this kingdom in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (VI, 27-29).

Ballabhapura—It is in the Serampore sub-division of the Hooghly district. It is a village where there is the temple of Rādhāballabha.[227]

Bhaddilapura—It is identified with Bhadia, a village near Kuluhā hill, about 6 miles from Huntergunj in the Hazaribagh district. It was visited by Ariṣṭanemi.[228]

Bhoganagara—The Buddha lived here. Then he proceeded to Fāvā. This place is near Pāvā.[229]

Candranātha—Other sacred temples in the neighbourhood are those of Labaṅākhyā, 3 miles to the north, and Barabakund, 3 miles to the south.

Cyavana-āśrama—This hermitage was situated at Sahabad in Bihar,[230] but according to some it was situated on the Satpura Range near the river Payoṣṇī.[231]

Durvāsā-āśrama—Grierson holds that it was at Duvaur, 7 miles north-east of Rajauli in Nawadah sub-division of the Gaya district (*Notes on the District of Gayā* by Grierson).

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224. *Ibid.*, I, p. 304.
225. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. VI, April, 1958.
226. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, Pt. IV, p. 193.
227. Law, *Holy Places of India*, p. 2.
228. *Antagaḍadasão*, 3, pp. 7 ff.
229. *Dīgha*, II, 123 and 126.
230. *Skandapurāṇa*, Avantīkhaṇḍa, Ch. 57.
231. *Padmapurāṇa*, Ch. 8.

Gaṅgā (Ganges)—The first and the great western tributary of the Ganges is the Yamunā proper mentioned in the *Viṣṇusmriti* (85.9.).

Gayā—It occurs in the *Viṣṇusmriti* (85.4,66).

Harikela—It is an eastern country which is identified by some with Vaṅga.[232]

Jahṇu-āśrama—It was at Sultanganj on the west of Bhagalpur in eastern India. The temple of Gaivinātha Mahādeva which is on the site of this hermitage is situated on a rock coming out from the bed of the Ganges in front of Sultanganj.[233]

Kaluhā or *Kauleśvarī Hill*—It is under the Huntergunj P.S. in the district of Hazaribagh. It stands about 6 miles from Huntergunj.[234]

Karṇasuvarṇa—More than ten Buddhist monasteries, with more than 2000 monks, who were the adherents of the Sammatiya school, existed there.[235]

Kauśikī—Kālidāsa mentions the river Mahā-Kauśikī in his *Kumārasambhava* (VI. 33).

Kāmarūpa—It was also called Prāgjyotiṣa.[236]

Kenduli—It contains the temple of Jayadeva which was built by the mother of Maharaja Kirtichand Bahadur of Burdwan.

Kirātadeśa—The Kirātas are referred to by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (IV, 76) who lived in the eastern valley of Brahmaputra. According to Ptolemy they were located in the Uttarāpatha.[237] They had their settlement in the eastern region as well. The land of the Kirātas is called *Kirrhadia* by Ptolemy. They are mentioned in the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* (11.4.18) as living outside the Aryandom.

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[232] *Indian Culture*, XII, p. 89.

[233] Law, *Early Indian Monasteries*, p. 5; Martin, *Indian Empire*, III, p. 37; *JASB.*, XXXIII, p. 360; *ASR.*, XV, 21.

[234] *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, Pt. III, p. 84.

[235] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 191; cf. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*; p. 131.

[236] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. VI, April, 1958. For a detailed study vide *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 153-54.

[237] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 277.

Koṭumbaṛa—A country famous for linen clothes.[238]

Kukkuṭārama—It was here Aśoka summoned 1000 monks and gave them requisites of the Order. Hiuen Tsang points out that this monastery was evidently the old monastery containing the Tope of the Gongstriking and Āmalaka Tope.[239]

Magadha—Kīkaṭa[240] was the synonym of Magadha (*St. Petersburgh Dictionary*). It was the name of a non-Aryan country according to Yāṣka.[241] Zimmer holds the same view.[242] Weber says that the Kīkaṭas were the Aryan people living in Magadha.[243] Kīkaṭa cannot be identified with certainty.[244]

Mandāran—A village in the Hooghly district, where exist the ruins of an ancient Hindu fort, which is a massive mound of earth, circular in shape, and bounded by stone walls, and surrounded by a moat. It was one of the frontier forts to defend the country from invasion from the south.

Navadvīpa—It lies on the west bank of the Bhāgirathī opposite to its confluence with the Jalaṅgī. The present town of Navadvīpa is situated on the site of the ancient village of Kulia in the Nadia district. It covers an area of 3½ square miles.[245] Śrīcaitanya was born here in 1485 A.D.

Nālandā—In the *Papañcasūdanī* (III, 52) it is referred to as a town which was more a place for collecting alms.

Niścīrā—The *Varāhapurāṇa* (85) reads the name as Niśvīra. It is probably connected with the river Kauśikī with which it is often mentioned.[246]

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[238] *Jātaka*, VI, p. 47.

[239] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II; pp. 98 & 101; Cf. *Dīpavaṃsa*, (Ed. B. C. Law) Ch. 7, 57-59.

[240] *Ṛigveda*, III, 53.14.

[241] *Nirukta*, VI, 32.

[242] *Altindisches Leben*, 31.118.

[243] *Indische Studien*, I, p. 186.

[244] Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 402-403; Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I, pp. 14-18; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 159.

[245] For further details, vide Law, *Holy Places of India*, pp. 5-6.

[246] Law, *Geographical Essays*, p. 93.

Pauṇḍravardhanabhukti—Puṇḍravardhana comprised the Bengal District of Dinajpur, Maldah, Rajshahi and western parts of Bogra and Rangpur.[247] The river Karatoyā still forms the boundary between Jalpaiguri and Purnea.

Pārśvanātha—The Buddhist and Jain remains exist on the Kuluhā hill in the Dantara pergana. The remains worthy of mention are the four rock temples on the Mahudi hill.[248]

Pāṭaliputra—According to Kālidāsa Puṣpapura existed in Aja's time.[249]

Prāgjyotiṣa—It stood on the river Lauhitya or Brahmaputra according to Kālidāsa.[250] Kāmārūpa, Prāgjyotiṣapura, and Lauhitya-Vāridhi are all mentioned in the Howrah ghat plates of Balavarman III of Kāmarūpa.[251]

Rājagaha—It was also known as Usabhapura, visited by Mahāvīra.[252] The following references may be noted: *JBORS.*, IV, 1918, pp. 113-135; *JASB.*, (Letters), XV, 1949, pp. 65 ff.; *Rājgir* 1950 by A. Ghosh—*Ancient India* (*BASI.*, No. 7, January 1951) pp. 66 ff. *Buddhaghosa* the celebrated Buddhist commentator spoke of *antonagara* and *bahinagara* (the inner and outer city) of Rājagaha.[253]

Śāntipura—It is a town in the Rānāghāṭ sub-division of the Nadia district. This town is visited by pilgrims throughout the year, especially during the Rāśjātrā festival held on the full-moon day in the month of Kārtik (October-November). It is a commercial town famous for dhoties and sarees well made by expert weavers.[254]

Sītākuṇḍa—The spring does not exist but the site is marked by the temple of Śambhunātha.

Tapodā—It was a large lake below the Vebhāra hill. The water of the streams flowing from the lake was hot. It was the play-ground of the Nāgas. Its water was hot because it flowed through Lohakumbhī hills lying below Rājagaha.[255]

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[247] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 426.
[248] Law, *Holy Places of India*, p. 49.
[249] *Raghuvaṃśa*, VI, p. 24.
[250] *Ibid.*, IV, 81.
[251] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. VI.
[252] *Vivāgasūya*, II, 2.64.
[253] *Sāratthappakāsinī*, PTS., I, 313.
[254] Law. *Holy Places of India*, pp. 6-7.

Tārakeśvara—It is an important village in the Serampore subdivision of the Hooghly district. The chief object of interest is the shrine of the *linga* of the god Śiva, called Tārakeśvara, which is about 500 yards from the railway station. This shrine is visited by Hindu pilgrims throughout the year. Several religious festivals are held here periodically.

Tāmralipti—It was also visited by Hiuen Tsang. According to him there were more than ten Buddhist monasteries with more than 1000 monks.[256].

Uttarāpa—It was the region which lay to the north of the river Mahī. It was also called Aṅguttarāpa, because it formed part of Aṅgadeśa on the other side of the river Mahī.[257]

Vaṃśāvāṭi—Really speaking there are three temples, of which the temple of Viṣṇu is the oldest. The presiding deity is Haṃseśvarī whose image is of neem wood,[258] painted blue. She is seated on a lotus flower, the stalk of which springs from the navel of Śiva lying prostrate.[259]

Vaṅga—Kālidāsa places the Vaṅgas in the delta formed by the Ganges and Brahmaputra.[260].

Varddhamānapura (Vaddhamānapura)—It is identical with modern Burdwan. It was visited by Mahāvīra. There was a garden here called *Vijayavaddhamāna*.[261].

Varendra—It was also known as Varendrī. It was the name of north Bengal. The *Rāmacarita* by Sandhyākaranandi refers to it.[262]

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[255] *Samantapāsādikā*, II, 512.

[256] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 190.

[257] Law, *Indological Studies*, Pt. II, pp. 334-35.

[258] Neem is *Melia Azadirechta Linn*, noted for its hardwood. Cf. *Vinaya*, I, 152; *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 32; *Jātaka*, II, pp. 105-106.

[259] Law, *Holy Places of India*, pp. 2-3.

[260] *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 36.

[261] *Vivāgasūya*, 10, 56.

[262] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. VI, April, 1958.

Vasantapura—It was a village in Magadha.[263] Some have identified it with the village Basantapura in the Purnea district.[264] Jiyasattu ruled here with his queen Dhāriṇī.[265]

Vedeha (*Videha*)—Kālidāsa mentions it in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (XII.26). It was the name of the kingdom as well as the capital.[266] The Videha country constituted the extreme east of the land of the Aryans. Its capital was Mithilā.

Vikramaśilā—Vide *J.A.S.B.*, V, N.S., No. I, pp. 1-13.

Viśvāmitra-āśrama—Some hold that it was situated on the river Kauśikī, the modern Kosi. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bālakāṇḍa, Ch. 26) points out that Caritravana at Buxar is said to have been the hermitage of the sage Viśvāmitra. According to the *Mahābhārata* (Śalyaparva, Ch. 43) the hermitage was situated on the west bank of the river Sarasvatī.

Western India

Agastya-āśrama—This hermitage was situated about 20 miles from Rudraprayāga in Garwal. Some say that it was situated on the Vaidūryaparvata or the Satpura hill.[267]

Anūpanivrit—Kālidāsa refers to this country, of which the capital was Māhiṣmatī, in his *Raghuvaṃśa*, (VI, 43).

Aparānta—Raghu's army came to the west coast just to conquer the entire western sea-board of India.[268]

Aśokatīrtha—It is mentioned in the Vanaparva of the *Mahābhārata* (88.13). It is situated near Sūrpāraka (modern Sopara).

Bharukaccha—It was known to the Chinese as *Po-lu-ka-che-po*.

Citrakūṭavana—It was a forest near the Citrakūṭa and it formed a part of the Daṇḍakāraṇya according to Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* (XII. 9).

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[263] *Sūya Niryukti*, II, 6, 190 ff.
[264] *District Gazetteer, Purnea*, 1911, p. 185.
[265] *Avaśyakacūrṇī*, p. 334.
[266] *Raghuvaṃśa*, XI, p. 36.
[267] *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, Ch. 88; Law, *Early Indian Monasteries*, p. 6.
[268] *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 53.

Daṇḍaka-forest—Kālidāsa refers to the Daṇḍākaraṇya, which was a big forest as far as the borders of the Kaliṅga country.[269] The Janasthāna formed a part of the Daṇḍakāraṇya according to Kālidāśa's *Raghuvaṃśa* XII; 15, 24; XIII, 47). Vide *JBBRAS*, 1917, pp. 14-15 regarding its location etc.

Dāśapura—Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, 47) mentions it.

Devarāṣṭra—It is identified with the Satara district of the Bombay Presidency.[270]

Dvārāvatī—Vide Śāntiparva of the *Mahābhārata*, CCCXLI, 12955; *Harivaṃśa* CXIII, 6265-66; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Tr., p. 340 f.n. Ānartta was the tract round Dvārakā according to some, while others hold that it was the district round Vaḍanagara.[271] King Śalva is said to have attacked Dvārāvatī, but he was killed by Kṛṣṇa.[272]

Eraṇḍapalla—Vide S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, I, p. 163. It has recently been identified with Elamanchili, Kaliṅganagara, in the Vizagapatam district. (*Ibid.*, p. 219).

Jerakheḍa—It is a small village in the Shatadal taluq of the west Khandesh district in the Bombay Presidency. It is situated on the bank of the river Gomī, a tributary of the Tāptī.[273]

Kaccha (modern *Cutch*)—The pirates of this place committed robbery on sea in ships.[274]

Kouba—It is generally taken to be Gavā or Goa.[275]

Kumbhavatī—The capital of Daṇḍaki.[276] Some have placed it at Nasik.

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[269] *Ibid.*, XII, 9.

[270] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, I, 163.

[271] Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 389; *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, 1,6.

[272] *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, Ch. 14; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa Tr.*, p. 349

[273] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt., III, July, 1957.

[274] Al-Birūnī, *India*, I, pp. 208-209.

[275] *Ptolemy's Ancient India*, p. 181.

[276] *Jātaka*, III, p. 463.

Lārān—One of the coastal places of India according to Al-Birūnī.[277]

Mahābala—It is identified with Mahābaleśwara in the Satara district.[278]

Moṭā Mācialā—A village about 7 miles to the north-east of Aeureli, the headquarters of the district of that name in the Bombay State.[279]

Pañcavaṭi—Some have identified it with modern Nasik.[280]

Raivataka hill—It was close to Junāgaḍh in Gujarat. It was near Prabhāsa.

Rāmatīrtha—Vide also P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV, p. 795.

Somanāth (*Someśa*) and *Somanāthadevapaṭṭana*—Vide also *E.I.*, XXXII, Pt. VII.

Surāṣṭra—It is modern Kāthiawāḍ. According to Hiuen Tsang it was above 4000 li in circuit with more than fifty monasteries containing more than 3000 monks, most of whom belonged to the Mahāyāna Sthavīra school.[281] Bāravī, mentioned in several Jain texts, was the capital of Surāṣṭra or Suraṭṭha.[282]

Ūrjayat—The sanctification of this mountain by Śrīnemī is referred to in the Kalpasūya (174, p. 182). There were water-falls on this mountain and the people used to celebrate feasts here every year. Sports were also held on this mountain.[283]

Vaḍnagar—It is identified with Ānandapura which was a centre of Jain monks.[284] According to *Jaina Piṇḍanir-Ṭīkā* (83, p. 31) it was situated near the Vindhya.

Vaijayanta—It was a city in the forest tract of Daṇḍaka. According to the Rāmāyaṇa (II, 9, 12-13) Daśaratha went to this city to help Indra, accompanied by Kaikeyī, and subjugated the region of Śaṃvara.

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[277] Law, *Al-Birūnī's Knowledge of Indian Geography*, p. 1.
[278] *Padmapurāṇa*, VI, 113.29.
[279] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, Pt. VI, July 1956.
[280] *Indian Culture*, I, p. 584.
[281] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 248.
[282] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 5, p. 68.
[283] Jain, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 346.
[284] *Sūyagaḍaṅga Cūrṇi*, p. 253.

Vindhyapādaparvata—Kālidāsa mentions it in his *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, 19).

Central India

Acalapura—The two rivers named Kaṇhā and Beṇṇā flowed near this town.[285] Acalapura was situated in Ābhīra.

Arbuda (Jaina *Abbuya*)[286]—It is one of the sacred hills of the Jainas.

Ābu—It is Arbu, 'the hill of wisdom' which is identified as the Mount Capitalia of Pliny. It is a celebrated mountain in the south of the Sirohi state in Rajputana, 17 miles north-west of Abu Road Station on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway and 442 miles north of Bombay. There are five temples here, two of which deserve especial notice, namely, the temple of Vimala Sāh and the temple of Vatupāla and Tejpāla.

Bāṅglā—Vide *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, Pt. VII, July 1956.

Bārla—A village about 7 miles to the east of Ajmere.[287]

Bhilsā (*Bhaillasvāmīpura*)—Vide *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. III, July 1957.

Bilaigarh—It is in the Raipur district, Madhyapradeśa.[288]

Citrakuṭa—It is also mentioned in the Vanaparva of the *Mahābhārata* (85.58) and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II, 54, 28-29, 93.8). The *Vāmanapurāṇa* (45.99) and the *Matsyapurāṇa* (114.25) also refer to it.

Devapālapura—Probably modern Dipalpur, 27 miles to the northwest of Mhow.[289]

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[285] *Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā*, p. 514.

[286] *Brihat Bhāgavata*, I, 3150.

[287] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, Pt. VII.

[288] *Bilaigarh Plates of Kalacuri Pratāpamalla*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. IV October 1951.

[289] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. III, Juy 1957.

Daśārṇa—It was roughly identified with Malwa, having its capital at Vidiśā.

Dosaron—It is the river of the region inhabited by the Daśārṇas.[290]

Dugauḍa—It is modern Digaura, situated some 15 miles from Tīkamgarh on the Orccha-Tīkamgarh road. The ruling family of Orccha-Tīkamgarh hailed from the village Digaura, old Dugauḍa.[291]

Khajurāho—Ibn Baṭuṭa visited this place about 1335 A.D. and named it as Kajura. He describes the lake about a mile long, round which there were temples of idols. The temples of the Candella rulers of the 10th century are found here in the deep jungles of Bundelkhand, 85 miles away from the nearest railway station.

Kurūd—It is situated about 27 miles north-east of Raipur in the *tahsil* and district of Raipur in Madhyapradeśa.[292]

Māndhātā (*Māndhātri* or *Māndhātridurga*)—Vide *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, Pt. III, July, 1957.

Narmadā—It is mentioned in the *Viṣṇusmriti* (85.8). It was known as Revā according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xii. 8.1.17; 9.3.1). This river is also mentioned in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, 19).

Nāgahṛada—It is identified with Nāgadā near Eklingi.[293]

Niṣadha—Kālidāsa places Niṣadha to the north-west of Berar.[294]

Padmāvatī—According to some it is Padam-Pawāyā where some rare silver coins were found out.[295]

Pallī—It is the same as the modern town of Pāli in Jodhpur, Rajputana.[296]

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[290] McCrindle, *Ptolemy's Ancient India*, p. 71. Majumdar Ed.

[291] *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, Pt. III, p. 89.

[292] *Ibid.*, XXXI, Pt. VI, April 1956.

[293] *Ibid.*, XXXI, No. 33.

[294] *Raghuvaṃśa*, XVIII, 1.

[295] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVII, 1955, Pt. II.

[296] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, Pt. VI, No. 33.

Parṇāśā—This river issues from the Pāriyātra mountain. The Parṇāśā or Varṇāśā has been identified with the modern Banas, a tributary of the river Carmanvatī (Chambal).[297]

Pāripātra mountain—Buhler says that the Pāripātra mountain forms a part of the Vindhya range in Malwa.[298]

Rakhadeva—It is situated in a village in the Magra district of the state of Udaipur, Rajputana, about 40 miles south of the city of Udaipur and 10 miles north-east of Kherwara Cantt. It contains the famous Jain temple sacred to Ādinātha or Rakhabharātha.[299]

Ranapura—It is the site of a celebrated Jain temple in the Desuri district of the state of Jodhpur, Rajputana, about 88 miles south-east of the Jodhpur city and about 14 miles east-south-east of the Falna station on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. The Jain temple was built at the time of Rānā Kuṃbha of Mewar.[300]

Rāmṭek (*Rāmagiri*)—Kālidāsa mentions Rāmagiri in his *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, I) which is identified with Rāmṭek.

Śambūka-āśrama—It was at Rāmṭek, north of Nagpur. Śambūka was a *śūdra* who practised asceticism and hence he was killed by Rāma.

Śiprā—This river was also called Viśālā.[301] The city of Ujjayinī was situated on this river.[302]

Śrīpura—For further reference vide *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, Pt. VII, July 1956.

Tumbavana—It was the birthplace of Jaina Vajraśvāmī.[303] It was situated in Avantī.

Udayagiri—A full description of the Udayagiri caves and their architectural features is given in D. R. Patil's *The Monuments of*

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[297] Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 379, P. V. Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, IV, p. 789.

[298] S.B.E., 14,2,3; 146,147; *Vedic Index*; II; p. 126 f.n.

[299] Law, *Holy Places of India*, p. 53.

[300] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[301] *Meghadūta*, Pūrvamegha, 27,29.

[302] *Meghadūta*, Pūrvamegha, 27,29,31.

[303] J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 344.

the Udayagiri Hills, published in the *Vikrama* Volume, 1948, pp. 377 ff.

Ujjain—Kālidāsa indirectly refers to Ujjayinī where there was the temple of Mahākāla.[304]

Vairāṭa—In the Jaina temple at Vairāṭa there is an oblong open courtyard surrounded by a high wall and a beautifully carved pillared portico in front of the entrance on the east. In the south wall of the courtyard on the inside is built a large inscribed slab which was first noticed by Dr. D. R. Bandarkar. Vairāṭa is famous for the only known stone-slab inscription of Aśoka, called the Bhābrū Rock Edict, which is preserved in the Asiatic Society of Calcutta.

Vaśiṣṭha-āśrama—Some have located this hermitage at Kuting 32 miles from Baripada.[305]

Vedisa (*Vidiśā*)—This ancient city remains immortalized in the Pūrvamegha (24-25) of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta.* It is mentioned as Vaidiśa in the Jaina *Anuyogadvāra,* (30, p. 137).

Vidarbha—Kālidāsa mentions it in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (V, 39; VII, 2, 13, 20) which was ruled by the Bhoja family. The Jainas refer to this country in their *Sūyagaḍaṃga Cūrṇī,* (p. 240).

Vindhya—The Vindhya mountain is mentioned in the *Vaśiṣṭha-Dharmaśāstra* (I, 9) as the southern limit of Āryāvarta. The Vindhya mountain also called as the Vaiṭādhya in the Jain *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti* divides India into northern half called Āryāvarta and the southern half later called Dākṣiṇātya.[306] This is in disagreement with the statement found in the *Vaśiṣṭha-Dharmaśāstra.*

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[304] *Raghuvaṃśa,* VI, 32,36. For further details vide also *Vikrama Volume* (1948) pp. 281 ff.

[305] *Ep. Ind.,* XXV, Pt. IV, October, 1939.

[306] I. 12—*Bharahe vāse veyaddhe nāmaṃ pavvaye paṇṇatte: Uttaraddha-Bharahavāsassa dahiṇenaṃ dahiṇabharahavāsassa uttareṇaṃ.*

A Note on Yakśinī Candra of Bharhut Railings

BY

PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.

One of the Entrance Pillars of Bhārhut railings of Śuṅga Age as to be seen in Indian Museum in Calcutta is carved with the figure of a divine lady of rare beauty and modulation whose name is known as Yakṣinī Candrā (*Caṁdā Yakhi*). The youthful lady is shown as standing on a horse-headed *makara* by holding by her right hand the branch of a tree in the characteristic pose of a *Śālabhañjikā* while by her left hand she holds a bunch of flowers.[1] Further the celestial lady stands in relation with *Kupiro Yakho,* i.e. Yakṣa Kuvera. In the light of current research the individual figures of the Bhārhut railings have been sometimes identified with later Hindu or Buddhist iconographic images while some of them are also shown by B. M. Barua as connected with the life of the Buddha like Supāvaso, Elāpatra, Sūciloma, Ajakālaka and Cakravāka.[2] For example, it may be pointed out that Kuvera is carved in conformity with the Puranic concept of a guardian deity riding on a human vehicle (*nara-vāhana*), while the so-called Asura Vepacitti wearing *udīcya-veśa* or northern dress recalls the iconographic traits of Sūryya besides the identification of Supāvaso with Vedic Parjanya and the equation of the name *Sirimā* with *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī.* In the very like manner we may reasonably identify Yakṣiṇī Candrā with Mahāyāna goddess Cundā whose name is variously spelt as Cuṇḍrā, Caṇḍā, Cundrā and Candrā. It is known that the worship of Cundā has an appreciable antiquity and her first mention as Candrā is claimed to have been made in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* of supposedly pre-Gupta times and in various other works like the *Guhyasamājatantra,* the *Śikṣāsamuccaya,* the *Prajñāpāramītā,* the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta of succeeding ages covering the Gupta and mediaeval times.[3] It seems very much likely that here in the Śuṅga art of Bhārhut we meet with the earliest plastic representation of Cundā who is also described as two-armed in the relevant *dhyāna*. Though obviously archaic in her appearance, later on to become more complicated, she holds flowers and stands on a mythical animal meaningfully as she is described in the *Sādhana* as carrying lotus amongst others and seated on a *Sattvaparyaṅka*, i.e. a seat on a living being. Her association along with Yakṣa Ajakālaka with Kuvera, the Lord of the Yakṣas is also obvious. Her *vāhana*, a composite *makara*, makes her a river-goddess and this may be relevant in connection with her worship in ancient Paṭṭikera[4] in south-eastern Bengal close to Chandradvīpa in the vicinity of Meghnā estuary.

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[1] N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum,* Part I, Delhi 1937, p. 26, Plate V, b.

[2] B. M. Barua, *Bharhut,* Book II, Calcutta 1934.

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[3] Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta 1958, pp. 219 ff.

[4] That there was once a temple of Cundā in Paṭṭikera is known from an illuminated manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramītā* in the Cambridge University Library. The manuscript contains a painting of the sixteen-armed goddess with a line "Paṭṭikere Cundāvara bhavane Cundā", i.e., "Cundā in the excellent temple of Cundā at Paṭṭikera".

Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Ibid.*, p. 223.

N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca 1929, Foreward, Plate I(d).

He has located Paṭṭikera on the Lālmāi hills in Tippera.

Although we have little to say about the origin of the name Candradvīpa it may be recalled that according to an opinion *Gaṁgito Yakho* of Bhārhut was in all probability Gāṅgeya Yakṣa and he hailed from the Gangetic Valley. Barua: *Ibid.*, p. 61.

John Bright and India (1848-1861)

BY

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The expansion of British power over the Indian subcontinent was a complex process stretching over many decades during which the British and Indian reactions to it were constantly changing not only in their form of expression but also the content of ideas. This expansion began with commerce in the early decades of the 17th century and ended with conquest by the middle of the 19th. Until about the out-break of the Anglo-French conflict in the 18th century, British attitudes to their enterprise in India were concerned mainly with prospects of commerce coupled with curiosity mixed with horror about the country and its climate and aspects of the religions of its people. With the emergence of the Company as the paramount authority in India, British opinions began to crystallize into two broad categories. One section looked upon the adventures of the servants of the Company with obvious pride not unmixed with hero-worship. In this the difference between Whig and Tory was only one of degree and occasion. The role of the "founders" and "guardians" was enthusiastically extolled and if there were circumstances wherein glaring mistakes had to be sharply criticized this was done with obvious regret and calculated circumspection. By and large, these circles, could scarcely characterize the "Empire" as a product of evil ambition and questionable gain. Some recent studies have very ably analysed these attitudes and influences acting on British conduct in India during the decades of "Empire-building".[1] But alongside of this trend in British thinking there was another, and it was critical both of the general philosophy of empire and its specific manifestations as revealed in the conduct of the government of the Company and in its impact on the people of India. John Bright was, perhaps, the most outspoken articulator of this attitude and the present paper aims at discussing some aspects of John Bright's ideas on the nature and effects of the British connection with India as interpreted by a Victorian "radical".

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[1] See Ballhatchet, Kenneth, *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India*, 1817-1830. London, 1957; Stokes, Eric, *The English Utilitarians and India*, Oxford, 1959; Bearce, George D., *British Attitudes Towards India*, London, 1961.

II

The names of John Bright (1811-1889) and Richard Cobden (1804-1865) evoke memories of a virile faith in *laissez faire* and reform, of the inherent goodness of the philosophical convictions of the rising British middle class. They recall the memories of Rochdale and Manchester with all their new theories and aspirations, and a restless passion for remoulding aspects of society in many of its ideas and actions. John Bright came of a Quaker family and was born on the 16th of November 1811. He was educated in a Friends' School at Ackworth and later at York and Newton near Clitheroe. The imprint of the faith and beliefs of the Society of Friends left a lasting impression on Bright's mind and the credo of liberty, equality and fraternity formed a part of his normal thinking.[2] At the age of 16 Bright entered his father's mill and became a partner in 1839. In 1833 he helped form the Rochdale Literary and Philosophical Society and during 1834-1841 he led the fight against the local church rates. The agitation against the Corn Laws drew him into the thick of agitational politics and increasingly and openly he began to attack the "iron hoof of monopoly" which, so it appeared to him, tended to make the rich richer and keep the poor poverty-stricken. In 1843 he stood for election to Parliament as a Free Trade candidate from Durham but was defeated. A petition, however, unseated his opponent and in a second contest Bright won. From that time onwards, with some brief intervals, he was a prominent figure in British politics and on the floor of the House of Commons led his vigorous attacks on a variety of subjects not the least important among them being aspects of British behaviour in India.

Bright came to take such deep interest in India because of his concern with cotton and cotton supplies to the textile industry in Lancashire. He had come to the conclusion that the absolute dependence of the British textile industry on supplies of cotton from the Southern areas of the United States was fraught with danger especially in view of the rising tensions over the question of slavery and its abolition. In 1847 Bright began to agitate for implementation of measures to increase cotton cultivation in India and in 1848 he became the chairman of the committee of the House to examine this problem. The report drawn up by this committee referred to the absence of railways, the bad roads and the revenue system as the major impediments in the path of the prosperity of cotton in India. His interest in cotton naturally led him to a consideration of the larger problem of the government of India and from 1853 to 1861 he made five outstanding speeches on questions connected with affairs in India. These have become a part of the history of English oratory.

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[2] See Treveyan, G. M., *The Life of John Bright*, New York, 1914; p. 17 ff.

III

Of immediate relevance to our purpose here is Bright's understanding of the nature of the British Empire in India and its impact on the country. Speaking on the measure for the Government of India introduced by Sir Charles Wood on June 3, 1853 Bright vigorously attacked the measure as falling far short of what was needed to be done to rectify the serious defects in the administration of the territories conquered by the East India Company. He observed that the Company's Government was "a Government of secrecy and irresponsibility to a degree that should not be tolerated in a country like this, where we have a constitutional and Parliamentary Government".[3] In this speech he revealed the wide extent of his knowledge of facts concerning India and the character of his understanding of the Indian situation. He criticized the inability of the Indian Government to create a better system of communications, the complexity of the laws administered by it and the slow growth of British exports to India. He pointed out that since 1833 practically no progress was made in the employment of Indians in the higher services. He stated that "Under the Act of 1833 the natives of India were declared to be eligible to any office under the Company. No native has, in the twenty years which have since elapsed, been appointed to any office in pursuance of that clause which he might not have held before the Bill passed, or had it never passed at all. There might not, perhaps, have been so much reason to complain of this circumstance, had the Government of India meanwhile shown a disposition of a totally opposite character."[4] He assailed the inability of the Company to provide better educational facilities to the people and thundered: "The people of India are in a state of poverty, and of decay, unexampled in the annals of the country under their native rulers. From their poverty the Government wrings a gross revenue of 29,000,000l. sterling, and out of that 29,000,000l., return to them 66,000l. per annum for the purposes of education".[5] Of the people of India he said "there never was a more docile people, never a more tractable nation" and prophetically warned about the dangers inherent in the situation. During the first half of the 19th century, notes Eric Stokes, there was a fondness among Tory circles for strong authoritarian rule which was almost made into a philosophy with a seemingly impressive facade of arguments for its battlements.[6] Bright distrusted authoritarianism and bitterly attacked it in the government of the Company. A special characteristic of Imperialism of this period was the display of a profound sense of a religious and moral mission[7] and this, to Bright, appeared as a species of hypocrisy. He suggested to his countrymen: "Let us abandon the policy of aggression and confine ourselves to a territory ten times the size of France, with a population four times as numerous as that of the United Kingdom. Surely that is enough to satisfy the most gluttonous appetite for glory and supremacy. Educate the people of India, govern them wisely, and gradually the distinctions of caste will disappear, and they will look upon us rather as benefactors than as conquerors. And if we desire to see Christianity, in some form, professed in that country, we shall sooner attain our object by setting the example of a high-toned Christian morality, than by any other means we can employ".[8] But he had great doubts on this last score for when he was saying his requiem for the Company he said "The East India Company was a wonderful Company for writing despatches. There was nothing so Christian as their doctrine, nothing so unchristian as their conduct".[9]

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[3] *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy by The Right Honourable John Bright, M.P.*, Edited by James E. Thorgold Rogers, London, 1869, p. 3 (hereafter referred to as *Speeches*).

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[6] Stokes, Eric, *English Utilitarians and India*, pp. 244, 298.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 307.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

But Bright's warnings against further annexations were to go unheeded for Jhansi, Nagpur and Oudh were to fall before the onslaught of expansionism and become some of the immediate causes leading to the outbreak of the Great Revolt of 1857. The prophet had spoken and only the wall of ambition and obtuseness echoed his warnings!

IV

The Great Revolt spread from town to town. Tendentious reports from India roused British passions and provoked thoughts of revengeful retaliation. Bright, however, kept silent. He made one public allusion to the Revolt. In his reply to a question about his attitude to the military measures then being enforced he said in a telegram to the Birmingham Election Committee: "The success of the Indian Revolt would lead to anarchy in India, and I conceive it that it is mercy to India to suppress it. I should insist on an improved Government for India for the future".[10] It is interesting to observe here that he refers to the occurrence as "Revolt" and not as the Sepoy Mutiny which was then the vogue![11] Obviously he was biding his time to speak his mind and the opportunity came to him when the third India Bill was introduced in the British Parliament. In his speech of June 24, he dwelt at great length on the sins of the Company and the consequences of those sins for both Britain and India. His speech was remarkable both for the trenchant criticism it made and for the equally remarkable suggestions it contained. He pointed out the faults of the Indian administration and spoke of the impoverishment of the Indian farmer, the burden of taxes "more onerous and oppressive than the taxes of any other country in the world", the neglect of Indian industries, the unsatisfactory condition of the police and judicial administration, the neglect of public works, preoccupation with conquest and annexation rather than concern for good government, finances of "deficit and bankruptcy", exhorbitant cost of government, concentration of power in the hands of the Governor-General, the military and civil service officers and the racial arrogance of the British in India.[12] And then he went on to enunciate some general principles on which, according to him, the foundations of the future Government of India should rest. This Government, he said, should be built on "perfect responsibility and an enlightened administration" and that if India was to be governed for the good of England it should be secured "through the channels of the good of India".[13] He went on to propound a scheme for the governance of India which, then as now, would appear novel.[14] He suggested the abolition of the office of the Governor-General and the creation in its place of five presidencies, each with a Governor and a council of its own. Each Presidency was to be the equal of the others in constitutional status with its own independent services and each being converted into a separate dependency of the Empire directly connected with the office of the Secretary of State for India in London. Each Presidency was to have its own army and its own council consisting of officials, non-official resident Europeans and at least two or three among "the intelligent Natives of the Presidency in whom the people would have confidence". Each Presidency was to be encouraged into being unified as a separate and autonomous unit engaged in a healthy competition with the other Presidencies. This, to say the least, was a bold suggestion and inevitably the reaction to it was a mixture of contempt and horror. The London *Times* commenting editorially on his speech said "Mr. Bright has delivered himself of a splendid reverie on the future of India. He requests the House to undo not only the work of the Session, but that of the whole century; to turn the course of history backwards; to abandon every object natural to us as the conquering and superior race....

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[10] Walling, R. A. J., (ed.); *The Diaries of John Bright*, New York; 1931; p. 231.

[11] In a letter of Dec. 2, 1857 to Mr. Alderman Lloyd of Birmingham, Bright calls the events of 1857 an "insurrection". Leech, H. J. (ed.). *The Public Letters of The Right Hon. John Bright, M.P.*, London; 1885; p. 48.

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12. *Speeches*, pp. 19-28.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 32.
14. Mr. Stokes characterizes it as "nonsensical", see *Op. Cit.*, p. 299.

"Apart from general declarations, the mode in which Mr. Bright proposes to work India round to this happy result is the abolition of the office of the Governor-General, a general recognition of native pretensions, and a Court of Appeal to settle disputes between the Government and its subjects". The *Times* concluded with a feeling of holy horror that the Bright scheme would spell the dissolution of the British Empire![15]

What prompted Bright to suggest this scheme for the division of India into what eventually could have become five independent nations? It is quite probable that he did not devote careful thought to the ultimate consequences of his scheme if it were implemented. What he was most immediately concerned about was to strip the Governor-General's office of its enormous powers, to divest the military and civil servants from constituting themselves into sources of ultimate wisdom and ability to advise on the proper governance of India. Time and again he denounced the pretensions of the paternalistic rulers responsible only to themselves and often responsive to flattery and half-truths. He regretted the fact that the Government of India was not connected by any sort of healthy tie to the people of India except what the *Times* so candidly described as the attitude of a "conquering and superior race" on the one hand and that of frustration and dejection on the other.[16] He was primarily thinking of some means by which there would be decentralization of power and in this context he thought of giving the Governors councils which, at least in part, would be responsive to public opinion. Mr. Stokes observes that Dalhousie favoured the admission of Indian to the Governor-General's Legislative Council which even liberals like J. S. Mill and Bright were reluctant to suggest.[17] If that was so then obviously a change seems to have come over Bright's thinking in the interval for his recommendation for the inclusion of Indians in the councils forms a prominent part of his scheme. The urgent necessity, to his mind, was of curbing the Civil Service which he termed "privileged" and "arrogant" if not "Tyrannous" and such a service made of the Government of India "no Government at all, except for the purpose of raising money and spending taxes".[18] There could be a check on this vast power by Parliament and ultimately by the people of England but there were obvious limits to the constant vigilance and restraint which these bodies could exercise. As to the interest of the common people of England in Indian affairs he wrote in a letter to a gentleman in India that "The English people, too, are very slow, and very careless about everything that does not immediately affect them. They cannot be excited to any effort for India, except under the pressure of some great calamity, and when that pressure is removed, they fall back into their usual state of apathy".[19] And when a calamity like the Great Revolt of 1857 befell them there were always present tendentious reports by the Service officers and newspapers which fanned their anger and made them excuse indiscrimate slaughter by their conquering armies.[20] It was Bright's reasoning that if the office of the Governor-General were abolished and replaced by five different Governors, each under the direct control of London, then the possibility of misuse of power could be minimized. It is not clear whether Bright meant these five units to be Presidencies, pure and simple, or envisaged their development into five distinct "nations" and it is the latter possibility that would have eventually resulted into a fragmentation of the country. However, even this is problematical for was not India divided into two distinct categories, one of the British Provinces and the other of the Princely states, which for a considerable period lived their own lives in relative isolation? This fragmentation did not prevent Indian nationalism from asserting itself and eventually emerging into a triumphant force embracing both entities and transforming them into a single nation. The British scorn and ridicule, however, were motivated more by fear of the eventual loss of the Empire than by any real concern about the possible "Balkanization" of India.

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[15] The *Times*, June 25, 1858.

[16] *Speeches*, p. 55.

[17] *Op. Cit.*, p. 251.

[18] *Speeches*, pp. 50-53.

V

In the course of his Speech of June 24th 1858 Bright suggested to Lord Stanley (later the Earl of Derby) that immediately after the passage of the India Bill a proclamation to the people of India be issued. Earlier in May 1858 Parliament was exercised over the issuance of a minatory proclamation by Lord Canning addressed to the Talukdars of Oudh.[21] This caused a furore into the details of which event we need not go here. Bright's suggestion was in favour of a conciliatory Proclamation offering a general amnesty, promising security of property, recognizing the right of adoption and respecting the religious beliefs of the people of India. He said "I would tell them also in that Proclamation, that while the people of England hold that their own, the Christian religion, is true and the best for mankind, yet that it is consistent with that religion that they who profess it should hold inviolable the rights of conscience and the rights of religion in others. I would show, that whatever violent, overzealous, and fanatical men may have said in this country, the Parliament of England, the Ministers of the Queen, and the Queen herself, are resolved that upon this point no kind of wrong should be done to the millions who profess the religions held to be true in India".[22] It is well known that a draft of such a Proclamation was prepared and that it did not meet with the Queen's approval. The Queen suggested to Lord Derby that he should remember that "it is a female sovereign who speaks to more than 100,000,000 of Eastern people on assuming the direct government over them after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her Government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious feeling, pointing out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilization".[23] These instructions were given to Lord Derby on August 15th, 1858, a little less than two months after Bright had made his suggestion for such a Proclamation in his speech in Parliament. In a letter to Lord Canning dated December 2nd, 1858 the Queen mentions her pleasure at the retention of the passage on religion. The passage under reference runs as follows: "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects".[24] The difference in the language of the passage on religion in the Queen's Proclamation and Bright's suggestion quoted above is both obvious and natural. This difference notwithstanding, the similarity in the content of ideas in the two texts is too striking to be entirely accidental. It is probable that the whole idea of issuing a Proclamation expressing conciliatory and reassuring sentiments towards Indians on the part of the conquering nation originated in Bright's suggestion.

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[19] Leech, H. J., (ed.). *The Public Letters of the Right Hon. John Bright, M. P.*, London, 1885, p. 75.

[20] In a speech delivered on 1st August, 1859 Bright condemned such indiscriminate slaughter, See *Speeches*, p. 43.

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[21] *Speeches*, pp. 33 ff.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[23] Benson, Arthur C. and Viscount Esher, (Edrs.) *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence between the Years 1837 and 1861, London, 1907; III; p. 379.

There are also other and equally interesting suggestions made by Bright in the same speech. He suggested the setting up of a Court of final appeal in India with native and English judges so that it will be unnecessary for "any man in India to cross the ocean to seek for that justice which he would then be able to get in his own country without corruption or secret bargain".[25] Such a suggestion was naturally felt then to be too radical as it tended to diminish the glory of the sovereignty of Britain over India against which the London *Times* wrote with understandable anger. The *Times* was shocked at the very idea of an Indian complaining against the Government of India before a tribunal composed of Englishmen and Indians! Bright suggested that a Finance Commission be set up to enquire into the problem of the financial operations of the Government of India as also other commissions to go into the grievances of the people of India. These suggestions were far ahead of the times and testify to the boldness and imaginativeness of Bright's thinking on Indian affairs.

VI

In an age when the prevailing attitude of the average Englishman towards India was a compound of indifference punctuated with contempt and disdain, occasionally developing into a veritable hysteria provoked by reports of happenings in 1857, Bright not only kept his sanity but also never forgot his principles of fairplay, justice and friendship. He attacked the Government on the question of reports of torture in Madras (Speech of August 7, (1885),[26] attacked British rule in India as being founded "in violence and crime" and maintained by "sheer despotic power",[27] argued in favour of more railways, more equitable taxation, promotion of cotton cultivation and abolition of the 5% excise duty.[28] Outside the Houses of Parliament he took a leading part in the formation of the India Reform Association and on numerous occasions addressed public meetings exposing, what he believed to be the evils of the Company's administration in India. It is possible to argue that when he spoke in favour of more railways and more extensive cultivation of cotton he was not oblivious of the advantages accruing to England and especially the textile industry from such undertakings. But this should not distract from his stature as a friend of India at a time when to be overtly disposed in a friendly manner towards India was an object of scorn, if not of opprobrium. His criticism of wars and annexation, of financial mismanagement, of excessive power used without parliamentary or popular control sounds almost like some of the criticism made by Indian nationalists in the opening decades of the present century. His atttitude, as is pointed out by Bearce, "reached about as close to anti-imperialism as was possible in the age".[29] This naturally provoked anger in Tory circles and the number of Whigs irked by his utterances was also not small. Queen Victoria was not enthusiastic about him though towards the end her attitude seems to have somewhat softened.[30] But whatever the attitude of others, John Bright had a genuine interest in India, an interest inspired by his religious background and political convictions. He was one of the most sensitive and articulate symbols of the English conscience angered by reports of misdeeds, exploitation and injustice perpetrated by Englishmen in lands far removed from the English shores. Such an attitude stood for the feeling that an Englishman must be an Englishman whether he strode down the street of London or galloped across the plains of Hindustan!

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[24] *Ibid.*, p. 389 and note 2.

[25] *Speeches*, p. 31.

[26] Bright wrote in his Diary (August 7th 1855) that "we slew Hogg and Mangles, East India Directors. on the question of torture in Madras", See Walling, *Op. Cit.*, p. 202.

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[27] See Stokes, *Op. Cit.*, p. 299.

[28] Hansard, CXXII, 18th June, 1[illegible]-34; 1850; Leech; *Op. Cit.*, p. 20[illegible]

[29] Bearce, *Op. Cit.*, p. 210.

[30] For the earlier attitude of the Queen see Connel, B. *Regina Vs. Palmerstone*, New York, 1961, p. 245; the change in attitude is reflected in a report by Lord Granville, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, *The Life of Granville George Leveson Gower, Second Earl Granville*, K. G.; London; 1905 II; p. 86.

and nation, and reinforced by "sheer dogged perseverance." He argued in favour of those reforms in the [illegible] taxation, [illegible] of cotton cultivation and [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] for its [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] what he believed to be the [illegible] of the Company's [illegible]. It is possible to argue that when he spoke in favour of more railways and more [illegible] cultivation of cotton he was not oblivious of the advantages to England and especially the textile industry from such [illegible]. But this should not detract from his stature as a friend of India at a time when [illegible] [illegible] towards India was an object of [illegible], if not of opprobrium. His [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in the opening decades of the present century. [illegible] attitude, as is pointed out by Hearne, "reached about as close [illegible] as was possible in the age."[30] [illegible] [illegible] was also not adult. [illegible] was not [illegible] about him though towards the end his attitude seems [illegible] somewhat softened.[31] But whatever the attitude of others John Bright had a genuine interest in India, an interest inspired by his religious background and political convictions. He was one of the most sensitive and articulate [illegible] of the [illegible] conscience, [illegible] by reports of misdeeds, exploitation and [illegible] by Englishmen in India, far removed from the [illegible]. Such an attitude stood for the feeling that [illegible] must be as Englishman whether he [illegible] of London or galloped across the plains of Hindustan.

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28. See Hirst, Op. Cit., p. [illegible]
29. Hansard, CLXV, 18th June, 1861, [illegible]
30. Hearne, Op. Cit., p. 225.
31. [illegible] the earlier attitude of [illegible]

Ramagiri of Kalidasa

BY

M. VENKATARAMAYYA

While it may be considered rather ambitious to draw positive conclusions about the identification of places mentioned in literary poems, yet, *Mēghadūta* is a type of composition, which, as everybody would admit, shows that its author, the immortal Kalidasa, had a fund of geographical knowledge. This is more than substantiated by his mention of a number of important cultural, as well as, other spots hallowed by their association with epic and classical heroes. One such place mentioned by Kalidasa is Rāmagiri, which is referred to in the poem *Mēghadūta* as the site of hermitages, *ashramas par excellence,* where the forlorn Yaksha of the poem was spending his days of separation from his beloved. Dr. V. V. Mirashi had adduced a number of arguments in support of the idenification of this Rāmagiri mentioned by Kalidasa with Ramtek near Nagpur (*Studies in Indology,* Vol. I (1960) pp. 12-20). Sri V. K. Paranjpe takes it to be Ramgadh Hills in the Surguja State and marshals some important evidence in support of his identification in his book *Fresh Light on Kalidasa's Meghaduta.* On an impartial assessment of the arguments both in favour of its identification with Ramtek and with Ramgadh hills, it appears to me that there is every justification in identifying the Rāmagiri *āshramas* with a number of rock-cut cave dwellings, in the Ramgadh hills in Surguja State. Two arguments mentioned by Paranjpe are very convincing indeed. One is the importance he gives to the textual description that the slopes of the lofty mountain, where the *āshramas* were situated, were marked on the lower reaches (*mēkhalā*) by the foot-prints of Śrī Rāma. Even to this date, there exist these foot-prints which are actually found on the slopes of the hill at the entrance to the group of caves known as *Sītābengrā.* At Ramtek the *pādukas* of Śrī Rāma are stated to be in regular worship and these are sought to be equated with the *Raghupatipādas* of Rāmagiri. But there is greater appropriateness in applying the description as given in the verse to the foot prints on the slopes of the Ramgadh hill at the entrance to the *Sītābengrā* cave than to the *pādukas* at Ramtek since the word used by Kalidasa is *ankita* ('lit: carved or impressed) and not set up like *pādukas.* Those on the *Sītābengrā* cave are actually impressed depressions of the feet as one would leave on sand. The second piece of evidence which in my opinion would substantiate the identification of Ramgadh hill with Rāmagiri of Kalidasa is that in verse (No. 2) Kalidasa states that the Rāmagiri mountain presented the appearance of an elephant in *vaprakrīḍā* (that is to say, the sport of digging an earthen mound by its tusks, raising a cloud of dust) when a cloud became closely attached to it. The verse has been generally interpreted comparing the cloud with the elephant and as its being in contact with the mountain which was the mound of earth. But in fact on a closer examination of the verse what is suggested pertains to the entire picture that emanated out of the contact of the cloud with the mountain and its total resemblance to that of an elephant digging the mound of earth. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the mountain itself looked like an elephant and the contact of the cloud gave it the resemblance to the dust arising from the digging of the mound of earth by the elephant. Now from a distance, the hill of Ramgadh appears very much like an elephant to any casual onlooker.

I had a unique opportunity of visiting the Ramgadh hill and studying the hill and the rock-cut cave dwellings on the slopes of the hill as well as the inscriptions of early 2nd cent. B.C. in these cave dwellings. In view of the very appearance of the hill like that of an elephant, the existence of the foot-prints which, though on the rock, nevertheless look very much like impressions on sand and are adored as those of Śrī Rāma in the *Sītābengrā* cave, the subject matter of the inscriptions engraved in the caves which has a background of romance, merriment and poetry (see *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India,* 1903-04, pp. 123-131), the caves themselves being bereft of images or objects of worship except the foot-prints, the spaciousness of the caves themselves—all seem to indicate that these Ashrama-like rock-cut cave dwellings must have been the retreat of distinguished personages, the dwelling place of royalty in seclusion. All these features of the hill and the cave dwellings seem to have provided the theme for Kalidasa not only to write his *Mēghadūta* but also to locate the abode of the love-sick and forlorn Yaksha, the exiled prince, at this place.

I give below a factual description of the monument on the Ramgadh hills illustrated with photographs for the benefit of scholars who may be desirous of visiting this holy spot hallowed by its association, not only with Sri Rama, the Divine purusha but also with Kalidasa, the poet immortal.

The Ramgadh hill, which comprises one high hill and a subsidiary hill attached to it on the east, runs in north-south direction. Its total length would be roughly about 2 miles. The central portion of the hill rises in a steep gradient, almost perpendicularly, on the east and west. The top of the hill is flat and occupies fairly a large space. The height of the hill from the surrounding flat country would be about 300′ and its height from M.S.L. is 3206′. From a distance the hill gives the appearance of an elephant. Its central high portion closely resembles the head of an elephant (photograph 1).[1] As one approaches the hill from beyond the river Rena and from Ambikapur the sight presented is as described above.

Ramgadh hill is situated at a distance of about 32 miles from Ambikapur of which nearly 28 miles is covered by a fair weather road which is open for traffic from January to May. The village nearest to Ramgadh on this road is Udaipur, where there are no halting facilities except for a small forest department hutment. The foot of the hill is about 2 miles from this village. A part of even this distance can also be covered by Jeep along a forest tract for a distance of about 1½ miles upto a deep *nala*. Within half a mile from this *nala* the famous caves are situated and they are hewn out in the lower slopes of the subsidiary hill on its east and south.

The following monuments are found on this subsidiary hill:

(I) *First group of caves*: (1) *Sītā Bengrā cave* and (2) *Jōgimāra cave* which are cut on the eastern slopes.

(II) *Second group of caves*:—(1) *Lakshmi* or *Lakshman Bengrā* cave, (2) *Phulsundari* cave, (3) *Rishi Bengrā* cave and

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[1] The copyright of the plans and photographs published along with this article belongs to the Archaeological Survey of India.

(4) *Durbar cave:*—These four are cut on the southern slopes of the same hill and run from east to west in the order mentioned above.

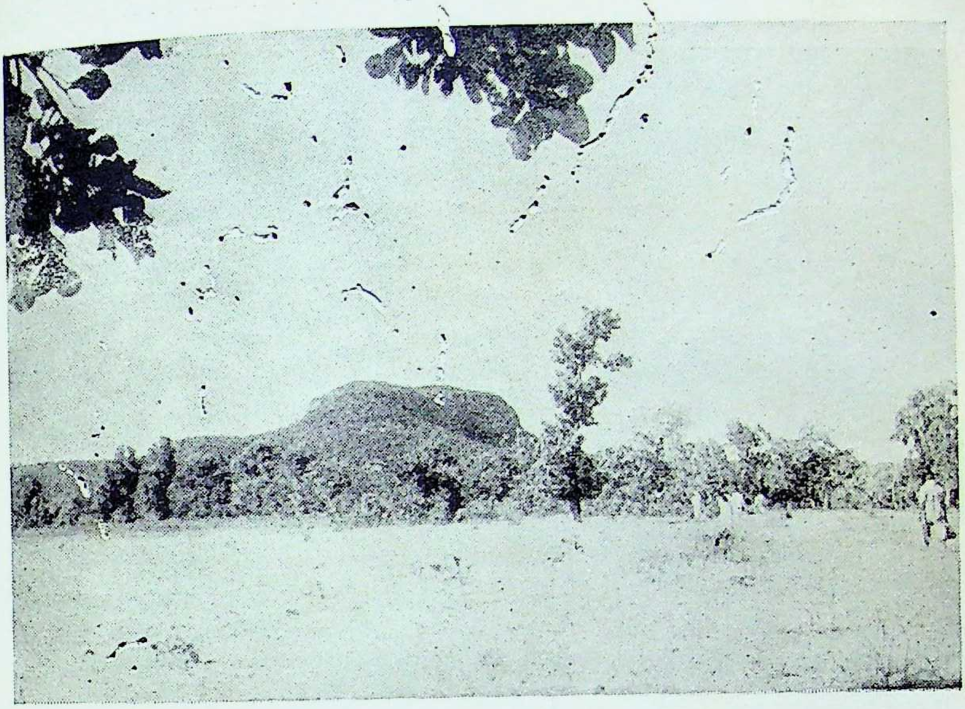
The approach to the second group of caves from the first group is through a winding passage which after circulating the eastern side of the hill leads to a huge, natural tunnel called *Hathipol* through which it is even possible for medium sized elephants to pass through. This tunnel under the hill is about 300′, in length, its entrance and the exit being visible from one end to the other. After passing out from this tunnel, through which flows a perennial stream, which in the rainy season is unfordable, and traversing some further distance, one reaches the southern slope of the hill where the second group of caves are cut.

(III) *Rāma temple on the Ramgadh hill:*—This lies on the flat top of the main Ramgadh hill and is approached from the top of the subsidiary hill by a long circuitous route all along the lower slopes of the hill until a flight of steep rock-cut steps is reached on the southern side of the hill. Some portions of this steep ascent have been provided with steps when the temple on the hill came to be constructed. The walking distance from the foot of the subsidiary hill to its top and thence to Ramgadh hill top would be about 4 miles.

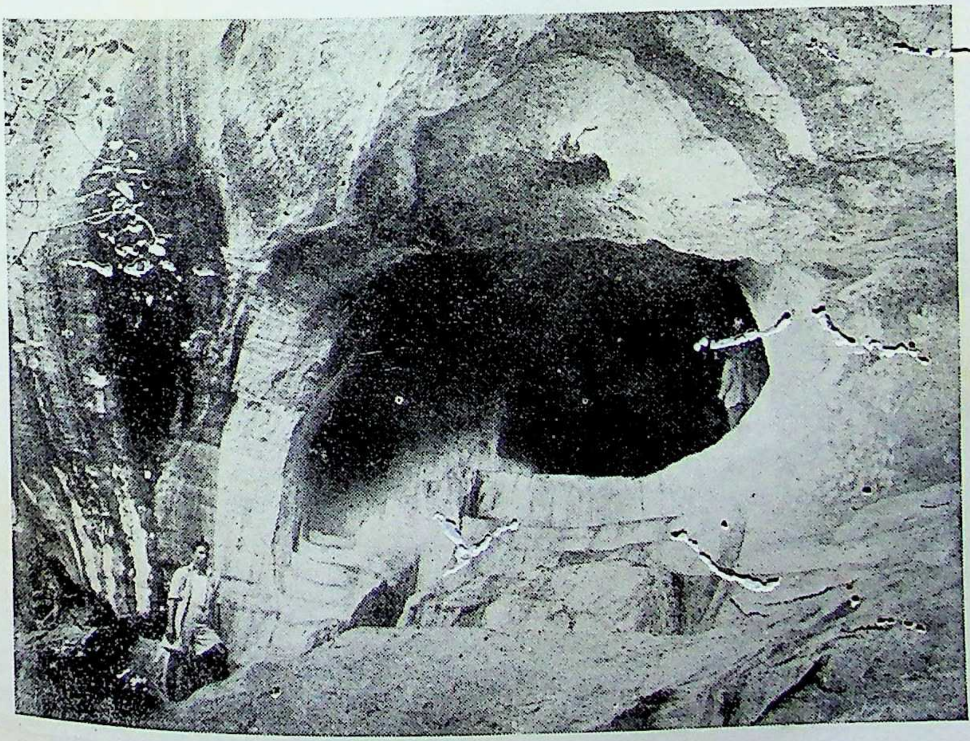
The detailed description of the monuments is as follows:—

I. *First group of caves*

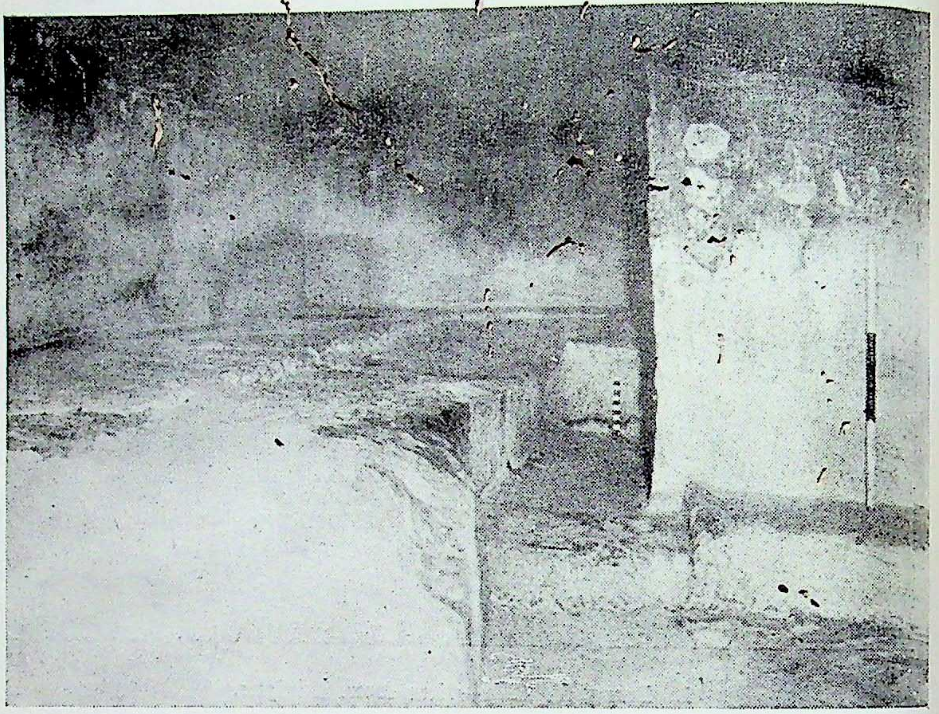
(1) *Sītā Bengrā cave:*—The *Sītā Bengrā* cave is by far one of the most outstanding examples of early cave architecture. What was a small natural cavern to which access was originally arranged through a flight of small rock-cut steps on its proper left was later scooped out into a huge cave-dwelling, the inner space being in the form of the capital 'E' viewed lengthwise (plan) with the difference that the central prong is crescent shaped (*plan*). To this scooped out cave a more convenient access by a flight of wide steps on its proper right has been provided later (photograph 2). The facing of the excavated cave is fashioned in the shape of a crescent, concave on its exterior, which measures 14′-6″ in length; over this a landing space has been provided in the form of a segment—the inner side of which measures 17′. On either side of



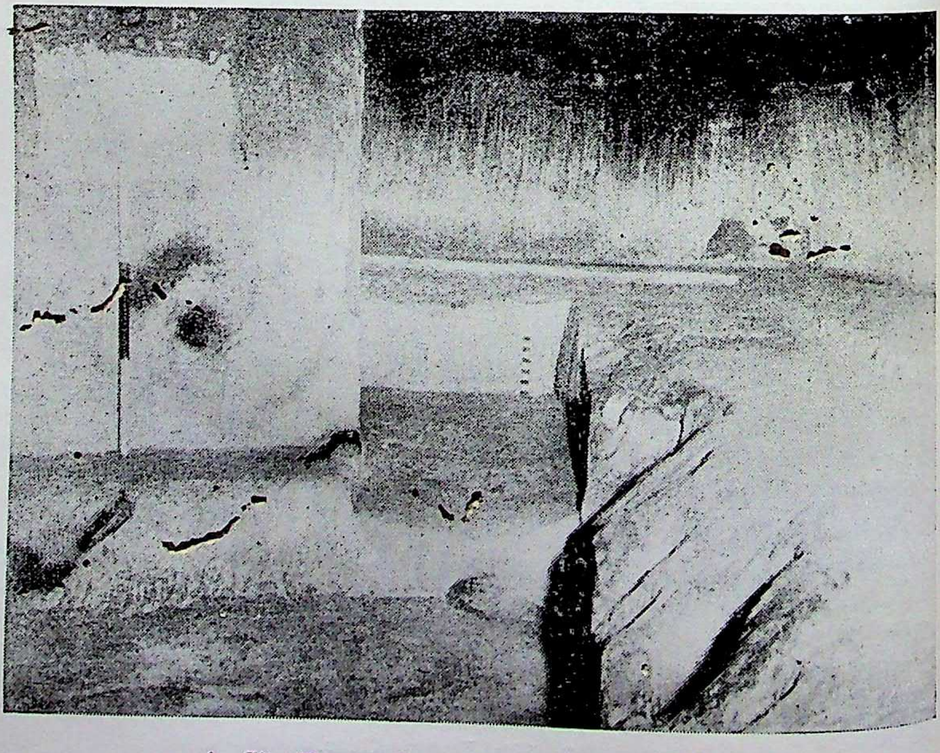
1. Ramgadh Hills—view from Udaipur.



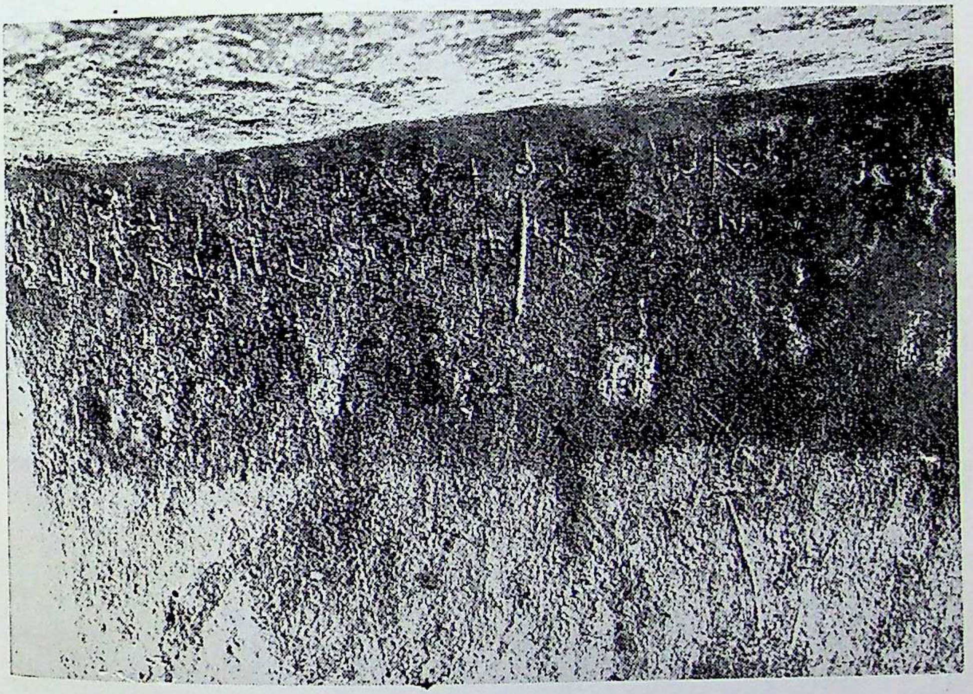
2. Sita Bengra Cave.



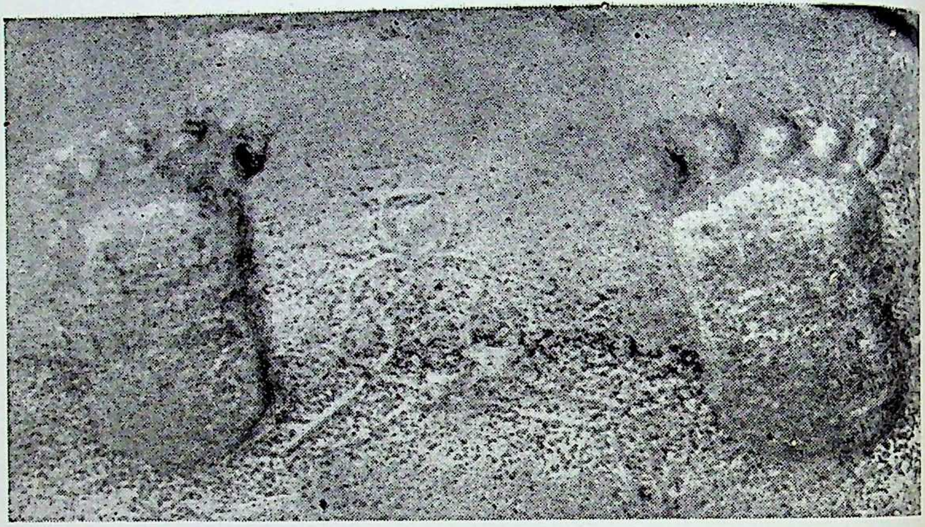
3. Sita Bengra Cave—Inner view—West side.



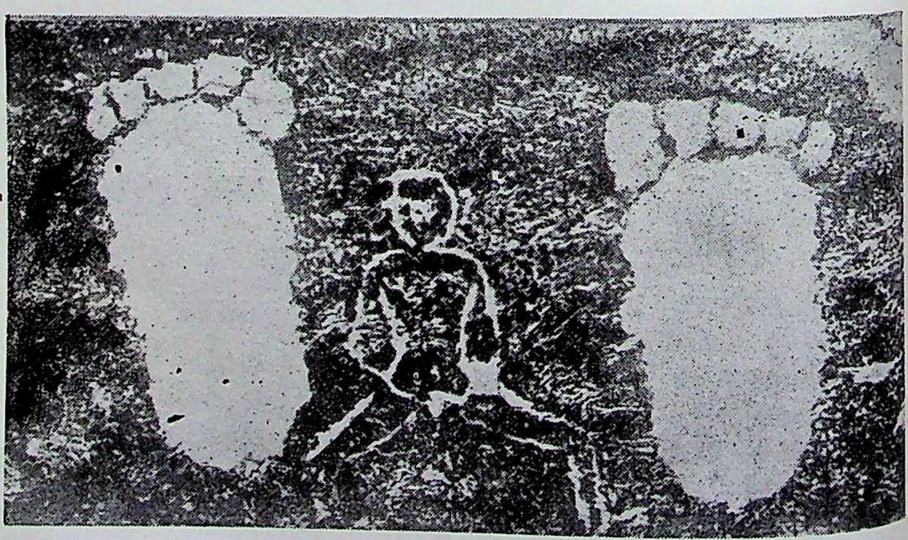
4. Sita Bengra Cave—Inner view—East side.



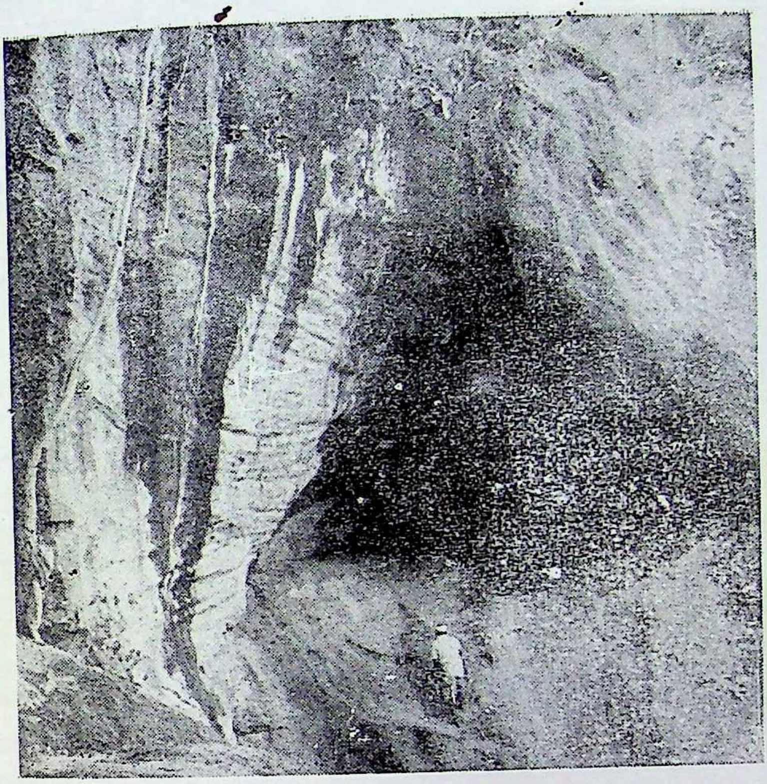
5. Sita Bengra Cave—Inscription on east side wall.



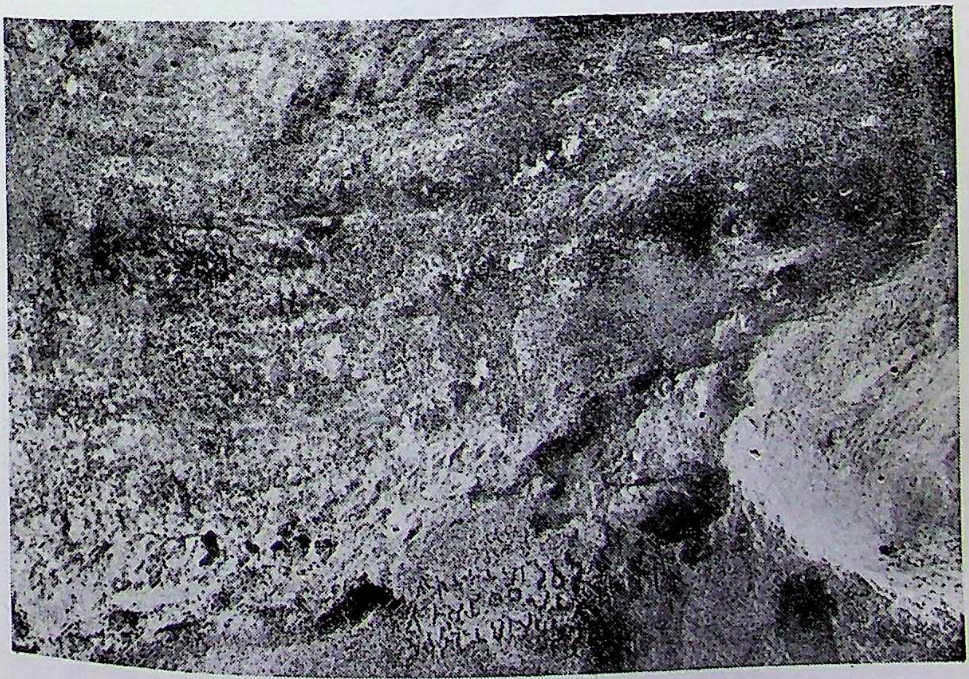
6. Sita Bengra Cave: Foot prints worshipped as those of Sri Ramachandra.



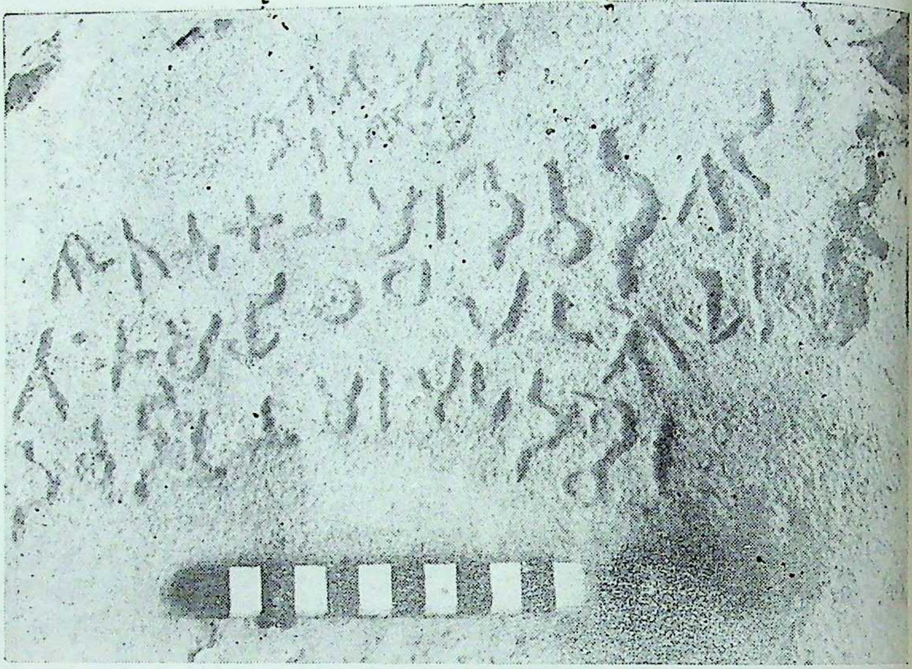
7. Sita Bengra Cave: Foot prints worshipped as those of Sri Ramachandra (from ink impression).



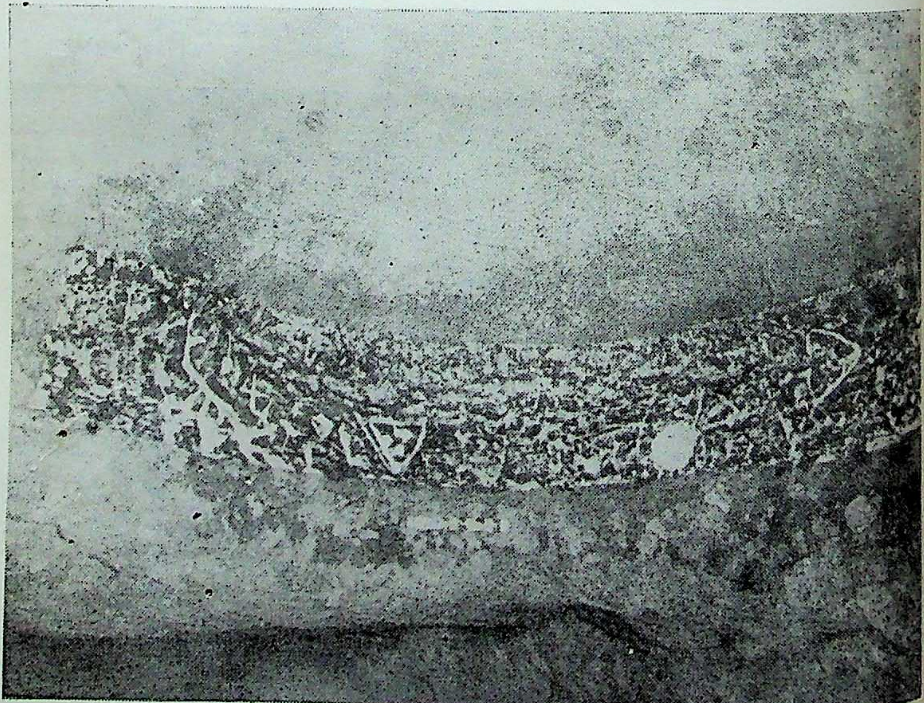
8. Jogimara Cave.



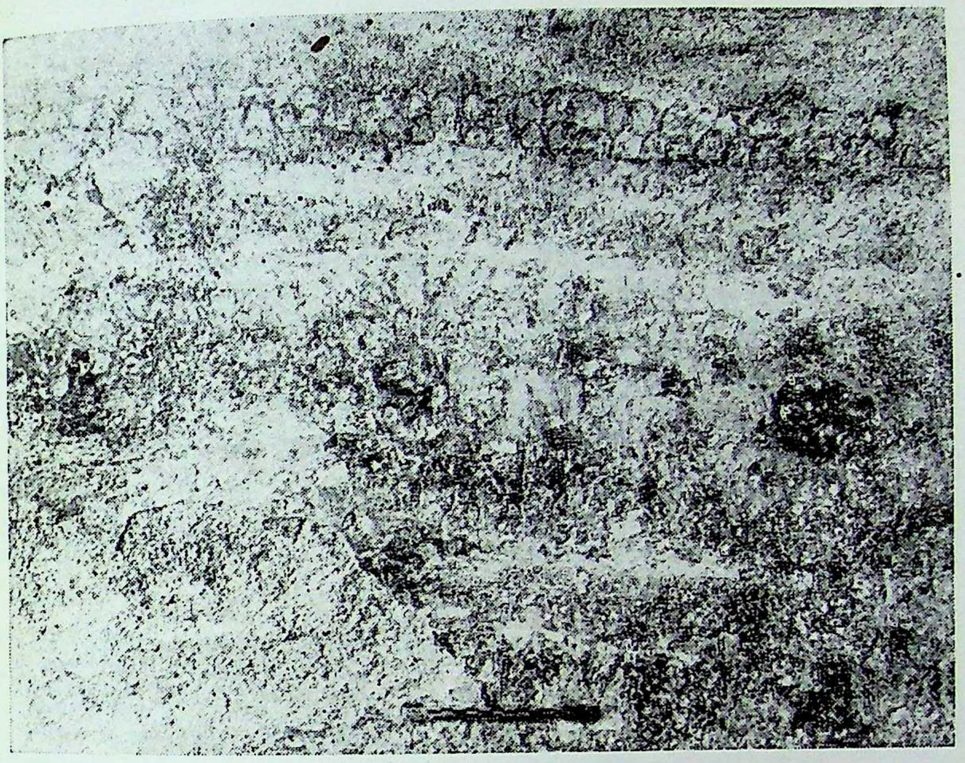
9. Jogimara Cave: Painting and inscription on ceiling.



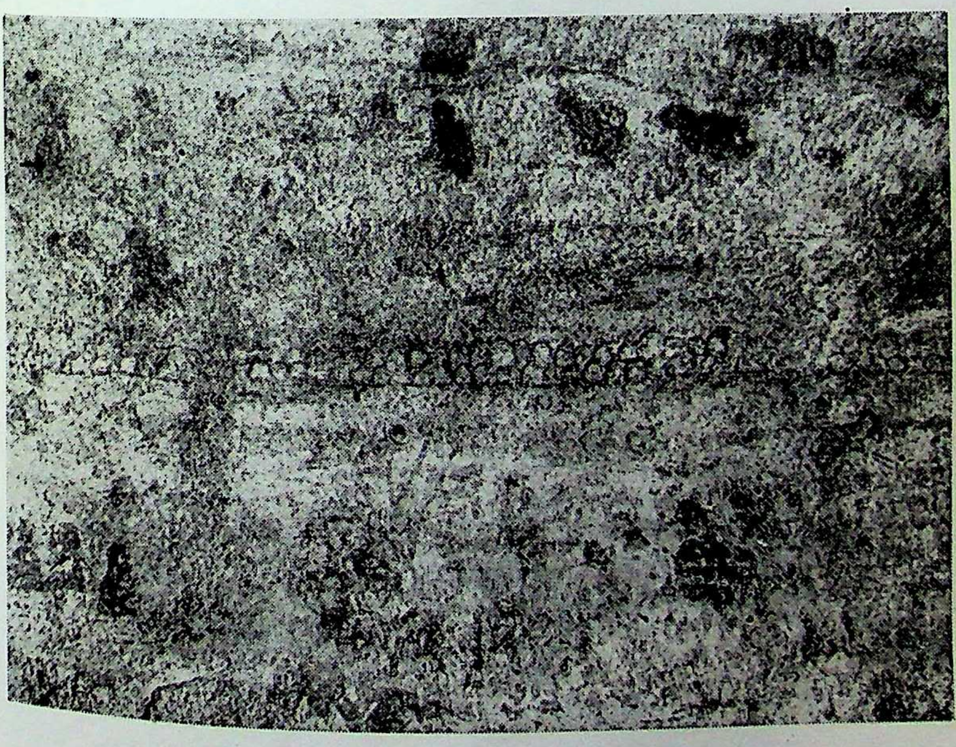
10. Jogimara Cave: Inscription I.



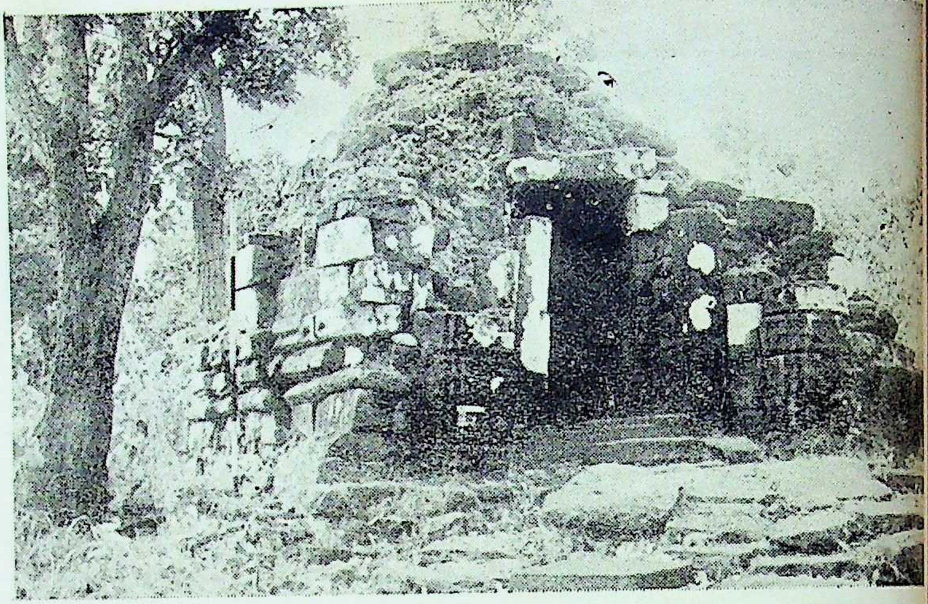
11. Jogimara Cave: Inscription II.



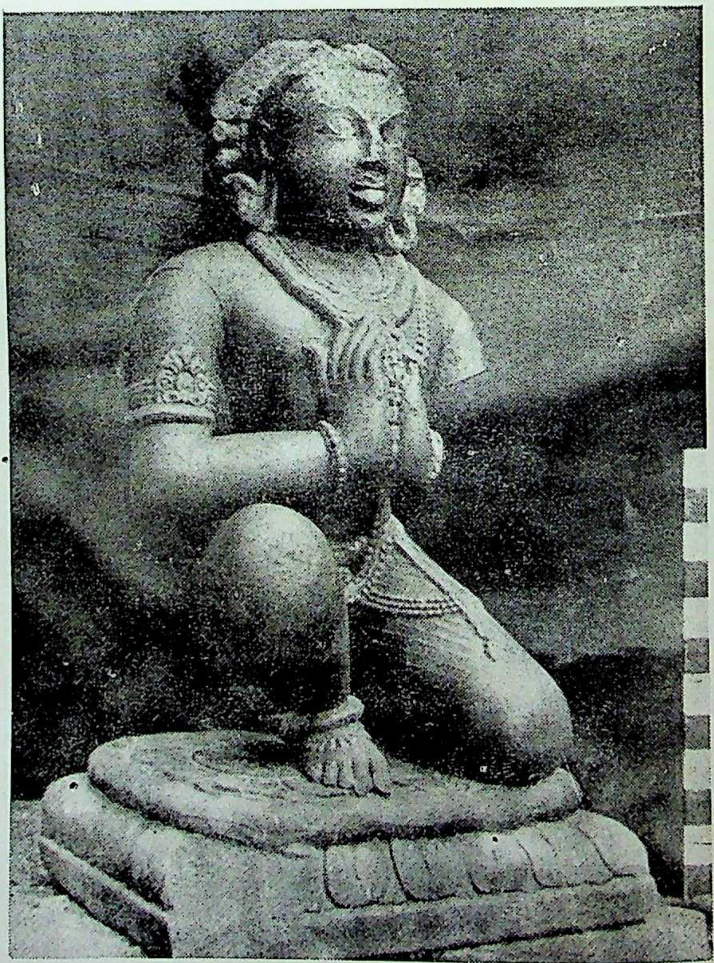
12. Jogimara Cave: Ceiling paintings.



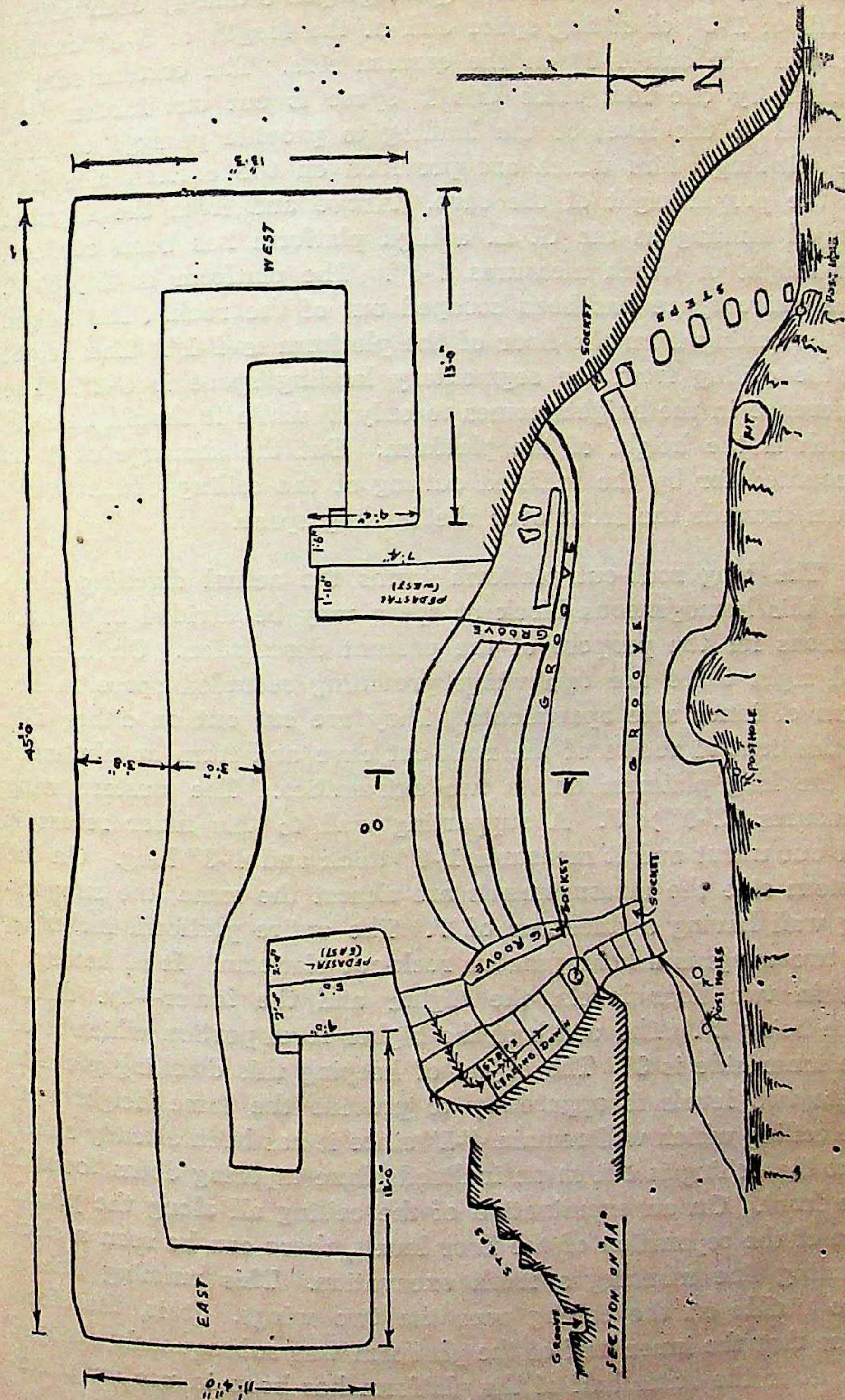
13. Jogimara Cave: Ceiling paintings.



14. Ramgadh Hill Top: Rama's temple.



15. Ramgadh Hill Top: Image of Deo Gun Guru.


N
WEST
EAST
45'-0"
13'-3"
13'-0"
11'-4"
3'-8"
3'-0"
1'-6"
1'-10"
7'-4"
PEDASTAL (WEST)
PEDASTAL (EAST)
GROOVE
GROOVE
GROOVE
GROOVE
SOCKET
SOCKET
SOCKET
STEPS
POST HOLE
POST HOLE
POST HOLES
PIT
STEPS LEADING DOWN
STEPS
GROOVE
SECTION ON "AA"

Plan of Sitā Bengrā cave.

J: 10

this segment seats are cut out (photographs 3 and 4) each with a width of 1′-9″ of sitting space and of the length of 5′-6″ on the western side and 4′-6″ on the eastern side. The eastern seat is smaller by one foot since this 1′ space is cut out further and reduced to the level of the landing to provide passage towards the winding stairs which are provided on the eastern side, i.e., on the proper right of the cave. Above and from the segment shaped landing as the G. L. a high platform has been cut out, the height of which measures 2′-3″. The platform is 45′×6′-9″. The entire space has been scooped out of the rock. The height of the ceiling from the floor of the platform is 4′-1″. The height of the ceiling from the segmentary landing space is 6′-2″. The difference in the heights comes to only 2′ while it should be 2′-3″ which is the height of the platform. But the shortage of 3″ is accounted for by the inclined cutting of the ceiling which tapers down towards the front over the landing space.

The long rock-cut platform forms the actual dwelling place and this homogeneous block of space may be divided into three sections for the purpose of the present description. On the left and right there are two wings providing secluded space in the form of inner side apartments. They are cut out on either side of the central recess of the rock-cut cave and form an abutment to the long platform on its two extremities. The western wing measures 12′-9″ × 7′. A supporting wall to this inner recess is left out uncut and it measures 1′-6″ thick and 4′-3″ long. On the eastern side the measurements are almost the same, the supporting wall having a thickness of 2′. The entire platform including its two wings is a homogeneous rock-cut platform. It is, however, cut in two floor levels, the higher and the lower—the difference being 2″. The width of the higher level portion which is on the inner side is 3′. The object of keeping this dwelling place in these two levels is apparently to provide the same height upto the ceiling which will remain 4′-1″ since it has been already stated that the ceiling is cut in an inclined plane tapering down towards the front. On an examination of the ceiling all along the plumb line of the separation of the floor levels, there can be seen a clear running line marking a fresh excavation. This running line is also visible on the ceiling over the two wings. It is, therefore, clear that the inner half of the platform was subsequently scooped out after the outer half of the platform has been in use for sometime. Thus it is evident that the apartments of the cave were excavated at two different periods, the later excavation adding to the space by 65′ × 3′-9″, i.e., by 240 sft. The earlier floor dimensions of the cave inclusive of the platform and the segmented crescent, would have been 37′-3″ × 10′ which comes to 372 sft. (minus) 15 sft., i.e., the space occupied by the wing walls. The spaciousness of the first cut dwelling was itself remarkable giving about 357 sft., of the floor space and with the addition of 240 sft. in the second cutting; the total floor space of this huge cave dwelling comes to 597 sft., i.e., nearly 600 sft. To provide such large space is no less a remarkable achievement than that of similar rock-cut dwellings elsewhere in the Deccan.

An inscription on the eastern wing wall which falls within the portion of the first cutting is engraved in characters of the 3-2nd cent. B.C. (photograph 5). Its text as published in the *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India,* 1903-04, pp. 123-131 (plate XLIII (a):

(1.1) ādīpayaṁti hadayaṁ/ sabhāva-garu kavayo e rātayaṁ..
(1.2) dule vasaṁtiyā/ hāsāvānubhūte/ kudasphataṁ ēvaṁ alaṁ.[2]

It would, therefore, lead to the conclusion that at least the earlier cutting of the cave ante-dates this inscription. But it is not improbable that the inscription might have been incised in this wing-wall even after the second extension of the cave was executed. If so, the extension may even be earlier than the date of the inscription. Hence the earliest date to which the cave is to be assigned would be about the 2nd century B.C.

A few more features of this cave are note-worthy. The form in which the steps have been scooped out, which is like a modern spiral stair-case, leading to the crescent shaped landing, is interesting both for its achievement and for the fine architectural understanding that it embodies for such a provision has been made to compromise the limited space available to the height required, for leading one from the bottom to the floor of the cave. The front of the cave has some peculiar cuttings which, on a closer examination, show that they were intended to serve as grooves for inserting wooden planks or the like to provide protection and privacy. There are two such long grooves, one, an outer and the other an inner, divided by a space of about 4′-6″ in between. The width of the two grooves is the same, about 1′, but the depth of the outer groove is 1′-9″ and that of the inner groove is 2′-8″. Post holes are found at the ends of those rock-cut grooves and they have their counter-parts on the ceiling of the cave. They clearly show that posts were put in position from the roof to the bottom like pillars in order to abut and hold in position the wooden planks for protection or the screens for privacy. An interesting feature which should be noted is the provision of another post hole in one of the lower steps of the cave which is in a clear line of alignment with the inner horizontal groove. So it would appear that the passage along these steps was provided with an entrance door (wooden) between the post hole on the step and the post hole at the bottom of the inner groove. This post hole at the bottom of the inner groove is in exact plump drop from a socket in the ceiling and so cut in a convenient fashion as to keep the post in position at its top and at its bottom. The possibility that the grooves at the bottom might have served also as drains is not ruled out since the outer groove is connected with the inner groove by rock-cut grooves on both sides cut perpendicular to the horizontal grooves mentioned above. These grooves while serving as drains also served as grooves for wooden barricades kept side ways abutting the front ones. But it should be noted that the outer groove is not connected with any out-let by which the drain water could have been let out.. Evidently water would collect at the outer drain and would have been probably baled out. The cross cut grooves on both the sides render the arrangements as one for drainage purpose to lead out the spill water from the roof during rainy season and the spoil water from the dwelling space. But the absence of a final out-let from these drains seems to be inexplicable if the primary object of these grooves and wide cuttings was to provide drains instead of grooves and sockets for barricades.

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[2] Each letter of the inscription has since been chiselled off by a vagrant Bavaji whose act of vandalism can only be attributed to his chagrin at his inability to decipher it. Hence the text of the inscription given above and the photograph published alongside are our only reliable sources for verification of the above text.

It had been surmised that the crescent shaped entrance and landing of the cave renders its function as that of a theatre and amphi-theatre for dance and drama. But the landing space and the dwelling space in the cave, which have a head-way of only 6′ on the crescent portion and 4′ in the inner portion respectively can hardly serve as a dancing theatre where free movement of limbs is to be ensured. The ceiling being so low and the moving space on the crescent shaped landing being so little there is hardly any possibilty that this cave dwelling could have served as a theatre and much less as an amphi-theatre. It is surprising how this aspect of the dimensions of the cave were lost sight of when its similariity with a theatre was being considered. However, there is no doubt that the cave architecture of this dwelling is remarkable in that an original crescent shaped cavern has been adapted artistically to the requirements of a spacious cave dwelling.

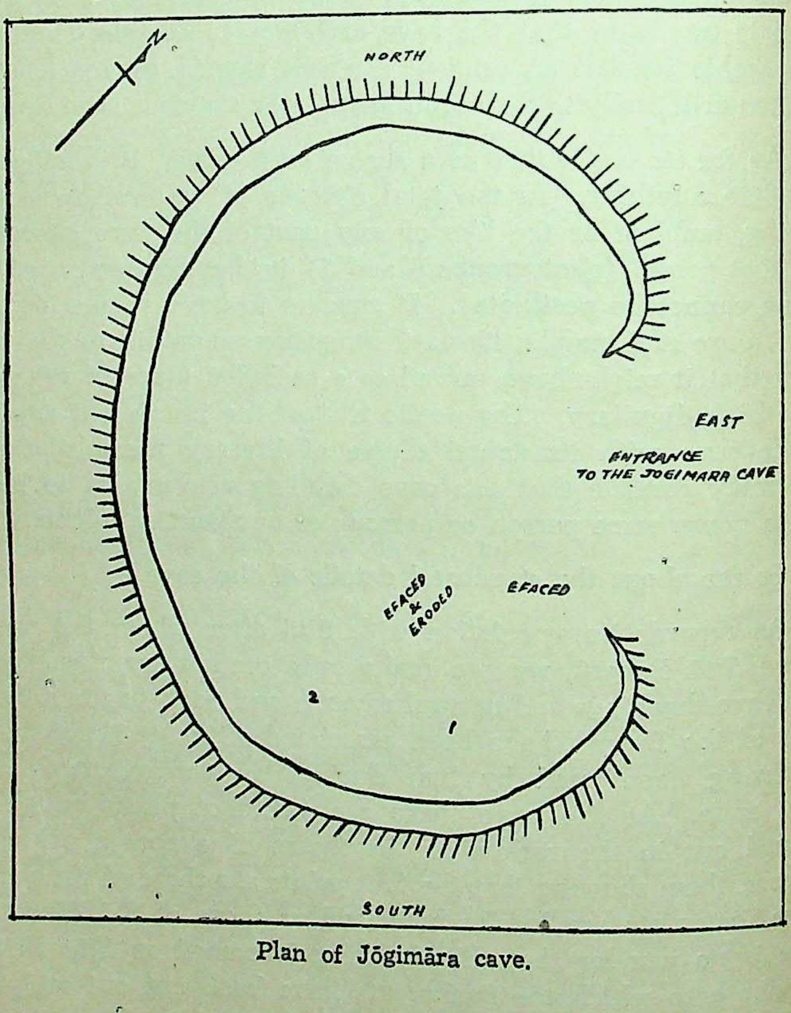
As for its use, either as a shrine or a *matha,* it is difficult to postulate anything. In the total absence of any religious motif, carving, emblem or the like or any part of the cave except the two foot prints (photographs 6 and 7) its having been used as a shrine cannot be postulated. It appears to have been a dwelling place, pure and simple, its vast dimensions pointing to the possibility that it might have served as a secluded place of refuge for some high dignitary. The poetic text of the inscription engraved in the cave with its actual theme of literary poesy renders it extremely possible that this cave dwelling was caused to be cut out to house some person or persons of outstanding talents.

So far about the structural details of the cave.

As regards its association with Sītā after whom the cave is named *Sītā Bengrā,* we can make only certain surmises. Many such cave dwellings and natural caverns and pools in the hills and dales of the Deccan have been associated with Śrī Rāmachandra as having been used by him during his peregrinations as a royal exile. At this cave there are two foot prints which are scooped out in the rock with the figure of a person carved in between them showing that the foot prints are those of the person. These footprints are locally honoured as those of Śrī Rāma and there is no wonder that this dwelling is named as *Sītā Bengrī.* The depth to which the foot prints have been cut out and their natural appearance resembling a man's foot prints either on sand or in clay, give a remarkable artistic effect as well as reality as though even on the rock Śrī Rāma's foot prints have made an impression.[3] In the adjacent *Jōgimāra* cave there are painted what may appear to be certain Rāmāyaṇa scenes. The date to which these paintings could be assigned can be surmised as belonging to about 2nd or 1st century B.C. However, this dating is conjectural as it is based on the assumption that the 2nd century B.C. inscriptions on the painted surface ante-date or are coevel with the painting.

2. *Jōgimāra cave*

The *Jōgimāra* cave lies adjacent to the *Śītā Beṅgrā* cave to



Plan of Jōgimāra cave.

[3] It is extremely interesting to observe that the earliest representations of the feet of Lord Buddha in Sanchi and other places are similar, *viz.*, depressed foot prints, i.e., *pādukas* and not embossed or raised *pādas* which become the mode of representing the feet of the Divine in later times.

its west. It faces north-east and is, in formation, like that of a bean (*Plan*). It is essentially a natural cavern (photographs 8 and 9) with the inner expanse receding to about 25 ft. towards the innermost recess. The outer perimeter of the cave and the total height of the steps is 16′ upto the floor level. The height from the floor level of the cave to the centre of the roof is 9′ and the ceiling of the cave at its middle portion is in the form of an umbrella. The entire space of the ceiling which as stated above is in the form of an umbrella and so circular, is 8 ft. in diameter, thus forming a sort of an inverted cup or cupola. Its entire space in the ceiling is painted. The cavern shows the touch of man in the following features:—

(1) The steps are scooped out on the rock-gradient from the bottom upto the flat landing space of the cavern. They are roughly hewn out and do not show any artistic skill but are just sufficient to keep one foot thereon. In the flat space of the cave three stone seats are cut out from the rock. Except these there is hardly anything else to show the touch of man in the fashioning of the cave to human requirements. But that the cave had been in occupation is brought out by the inscription in characters of about the 2nd century B.C., which is engraved on the north-west facing of the cave (photograph 10). The space covered by the inscription is dressed to make it suitable for the engraving of the inscription. The text of the inscription as already made out runs as follows:—

(1) Śutanuka ṇāma
(2) dēvadāśikyi
(3) Śutanuka namadēvadāśikyi
(4) taṁ kamayitha baluna śeye |
(5) devadine nāma | lupadakhe |

It is not unlikely that the occupation of the cave might have taken place even much earlier since there are a few more inscribed letters in another portion of the ceiling of the cave (photograph 11). The letters are deeply carved and some of these letters are individually traceable here and there and no connected line of the inscription can be made out. The letters *pu*, *ka* and *ku* are clear. Some more scribblings do not make any sense. Two or three big triangles (which if considered as letters would stand for ē) are also carved deeply near these letters. The script of the few letters mentioned are referable palaeographically to the period of Aśōka. The triangles, in particular, are found in other rock-cut caves where Aśōkan inscriptions have been found. In view of this the human habitation in the cave might have started at least from about the times of Aśōka.

Apart from these inscriptions the roof of the cave is painted in several panels with different themes (photographs 12 and 13). The painted surface is in the form of an umbrella or cupola the diameter of which measures 8′. The rock surface on which the painting has been executed appears to have been smoothened out and made suitable for receiving the painting which appears to have been executed directly on the rock surface and not on any primary carrier. Various scenes are painted. The periphery of the umbrella is adorned with *torana* motifs. The colours employed are white (back ground painting) black (in lines and streaks) yellow and red-ochre colours (in thick paints). Before specifying the probable themes underlying the painted scenes, I may draw attention to the flora and fauna features, *viz.,* moving elephants led by some persons; lotus flower decorations and *torana* motifs; a big solitary tree surrounded by seated as well as standing persons (the tree resembling the peepal tree). There are three such representations of the tree under which is seated a person surrounded by men in different attitudes.

The portions of the painting which form the fringe of the umbrella pattern show aquatic animals like fish and crocodile. Among the fish some peculiar species are found, *viz.,* one with wings and with face like that of a bull. The scales of the fish are clearly indicated on its body. The crocodile is in the usual form. The crocodile and the bull-faced fish face each other in one section. In another section a horned fish having wings is in the act of devouring a small fish. The face of another fish is like that of a cat-fish having ears and a snout with hanging whiskers. Near the horned fish and facing it, is a parrot. In another portion of the fringe decoration there is a representation of a peacock with opened beak in the act of pecking something on the ground. The prominent figure represented in these paintings is a person with his hair on the head knotted like that of an ascetic and in particular there is a scene where the top-knotted person is seated under a tree and is surrounded by one or two similar figures with top knots. There is another scene where this top-knotted seated figure is being approached and perhaps beckoned by four persons in an attitude showing reverence to the seated person. There are two such scenes in which the seated person is approached in one case by three persons and in another by four persons. The detailed description panelwise is given below:

Above the fringes and in the inner portions of the painted umbrella pattern the undermentioned panelled scenes are recognizable as one faces them looking in the following cardinal directions:—*Looking south*: (1) Looking south and facing the paintings, the scenes are as follows:—

Lower row:—

Panel 1:—In the centre, the lower portion of which is damaged and defaced owing to the peeling of the rock at this place, is a tree and facing this, and at a distance, are a number of seated persons. In the same panel is again a representation of a tree, the leaves of which look very much like those of a peepal tree, and persons seated under it. The veins of the leaves are also clearly visible. Under the tree are seated two persons with top-knotted hair and in close contact and in front of them is a standing figure. To the proper left of the duet are again seated two persons, all in an attitude of discussion. The standing person is in the attitude of speaking something to the duet. It appears that one of the duet is a male person and the figure on his proper right is perhaps that of a lady as it is slightly attenuated as compared with the other.

Panel 2:—To the right of the above panel and separated from it by a vertical band is another panel showing a tree under which a huge person is standing. He is facing two standing persons again forming a duet of which the front one is a little taller and bigger and is followed by a frail person, evidently a lady.

Panel 3:—Below panel 2 is another scene in which a royal personage with a person holding an umbrella over him is approaching a tree under which is seated a person (evidently a lady) facing the coming person in an attitude of fear. This panel includes an elephant on either side.

The common figure in the first two panels is a seated person or a standing person with hair top-knotted and body represented without any folds of dress but completely plain as though without dress or covered completely by one upper garment giving an opaque appearance: On first glance it resembles a seated or a standing Buddha. But the attenuated person similarly top-knotted seated closely by his side or standing near him would render that the main person may not be the Buddha but some other ascetic. In the panels which I shall be describing further there is room for supposition that some of the themes recall the incidents in the Rāmāyaṇa connected with Śrī Rāma's life as an exile. In panel 3, as described above, the seated person whose hair is not top-knotted cannot be thought of as the Buddha. However, since the painting has undergone damage and if it is on that account assumed that it may be the Buddha, the person coming in front of him and the two elephants on either side of the seated person may probably represent the attack of Māra and his elephants on the Buddha. Alternately, if the seated person under the tree is considered as Sītā, the coming person above whose head somebody else is holding a parasol is likely to be Rāvaṇa approaching Sītā in the Aśōkavana. The elephants here must be considered as indicating the forest scene.

These three lower panels are separated from a series of panels above it by a band of *torana* painting.

The upper row of panels are the following from left to right (looking south):—

Upper row:—The first panel is much defaced and an elephant and some persons running towards the elephant are seen. Above these persons there is another panel showing a number of persons standing. No particular unity is discernible in this panel. A little above is another panel showing an elephant which is being handled by a person. Another panel shows a tree, but the import is not clear.

Looking west: *Lower row*:—

From left to right (of the on-looker):

The panels are as follows:—

Panel 1:—Two persons whose proportions are huge face each other. Though the body is human, the head appears to be that of a monkey; evidently these two may be two *vanaras* facing each other. The tails are not visible but in the adjacent panel a tailed monkey is clearly visible. Above these two persons is represented an elephant in miniature facing a monkey-faced person, who extends his hand in a sort of protecting attitude over the head of the elephant. Another person too is having an elephant in miniature before him. To the right of this panel is represented a monkey-faced person with a tail and his hand outstretched looking upto another at the top. Similar figures, evidently monkey-faced persons, are found in the group in different attitude. At the farther background of this group of monkeys are shown four seated figures of whom two face the other two. Of the two persons on the right the one on the right extreme is bigger and the other smaller. The two persons on the left are looking alike. The two persons on the right have their hair on their head knotted at the top while the two persons on the left seem to be having some sort of head-wear and seated like monkeys with crouched backs. The entire scene appears to have the background of the *Vali-Sugriva* episode. The two persons with hair top-knotted are evidently Rāma and Lakshman and the crouched persons, Sugrīva and Hanumān.

Panel 2: The lower section shows a person seated on a seat with another standing at his back with folded hands in an attitude of reverence. Before the seated person another figure is seen standing but slightly bowed down and with hands folded and addressing the seated person. He is fully dressed and is also having the head-dress and holding a bow. Evidently the group represents Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Bharata. Close to this group of figures there is an elephant seated on its haunches. Above this is shown an elephant standing in front of a cottage or hut which has a vaulted roof and horse-shoe (*chaitya*) facing in front. On the top of this hut (*kuṭīra* or *parṇaśālā*) are 5 flag staffs in a row to form a sort of decoration. To the right of this elephant are again painted two more huts with vaulted roofs and horse-shoe (*chaitya*) facing. Above, there is a panel which shows about 4 persons in a moving attitude. These same 4 persons are again shown in a row approaching a seated figure in the background and with their hands out-stretched as though in the attitude of enquiring or seeking service from the person seated. The seated person has his hair on the head knotted at the top. Evidently the scene may represent the approach made to Rāma by Bharata and others asking him to return to the kingdom. The top of this panel is painted with another scene in which there are moving elephants of which one is in front of an empty chariot; on the top of it is royal parasol. In the same scene is shown another royal elephant fully caparisoned on which there is a seated figure holding a fly whisk. One is tempted to infer that it was on this royal elephant that the *pādukas* of Śrī Rāma were being taken and the seated person is evidently Bharata holding the fly whisk for the *pādukas*. Above this there is another scene in which a seated lady is approached by three other persons in an attitude showing reverence. Nearby are shown some groups of persons of whom one is represented thickly bearded with heavy hair on the head, evidently a Rishi. Evidently the entire panel represents events connected with Bharata's approach to Rāma with the request to return to the kingdom, and the former's returning with the *pādukas* and with the empty royal chariot.

As described above panels 1 and 2 give the first impression that the themes represented are those connected with the *Vāli-Sugrīva* episode and the approach of Bharata to Śrī Rāma which is earlier to the *Vāli-Sugrīva* episode. Alternately, if the main person in these panels is supposed to be the Buddha the approach of the royally bedecked person to the seated figure may indicate the scene relating to the visit of either King Pasēnadi or Ajātasatru to the Buddha. The empty chariot near the elephant might be that of the King. However, the scene in the same panel showing a person seated on a royally caparisoned elephant holding a fly whisk without anybody else on the elephant cannot be explained in this context but can be explained in the context of the Rāmāyaṇa as stated above. The other panel representing monkey-faced persons presents a problem if the scene is viewed in the context of incidents connected with the life of Buddha. The tall standing person with the elephant in miniature before him, gives the impression that it might be the scene in which the Buddha tames the Nalagiri sent by Devadatta. But close to this figure there are two definitely monkey-faced individuals facing each other and another is having a tail also which cannot be brushed aside lightly unless however it is supposed that what is seen as a tail might be a string attached to his garment. But the total effect of this panel is certainly of a scene in which the monkey-faced persons are dominating. Further, another scene in the same panel which shows two persons, both top-knotted, seated on one side and two other persons with crouched backs and head-dress facing them, certainly would indicate Rāma and Lakshmaṇa on one side and Sugrīva and Hanumān on the other side. In the story of the Buddha I am not able to visualise any scene in which two top-knotted persons are so closely seated. Considering all this, I am inclined to think that these scenes are connected with Rāma's exile.

Facing north:—The lower panel shows a tree under which is seated a big person who is approached by four persons on either side. To the right of the same scene a person is holding a wheel. The holding of the wheel reminds one of the Buddhist *Jātaka* story of *Māndhāta-Jātaka*, but its appropriateness here in this context of other panels which indicate the Rāmāyaṇa themes is doubtful. In another group to its right five persons are seen holding an elephant. The theme of this panel is not clear. On this painting is found scratched an inscription which reads as follows:

sa dha na va si

Since the painting has not entered into the scratchings of this inscription, it may be inferred that the inscription has been scratched on the painting by which it is indicated that the painting may ante-date the inscription. The characters of the inscription are referable to the same period as that of the inscription mentioning Śutanuka in the same cave, i.e., to the 2nd century B.C. There are a few more letters in the same line further on, into the depressions of which the paint has entered. These characters are in the same script and they are not quite legible.

The letters *ti ...... va . sa sa* are visible.

Hence one cannot conclude whether the inscription or the painting is anterior. But it should be remarked that the chariot, hut or *kuṭira* with horse-shoe facing (*chaitya* type) and parasol closely resemble in style the same common objects which are sculptured or carved in the Sāñchi and Bharhut *toranas*, etc., of the Suṅga period (2nd-1st cent. B.C.).

Above this panel a row of 5 huge persons moving in front of a vehicle (?) is seen. Behind this vehicle is represented a wheel. Above this panel there is a group which shows two persons standing under a tree and facing 4 persons of whom the last is a bearded figure with a circular head-dress. Above this again there is another group of two persons facing each other near whom there stands an elephant.

The theme of these panels is not clear. Persons standing in rows, chariots (?) and elephants moving, wheel handled by a person as if in the act of throwing may all indicate some battle scene.

Looking east:—The painting on this panel is very much blurred. A row of flowers is represented in this panel. The flowers are half opened cut lotuses which form a circle, evidently forming a garland. In the centre of the garland is seen a *liṅga* and the garland is intended to adorn the *liṅga*. In front of this there are two figures with human bodies and one of them is horse- (or goat-) faced and the other bull- or cow-faced (Aśvamukha (or Ajamukha) and Gōmukha). Below these two persons are painted some animals which are recognizable as running dogs.

This panel would also place all the themes in the other panels described in the foregoing account in the context of the Rāmāyaṇa and not of the life of Buddha.

These observations as to the date of the paintings and their themes were made by me at the spot before I looked into the accounts of the same as already published in the *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report,* 1903-04, pp. 123-131, by T. Bloch and in the *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle,* 1913-14, pp. 43-44 by J. F. Blakiston. As my observations have been made at the spot and uninfluenced by previous opinions I am retaining them as above. I am, however, appending below the extracts from the accounts given in the aforesaid reports.

That of T. Bloch runs as:—

> "What these paintings represent cannot now be made out, and even if Sutanuka, a Devadasi, was the heroine of a love story depicted in them, we get no further clue. So much, however, may be considered as certain, that the paintings, like the inscription, belong to the 3rd century B.C. and that they are the oldest specimens of wall-paintings that have as yet been found in India. For this reason I should have wished to publish with this article some facsimile of them, but I was unable to get good photographs taken—a task probably altogether impossible owing to the position of the roof and the worn state of the frescoes—and as I had not provided myself with tracing paper, I must postpone their

publication to a future opportunity, when I am able to arrange for another visit to the hill.

The paintings have already been noticed very briefly by Mr. Beglar on page 40, Vol. XIII of Gen. Cunningham's reports. They are generally very crude and exhibit no great skill of the painter's brush. Dampness has affected them to a great extent, and large portions of the fresco have entirely disappeared, while others become visible only when the surface of the rock has been moistened. But however imperfect they may be as works of art, there can be no doubt that they are really old paintings. We find in several places the ancient *caitya*-window, and a two-wheeled carriage drawn by three horses and surmounted by an umbrella is just like similar ones in the carvings of Sanchi and Bharhut. The background of the fresco is painted white all over. Upon this the figures of men and animals and the scenery likewise are painted generally with a crimson red, the outlines sometimes being marked with black, the hair generally being tied into a knot on the left side of the head. Drapery is shown in red outlines upon the white background. Elephants, horses, birds, and trees are painted with the same red colour as human figures. The fresco is divided into a series of concentric circles by bands of red and yellow, sometimes with a geometrical design. In order to give some idea of the contents of the paintings, I append a short description of the four best preserved panels, based upon my notes taken during my visit to the cave.

A. In centre male figure, seated under a tree, to left dancing girls and musicians, to right processions with an elephant.

B. A number of male figures, a wheel and geometrical ornaments.

C. Half of this panel is more or less indistinct and shows merely traces of flowers, houses and human figures wearing clothes. Then follows a tree with a bird and a human figure, probably a child, in its branches. Around this are a number of other human figures standing, similar to that upon the tree, all undressed, the hair tied into a knot on the left side of the head.

D. A male figure seated cross-legged, evidently naked, with three attendants standing and wearing clothes. To the

> side of this group, two similar seated figures with three attendants. Below, a house with a *caitya*-window, and an elephant and three male figures wearing clothes standing in front. Near this group is seen a chariot drawn by three horses and surmounted by an umbrella; also another elephant with an attendant. A similar series of seated male figures, a house with a *caitya*-window and an elephant is repeated in the second half of this panel."

The report of Blakiston is as follows:—

> "Acting on instructions from the Director-General of Archaeology in India I went to Ramgarh in February to superintend the copying of the fresco painting in the *Jogimara cave*. I was fortunate in securing the services of Babus Sumarendra Nath Gupta and Asit Kumar Haldar, both of whom are late students of the Calcutta School of Art and had experience before in fresco copying, having assisted Mrs. Herringham to copy frescoes in the *Ajanta Caves*. The *Jogimara Cave* is a natural cave facing north-east and is about 12 feet above the ground level. The ceiling, on which the fresco is painted, is roughly the shape of an elongated dome, which in the centre is about seven feet above the floor. The painted surface measures roughly 8′-7″ long by 7′-3″ wide. In few places now can anything like a complete picture be obtained owing to the peeling off of the stone and to the fresco having become obliterated through dampness. The background of the painting is white and only three colours—a dirty crimson, gray black and gamboge—have been used in the execution of the fresco. The fresco is divided into various panels by bands of crimson or gamboge. crimson is the colour used for human figures, elephants, horses, houses and trees; fish and *makaras* are in gray outline. No light or shade has been introduced into any of the figures or animals, etc.
>
> 55. I forwarded the copy to Dr. Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology in India, and he writes as follows concerning it '.... They (the frescoes) are, as you say very disappointing but not, perhaps, quite so disappointing as you appear to think. It is obvious that Dr. Bloch was quite wrong in regarding the work as of one period and that period the 3rd century B.C. The fresco, as it stands, has been executed by two different hands—the first about the first century B.C.,

the second many hundreds of years later. The original fresco must have been a work of some merit, but very little of it remains, the best figures being those of *makaras* and other monsters in the bands between the two panels, though these as well as the other original figures have been largely spoilt by the colour afterwards daubed over them. Apparently the fresco must have suffered a great deal and lost most of its colour before it was restored and repainted. To the later restoration belong not only the colours, which are now visible in the panels, but the bands of red yellow which divide and subdivide the panels and the numerous crude and primitive looking figures scattered about indiscriminately over the surface of the fresco. I am astonished that Dr. Bloch should have failed to perceive the great gulf which exists between the paintings of the two periods. The first fresco was the work of a relatively skilful artist; the restoration was the work of some one who knew nothing of painting ....'.

56. There is little to add to Dr. Bloch's report on the ancient remains on the Ramgarh Hill, other accounts may also be found in A statistical account of Bengal, Volume XVII, page 236, W. W. Hunter, Chattisgarh Feudatory States Gazetteer, page 230, Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, for the year ending with April 1904, page 12, and Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Volume XIII, page 31, Cunningham. Photographs and measured drawings of the *Jogimara* and *Sitabengra* caves have been made and impressions of the inscriptions in these two caves have also been taken. Plans have also been made of the four small caves situated on the southern side of the same ridge as the above caves, which are on the northern side. The natural tunnel known as the *Hathipol* has cut its way through this ridge from north to south. The four small caves are collectively known as the *Lakshman Bengra;* they display no artistic merit and are purely utilitarian having been probably used as dwellings. There is some little difficulty in reaching them now. In the outset the caves were most probably natural but have been chiselled out later into more commodious shapes. There are numbers of natural caves in the vicinity, which do not display the hand of man, and I searched in vain for other signs of civilization, which have not already been recorded.

57. *The Ramgarh Temple*, on the summit of the hill is now in a ruinous condition and past repair; in date I should put it at the 13th or 14th century. A number of *sati* stones are in the vicinity. The half ruined gateway is of later construction than the temple and older material has been requisitioned for its building. The arch form has been introduced here, and I would ascribe the date of its construction to the Gond era or about the beginning of the 16th century."

II. *Second group of caves*

This group comprises of four caves running east-west direction on the southern slopes of the subsidiary hill.

Of these, the *Lakshmi* or *Lakshman Bengrā* is an entirely scooped out cave dwelling and appears to have been utilised as a secluded retreat. Access to this is rather difficult and is provided through two or three improvised depressions in the front lower portion of the rock on the top of which this cave is scooped out. This cave is single chambered with the height of the ceiling being about 4′.

Similarly, the caves adjacent to it, *viz., Rishi Bengra, Durbar* cave and the *Phulsundary* cave are also natural caverns, but inside them stone beds and seats have been cut out of the rock. There is nothing noteworthy in the cave architecture inside these three caves.

Rama Temple on Ramgadh Hill

The approach to the temple from the upper reaches of the hill is through a flight of steep steps which cover about 100′ in height. The temple, however, is situated on the flat top of this imposing hill (photograph 14).

At the turning of one flight of steps there is a stone gateway called *Simhadvāra*. The entrance is decorated by cusped arches in stone work and the flanking jambs and the platforms abutting the jambs are all stylistically carved. The dāsa-slabs of the platform bear mouldings which are similar to the mouldings of the dasa stones of the temples of the Gond period (15-16th cent. A.D.).

The temple on the top of the hill is built of cut stone masonry with a single chamber which is the cenrtal shrine and a front mukha-mandapa. The nature of the *śikhara* of the shrine as it originally stood is not traceable in the pell-mell of the dilapidated top of the *śikhara* portion. The temple faces east. The entrance to the *antarala* is flanked by two carved pillars the top halves of which are gone. The carving on the pillars, which shows lotuses and flutings, reveals the architecture as belonging to the Gond period. There is nothing very remarkable in the style of the structure. Its present condition is much dilapidated. The basement of the structure and the four tiers of moulded stone work above it are all that is preserved of the stylistic portions of this temple.

The inner dimensions of this temple are:—

1. Central shrine 8 ft. square.
2. The height of the entrance is 5′ 9″ and its width is 3 ft. The thickness of the wall of the central shrine is 3 ft.
3. The ceiling of the central shrine is decorated with a lotus medallion.

The image worshipped in the temple is Vishṇu—standing (*Gadādhara* with four hands) and the subsidiary deities are Rāma, Lakshman and a lady described as *Bālukī-Kanyā* who is represented with two hands in one of which she holds a *kamaṇḍalu* and in the other, a rosary. The standing image of Rāma (two hands) is represented with Sītā on his left and Hanumān seated in *añjali* at his feet. His bow and arrows are also represented. In their right hand, both Śrī Rāma and Sītā are holding a *sālagram*. Śrī Iakshmaṇa Bhagavan (or Balarāma) is represented with a seven hooded serpent over his head and he has two hands in which he holds an axe and a danda. All these images in the central shrine of the temple are referable to the same period as that of the temple, i.e., 16-17th centuries. They are made of fine basaltic stone and are beautiful examples of Gond Art.

I have not so far been able to find any records to determine the builders of the temple.

Other antiquities of the hill include the following:

At the *simhadvāra* there is a finely carved image of a seated devotee, who is locally called Deo Gun Guru (photograph 15). It is carved out of fine basaltic stone. The stylistic features of this image, its profuse ornamentation and headdress and the ear ornaments indicate that the devotee may be a ruler who was perhaps the builder of this temple. The ear ornaments and the seat of this image being carved with hooded serpents may be taken to indicate that he may belong to the Nāgavamśa of whom several families ruled in and around this area during the mediaeval period.

Higher up the *simhadvāra,* after ascending a further flight of steps, there is a flat space where a number of sculptures are found. This group includes a dancing Gaṇēśa, a dancing Naṭarāja and a *liṅga.* In style of carving, etc., these sculptures, which are highly weather-worn, may be assigned to the late Haihaya period. In the compound of the main Rāma temple on the top of the hill also there are a number of weather-worn sculptures of similar style. There is also a finely polished basaltic stone *liṅga* in this group. But as already described the images within the temple are Vishṇu, Rāma Lakshman (or Balarāma?), etc., the style of which shows a much later period, i.e., Gond. Hence it is reasonable to conclude that originally there might have stood at this place a temple of Śiva with a *Śiva-liṅga* in it and the subsidiary deities Gaṇēśa, dancing Naṭarāja, etc. At a later period, evidently on account of the popular association of Sīta with the *Sita Bengra* cave lower down and the association of the two foot prints scooped out in the rock with Śrī Rāma himself, the whole hill came to be associated with Rāma and called Ramgadh. The present Rāma temple on the top must have been the pious act of some Prince who was devoted to Rāma and who erected the temple on the top of the hill in place of the old dilapidated Śiva temple.

Hence, the entire structures and the complex of buildings now on the top of the Ramgadh hill may be dated between the 16-17th centuries. There is no inscription available at the site as far as my enquiries as well as my examination of the site go.

Ramagiri in historical context: The Rithpur plates of the Vākāṭaka Queen Mahādēvi Prabhāvati-Guptā and of the time of her son Pravarasena (II) are stated to have been issued from the feet of the lord of Rāmagiri. The area around the present Ramgadh hills was part of the Vākāṭaka dominions and this inscription shows that the queen had retired to Rāmagiri. The feet of the lord of Rāmagiri referred to can in all probability be the foot-prints in the *Sītā Bengrā* cave. The cave itself, as surmised by me, must have been the retreat of a distinguished personage, the dwelling place of royalty in seclusion, as it showed no signs of having been a religious establishment. If so, the charter in question might have been issued by the Vākāṭaka Queen from this cave and so actually from the feet of the lord of Rāmagiri.

Russian Correspondence with Kabul (1870-1879)

BY

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Once the great uprising of 1857 was effectively subdued, the fear of Russian invasion of India from the side of Afghanistan occupied British attention more than anything else until the rise of organised nationalism. The problem was discussed at all levels, in innumerable committees, councils, cabinets, parliamentary debates, diplomatic conferences, party meetings, and press comments with such earnestness, conviction, and often passion that one is bewildered at the human incapacity to combat fear with reason. For the apprehended invasion never came; in fact, upon examining the variety of evidence now available, it is quite clear that very few at the time seriously believed that Russian aggression through a rugged country ill-supplied with lines of communication, was feasible, much less formidable. The Liberals, by comparison, tended to be somewhat less apprehensive than the Conservatives. Only a few on both sides, were immune from the fear of Russian clandestine movements and intrigues aiming to dislodge British supremacy from Afghanistan. Indeed, Russian ascendancy at Kabul, backed by a network of supply bases and communications, could assume menacing proportions for the British. But what evidence was there to suggest that even if the Russians had the will they had the capacity to do so.[1]

Russophobia of the nineteenth century Englishmen, which "periodically attacked" them, was indeed a historical phenomenon with hardly a parallel in history.[2] Excessive anxiety for security, habitual disbelief of the non-British, miscalculations based on preconceptions, manoeuvrings of the professional militarists and administrators seeking glory, reward and promotion, political and diplomatic tussles, together created a state of tragic confusion and consternation. Actually during this period, as Professor Thornton has observed in a recent study, "...the fires of popular Russophobia were kept tended by influential Anglo-Indians who urged the home Government to bestir itself, to 'do something' to take the measure of this menace".[3] In extinguishing this fire and in chasing this mirage human effort and life were indiscriminately wasted. Masses of reports collected in India through agents, travellers, captives, exiles, spies, officers on duty, merchants, adventurers etc., in which fact and fancy often got intermingled, provided an amorphous pool of information from which anyone could pick up the bits to suit his purpose.

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[1] The present writer has dealt with this problem in some detail in *India and Afghanistan*, University of Queensland Press, 1962. Thompson, E. and Garratt, G. T., while admitting the existence of a forward school among Russian officers point out that "....it is more than doubtful whether any responsible statesman ever intended an invasion of British India or even of Afghanistan". (Vide *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, p. 454, Allahabad 1958).

Drawing upon this pool Viceroy Lytton had convinced himself, more than others, of Russian designs and Afghan duplicity. Commenting upon Lytton's sources of information Mr. Maurice Cowling says "Sandeman's fragmentary gleanings, reports from the British Legation in Teheran, the unhelpful impressions of a Mission sent to the emir by the Sultan of Turkey, frontier rumours and Afghan-inspired 'lies'—these constituted at this time the sum of Lytton's first-hand information about the state of affairs in the capital of Afghanistan."[4] In aggressive pursuit of vigorous Afghan policy, devised by the Conservative government under Disraeli, he perpetuated the second Afghan War in utter defiance of London with the declared object of expelling the Amir, Sher Ali, who was accused by him of having repelled friendly British overtures to admit Russian influence. While he fully realised that war and territorial expansion were repugnant to the thoughtful men in Britain, he failed to provide for the power of public opinion which was becoming increasingly articulate under the impact of democracy and liberalism. He, like most imperialists, attempted to justify war and conquest in the East as instruments of civilisation against barbarism. Even the advance of Russia, his object of hostility, in central Asia was acceptable to him on this ground. Fortunately he had limited success and one cannot help wondering as to what would have happened to Afghanistan if Lytton and his associates had remained unchecked by the rising tide of organised public opinion in Britain. Frustrated frequently in his aggressive designs he had, small wonder, a contemptuous opinion of the British democratic institutions.[5] Indeed a full and thorough assessment of the British public opinion in relation to imperial questions is yet to be made, and as Sir Charles Webster points out "...it would be a mistake to underrate the influence of the growth of democracy on British policy in the nineteenth century".[6]

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[2] Michael Edwards, however, observes that "...we are going through a period that has intense similarities with the nineteenth century." (Vide *A History of India*, p. 300, London, 1961).

[3] A. P. Thornton, *The Imperial Idea and Its Enemies*, London, 1959, pp. 42-3. He goes on to say that "a British phobia about a Russian initiative in the East became a European commonplace, and in 1899 Tsar Nicholas II mentioned it as such in a letter to his sister to paralyse British policy, not just in the Near East, but in the Far East and South Africa, he had only to order by telegraph the mobilisation of the forces in Russian Turkestan. Here Nicholas went too far, and was mistaken. But nobody thought he was".

[4] Cowling, "Lytton, the Cabinet and the Russians". (Vide *The English Historical Review*, Vol. LXXVI, 1961, p. 62).

Towards the end of 1879 when Afghanistan had been overrun by the British troops and Kabul lay prostrate under Major General Roberts'[7] 'reign of terror', the thoughtful men in Britain, charged with indignation, demanded evidence of Afghan evil intent, more concrete and convincing than had hitherto been provided, before they could condone British excesses in a nation which had a burning passion to be free from foreign domination. Customary accusations of "oriental duplicity", "eastern barbarism" were much too vague to explain Lytton's conduct and to sustain continued British support for his aggressive policies. Some documentary proof pointing to Afghan treachery was desperately needed to pacify liberal resentment. It was at this time that Roberts discovered in the captured documents of the late Amir Sher Ali, copies of some letters exchanged between the Amir and the Russian agents, known as "Russian Correspondence with Kabul". This correspondence was paraded by the British authorities as decisive proof of Sher Ali's disaffection and deceit. Not until the storm was over and the Liberals had replaced the Conservatives, however, it was released for parliamentary and public inspection but the references to it at the time did help in producing the desired effect. By the time it was published, public interest in the affair had declined and the subject had moved on to the realm of history.[8] It is, however, surprising that such a rewarding subject has not received attention it merited. Actually the correspondence may never have been published if Lytton had not insisted upon its publication in an attempt to assert the validity of his policy after his recall from India by the Liberals.[9]

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[5] Cowling, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
[6] Sir Charles Webster, *The Art and Practice of Diplomacy*, p. 26.
[7] Later Field Marshal and Lord.

Towards the end of the century, in January 1897, Roberts published his memoirs of Indian life in which he gave his version of the Afghan muddle, evidently to vindicate his actions.[10] By then Roberts had come to gain immense popularity in Britain as a great general and the public opinion had come to take greater pride in the exploits and achievements of their representatives in the worldwide British Empire. By then Britain had become a modern state and the changing patterns of her economy and strategic needs had brought about greater appreciation of colonial possessions. The impact which this book made upon the public can well be gauged by the fact that within one year of its publication, it had gone into twenty-nine editions, ten of which were sold out in the first month. Building a picture of Afghan double standards to justify British intervention, Roberts gave further currency to this correspondence, he actually published some of these letters as appendices lending wholehearted support to Lytton's policies.[11] Little did he know that the man, Lytton, whose policy he was so stoutly defending had a poor opinion of him.[12] In appendix VII of his book he published only a few letters from this collection and it is significant that all the letters selected by him for publication were from the Russians to the Afghans. No letter of Sher Ali to Kaufmann was included. What is more significant, however, is that Roberts had not selected his letters from the "Russian Correspondence with Kabul" as published in the Parliamentary papers. A careful comparison of the two sets of letters at once reveals this fact. For instance Roberts in his letters gives the Afghan and Russian dates, whereas in the Parliamentary Papers the dates had been altered to conform with the Gregorian Calendar.[13] Although there are no alterations in the text, it is clear that Roberts had reproduced letters from the original collection as submitted.[14] Is it possible that Roberts had kept copies of these letters when he had found them at Kabul some eighteen years before during the course of his duty? Was he entitled to do so?

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[8] The correspondence was published in the Parliamentary Papers, Central Asia No. I (1881) (c. 2798).

[9] Granville to Dufferin. February 9, 1881; Parl. Papers, Central Asia No. I (1881), p. 30.

[10] F. M. Lord Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, London. 1897.

[11] Like Lytton, Roberts too looked upon the European domination of Asia as a march of civilization in the East. In the preface of his book he unequivocally stated: "I impute no blame to the Russians for their advance towards India. The force of circumstances — the inevitable result of the contact of civilization with barbarism — impelled them to cross the Jaxartes and extend their territories to the Khanates of Turkestan and the banks of the Oxus, just as the same uncontrollable force carried us across the Sutlej and extended our territories to the Valley of the Indus". (Vide Lord Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. ix).

Two years later, Colonel Hanna in his classical work on the second Afghan war thoroughly examined all the published material and pointed out that the Russo-Afghan correspondence contained "no hint of any desire on the Amir's part to make a bargain with the Russian Government".[15] Yet such is the power of national prejudices that the Conservative interpretation placed upon this Correspondence continued to grow and even the later historians like Dodwell and Spear omitted to accord this subject the scrutiny it merited. Actually Dodwell who had little sympathy with the Afghan viewpoint or even with the Liberal interpretation of the Afghan problem, must have found the accepted interpretation of Sher Ali's correspondence with Kaufmann, the Russian Governor-General of Turkestan, very convenient. Reading Dodwell, one gets the impression as if Sher Ali was constantly in touch with Kaufmann conspiring against the British, his conspiratorial activities being the main reason for British intervention in Afghanistan.[16] For instance, he says while Lytton was endeavouring to initiate a new basis for the Afghan policy "Kaufmann's correspondence with Sher Ali had increased rapidly".[17] Actually Kaufmann had written two letters in 1875, three in 1876 and none in 1877, to Sher Ali. During this period Sher Ali too had written the same number of letters to Kaufmann. In 1923, more than forty years after the war when Afghan problem no longer existed, Dawson preferred to write in a language giving the impression of Afghan duplicity: "In July, General Stolieteff, bearing letters from Kaufmann, made his way to the Ameer's capital, where he was cordially received. If, as is maintained, he took back with him a formal Treaty of Alliance, it was a paper arrangement, for it did not help Afghanistan in her later difficulties".[18] Even P. E. Roberts, who admitted that Sher Ali had agreed to receive the Russian mission in 1878 under duress said that "...after his (Sher Ali's) downfall papers at Kabul were found which showed that he entered into a definite treaty with the Russian government for perpetual and permanent friendship and alliance between the two countries".[19] Percival Spear in his recent study of India, too not only has diluted the aggressive designs of the "brilliant but wayward" Lytton, but suggests by implication that Sher Ali had expected Russian assistance.[20] This interpretation has gone too far already. Whether Sher Ali was in league with the Russians or not is a different matter, although we know that he was not, but "Russian Correspondence with Kabul" now fully released for public inspection, upon close scrutiny would hardly yield any evidence to accuse him of deceit.

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[12] Of Roberts, Lytton wrote to Ripon on July 7, 1880, "...he is a man whose circumstances have pushed into eminence, greater than that of many of his professional seniors". Vide Lytton Papers, Vol. 518/6, p. 352). Ripon too had a poor opinion of Roberts.

[13] Russians did not adopt the Gregorian Calendar until this century.

[14] This is now available for public inspection in Memoranda, (A. Cupboard, *Afghanistan*, etc.), Vol. I, No. 38 (India Office Library, London).

[15] Col. H. B. Hanna, *The Second Afghan War*, Vol. I, p. 261.

This collection of correspondence comprises in all 53 letters exchanged between the Afghan Sardars and the Russian authorities at Turkestan over a period of nine years from 1870 to 1879, and a draft Treaty alleged to have been arranged between General Stolieteff, who led the Russian mission to Kabul in July 1878, and Amir Sher Ali.[21] Of these, 48 were written during Sher Ali's Amirship between March 1870 and February 1879, which together with the draft Treaty constitute the main attraction and controversy. The last five letters belong to the early period of Yakub Khan's short Amirship from March to July 1879. For the sake of convenience we may call them as correspondence Part I and II respectively. General Roberts forwarded this collection in two instalments from Kabul on October 27 and November 6, 1879 to the Government of India, who in turn passed them on to London in late December. In the first instalment were the letters from Kaufmann, and in the second were the letters from Sher Ali. The correspondence is complete with few missing links in the story, although Roberts mentions a conversation with Yakub Khan in which the latter is reported to have said that Sher Ali had "destroyed it all when on his way to Gandamak",[22] giving thereby an impression that there were other, more incriminating, letters. Considering the fullness of the Correspondence, it is unlikely that Sher Ali had destroyed any letters. In any case why should he have destroyed a few letters and not all of them? Sher Ali did not flee Kabul in any hurry and he had ample opportunity to destroy all the records of his "secret alliances" with Russia. There is no external proof or internal evidence to bear out Roberts' implication. There is complete continuity in the correspondence and a couple of missing letters are satisfactorily accounted for by references to them in other letters, as being of entirely complimentary nature. The view that this collection represents the letters exchanged between Kabul and Tashkend in toto is fully supported by the fact that the Russian version of this correspondence, when submitted to the British Foreign Office in January 1881 upon British demand, tallied with the English version almost completely, except for a few discrepancies of imperfect translation. An important difference, however, was that in the English version the word "alliance" had been substituted for "friendship".[23] Roberts was much too involved in the Afghan affairs and much too a partisan to have exercised dispassionate political judgment which even Lytton, whose instrument Roberts was, did not think he possessed.[24]

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[16] See *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. V, Chap. XXIII, pp. 413-9.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 413.

[18] *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, Vol. III, p. 85.

[19] P. E. Roberts, *History of British India*, p. 439, 3rd ed., 1952. This edition is prepared by T. G. P. Spears.

[20] Percival Spear—*India*; University of Michigan Press, 1961, pp. 331-2.

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[21] See Appendix.
[22] Lord Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 421.
[23] *Central Asia*, No. I (1881), p. 29.

The greater part of the correspondence in Part I passed between Sher Ali and Kaufmann; 39 letters out of 48. Of these 26 were exchanged between 1870 and 1876, and 22 between 1876 and 1879. Most of the letters belonging to the former period, 22 out of 27, were first published in Parliamentary blue books.[25] The whole correspondence was published, including this time all the 27 letters together with the rest, in 1881.

Of the five letters in Part II two were written by Kaufmann to Yakub Khan, and one to his son Musa Khan; one by Yakub Khan to Kaufmann, and one by General Ivanoff to Musa Khan. All these letters were published in a Parliamentary blue book.[26] These letters are of little significance; they were written after the death of Sher Ali mainly to exchange courtesy greetings at Yakub's accession to the Afghan throne and to announce customary professions of friendship. Yakub Khan had consulted the British envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, about these letters and his replies, which were transmitted to London in August before the British Residency in Kabul was attacked by the mob of Afghan civilians and soldiers in Septemper 1879.

In addition to these fifty three, two other letters were received in London from Alim Mirza, through the British Charge d'Affaires at Constantinople which were forwarded to India with a despatch dated 6th November 1879. Alim Mirza claimed that he had written these letters for General Kaufmann and Stolieteff to Amir Sher Ali. Actually these letters are the copies of letters already included in part one, dated June 1878 and September 21, 1878. Close parallels in language, paragraphs and contents suggest that Alim Mirza certainly had seen the letters, but in his version of the first letter, which was written from Kaufmann to Sher Ali, there appeared a paragraph in which Kaufmann was made to say that he hoped that the Afghans would be delivered from the claws of their ancient enemies, the English, who were plotting the ruin of Afghanistan. This paragraph did not occur in the copy received through Roberts. Alim Mirza, it would appear, had added this piece, for this was the sort of thing the British had expected and without which his information was of no value or interest to the British. Considering that this letter was written at a time when war between Russia and Britain appeared imminent over the Turkish question, Kaufmann's hostility against the British could be expressed this way.[27] But there is no reason as to why this passage should have been omitted from the other copy found by Roberts. Moreover this passage does not fit into the general pattern of the letter and is somewhat out of character. The letter was carried by Stolieteff personally and it mainly asked the Amir to pay great attention to what he (Stolieteff) had to say who was greatly trusted by himself and the Emperor. Alim Mirza's version is important in the sense that it reveals once more the doubtful value of relying upon the reports and information received through unauthorised agents.

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[24] Lytton Papers, 518/6, p. 2. It was because of Roberts' lack of political wisdom and tact that Lepel Griffin was appended to him as his political adviser.

[25] *Central Asia*, No. I (1878) and *Central Asia*, No. I (1880).

[26] *Afghanistan*, No. I (1880).

Before this correspondence was published in the parliamentary papers the British had made diplomatic representation to the Russians, seeking confirmation and explanation of Kaufmann's actions. Consequently the Russian Ambassador, Lobanov, called on Granville at the British Foreign Office on 24th January 1881 and produced the Russian version of the letters and pointed out that "...a perusal of the correspondence showed that nothing had been written which was not of a complimentary character..."[28]

Sher Ali's correspondence with the Russian agents in Part I can be divided into two sections—section one covering the earlier period from 1870 to 1876, when his relationship with the British was reasonably happy and section two, covering the latter period when Anglo-Afghan distrust had deepened under the Viceroyalty of Lytton. Letters received from the Russian Officers were opened in the presence of the British Agent at Kabul and they were then forwarded by the Amir to the British in India. Generally the British supplied Sher Ali with accurate translation and submitted draft replies. The procedure naturally was altered later when under Lytton the Anglo-Afghan relations had considerably deteriorated. Lytton's withdrawal of the British agent from the court of the Amir, after the breakdown of Peshawar Conference in February 1877, isolating thus the Amir, as a preliminary to his aggressive policy, deprived the British of opportunity to be consulted by the Amir upon matters of foreign correspondence. Most of the letters are short, formal and of complimentary character. Sher Ali could not prevent Kaufmann writing to him but his replies, as Colonel Hanna points out "were as colourless as he could make them."[29] Indeed they reveal unmistakably his uneasiness at Russian overtures.

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[27] Whether Britain would have really gone to war over Turkey is open to doubt. See Algernon Cecil, *British Foreign Secretaries* 1807-1906. Chapter on Salisbury. Referring to Disraeli's threat to join in the hostilities, he says: 'This went beyond anything that the Cabinet had sanctioned and was unmistakably Beaconsfield's boldest piece of bluff', p. 293.

[28] Granville of Dufferin, 28 January, 1881. (*Centra Asia*, No. I (1881)), p. 29.

It was in March 1870 that Kaufmann wrote the first letter to Sher Ali and it is of great interest to note the British reaction at the commencement of the correspondence.[30] Mayo was, at that time, the Governor-general of India following the Lawrencian policy of non-interference in Afghan affairs and of maintaining friendly relations with the Amir. A strong and independent ally was looked upon as a better security of borders than a disgruntled protectorate. Sher Ali had met Mayo at Ambala in March 1869 and his confidence in the British was revived. Liberals, under Gladstone, were in power in Britain and in Afghanistan, Sher Ali after a prolonged war of succession after the death of his father Dost Mohammad in 1863, had finally secured himself on the Afghan throne. A rival prince, Abdul Rahman, who was later to become Amir, had sought sanctuary in the Russian territory of Turkestan, of which General K. P. von Kaufmann was appointed Governor-general in July, 1867. The arrival of Kaufmann initiated an important phase in Russian policy in central Asia, which became now more vigorous, in fact expansionist, against the hostile Khanates in the area. It was not until 1870 that Kaufmann was able to effect the pacification of Bokhara, but the uncertainty of eruption still remained. The unpredictable behaviour of the brave central Asian peoples, who were united together by Islamic faith, in an unsurveyed area, perhaps impelled Kaufmann to approach the Afghan Amir aiming to ensure Sher Ali's complete neutrality in his conflict against Bokharans, both by pacifying him and by warning him off Bokhara. Because of the precarious Russian position in Central Asia, Kaufmann had already been given broad powers by St. Petersburg not only "to wage war on the central Asiatic states at his discretion" but also "to conduct nogotiations and conclude agreements with their rulers".[31] In this skilfully worded letter, Kaufmann, trying to explain Abdul Rahman's reception in Turkestan, disclaimed intention of meddling with Afghanistan and professed feelings of friendship towards the Amir, as he had no cause of dissatisfaction and shown no signs of interfering with Bokhara, which had by that time accepted Russian hegemony. Further he observed that Russia and Afghanistan were distant neighbours, and although in central Asia state boundaries were not clearly laid down, the Afghan possessions were under the protection of the British Government.

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[29] Hanna, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 260.

[30] This letter dated March 20, 1870, was received in Kabul around May 16. The travelling time of each letter varied generally from 6 to 12 weeks. The letter was in triplicate; in Russian, in English and in Persian.

Sher Ali was "much troubled at the receipt of this communication and very apprehensive of the object and meaning which the writer had in view".[32] The Amir, forwarded this letter to Mayo and requested advice as to the answer to be sent. Sher Ali in his covering letter had itemised in clear terms his apprehensions. Dreading Russian advance, he wrote, "If (which God forbid) they should so establish themselves on the actual border and harbour our enemies, what hope is there of the borders of Turkistan, Balkh and Herat remaining on a satisfactory footing without full (Kāmil) arrangements being made, and it is impossible that such complete measures can be carried out for the protection of these borders, without the help and assistance of the British government, with which the Afghan kingdom is allied (Muta abid)".[33] It is significant that a copy of Kaufmann's letter was sent to London directly from St. Petersburg through the British Ambassador, Sir Andrew Buchanan. Lord Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, with the concurrence of the Duke of Argyll "expressed satisfaction at the amicable tone of General Kaufmann's letter". The Foreign Secretary of India, Aitchison, however, though thankful to the Amir for referring the matter to India, considered the letter a most insidious one and suggested that Russia be asked to communicate with the Amir "through the British government or something to that effect".[34] Mayo, while agreeing with Aitchison, did not see "anything so very insidious in this Russian letter; in fact, I think there is very little in it..."[35]. Consequently Mayo wrote to Sher Ali on June 24, 1870 assuring him that Russia had no intention of extending her boundary further south. These assurances were based on Gortchakoff's assurance given to the British in September 1869. Later, after Mayo, Northbrook also had repeated this assurance to Sher Ali, who was suspicious of Russia and had sought British protection. The British evaded the real problem and did not give Sher Ali unequivocably the assurance of protection against foreign aggression which he was desperately seeking and which alone could set his mind at rest, but assured him, instead, of Russian non-aggressive intentions. Though suspicious of Russia, they wanted the Amir not to imagine the fear. Actually in this letter Mayo, giving somewhat more than a necessary account of the Anglo-Russian diplomatic dealings on this point, indicated that Kaufmann's letter was in a way the natural consequence of the Anglo-Russian negotiations, and was a sort of public announcement of a reaffirmed perfect understanding between Britain and Russia concerning Central Asia. Mayo therefore advised Sher Ali to send a courteous reply to Kaufmann expressing satisfaction at the Russian policy of non-intervention in Afghanistan, professing friendship with Russia and non-interference in his possess-

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[31] Richard A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asiia,* University of California Press, 1960, p. 49.

[32] Indian Foreign Department note, dated 23rd July 1876. (Vide Memoranda A—No. 38).

[33] Spear suggests in his recently published book that "Sher Ali was so impressed by Lord Mayo that he handed over to him the first letters from the Russian governor-general Kauffmann". (Vide *India, A Modern History,*

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p. 331), Michigan, 1961. Spear does not reveal his evidence which led him to this conclusion, that Sher Ali was so naive as to regard personal likes and dislikes more important than political considerations in state affairs. Actually his dislike of Sher Ali and like of British officers are undisguised. Not unoften he, as some other British historians, analyses British colonial policies in terms of the prestige of British bureaucracy.

[34] 2 June, 1870, *ibid.*

[35] 5 June, 1870, *ibid.*

ions, and implying adherence to the British policy. Subsequent events show that, as might have been expected, Sher Ali was not mollified by this evasive and somewhat baffling advice, but he executed it all the same in his reply to Kaufmann on 15th July 1870. This letter, the first which Sher Ali ever wrote to Kaufmann, did not surprise the Russians, who were well aware of the fact that it was a faithful reproduction of the British draft.

The next letter from Kaufmann was received after an interval of about ten months on March 3, 1871 and was dated 20th December 1870. In it he expresed Russian feelings of satisfaction at the pacific tenor of Sher Ali's communication, and hoped that "time and circumstances will fortify the friendship between us". That Kaufmann was in no great hurry to correspond with Kabul is illustrated by this long interval between Sher Ali's reply and his second letter. The Amir, however, once again acting under British advice replied to Kaufmann's letter on July 17, 1871 expressing gratification at the friendly assurance contained therein.

A few months later on 28th October 1871, Kaufmann again addressed a letter to the Amir which was received in December. By now the Russians had taken one more step by occupying the Ili province or Kuldja in June 1871. The Russians had found this necessary because of the growing power of Yakub Beg of Kashgar, who was well-disposed towards the British. The letter, alluding to the previous friendly exchange of letters, observed that if the Amir's officers would carry out strictly the orders and refrain from interfering in the affairs of Bokhara, friendship between Russia and Afghanistan would be better. But the real significance of this communication lay in the Russian congratulations at the reported reconciliation between Sher Ali and his son Yakub Khan. Kaufmann wrote "My sympathies have been with you throughout the affair since the right was on your side. For God favours not a son who rebels against his father, nor do men wish success to such a one".[36] The allusion to Yakub Khan was rather ingenious and typical of the Russian way of dealing with the Amir. While they were only too keen to respect Sher Ali's susceptibilities, the British would ignore them if they clashed with either their standards or interests. They had taken keen interest in Yakub Khan to the annoyance of Sher Ali. Inspite of their awareness of the Russian approach, for this letter was forwarded to them as usual, they continued to advise the Amir unsolicited as to what act of his was not in conformity with the civilized standards. In 1874 Sher Ali had imprisoned Yakub Khan, having invited him to Kabul under guarantee of safe return. The British took the opportunity to impress upon the Amir the desirability of keeping his word. Sher Ali resented such interference in his internal affairs. Even later, forward Viceroys such as Lytton, Landsdowne and Curzon, in complete disregard of the Amir's reactions, seldom missed an opportunity to point out their horror at his policies which they considered uncivilized.[37]

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[36] *Central Asia*, No. I (1881), p. 5. Letter No 5 of the Appendix.

Sher Ali, replying to this letter on May 19th, 1872 as suggested by Viceroy Northbrook who was "gratified to learn that His Highness' communication to General Von Kaufmann had elicited so satisfactory a reply" announced his pleasure at the Russian victories at Kuldja, acknowledged congratulations at the removal of discord with Yakub and promised continuation of the policy of non-interference in the Bokhara territory. Mayo had been stabbed to death by a Pathan in the Andamans in February 1872.

Meanwhile, Kaufmann sent another letter, dated February 1872, in which he expressed concern at having received no reply to his last letter, written about four months earlier and recommended an Afghan Sardar Sikander Khan to the Amir's favour, who wanted to return to Afghanistan from the Russian service. As usual this letter too was transmitted to India reaching the Foreign Office in May. Significantly this time Sher Ali neither asked the British to supply him with the accurate English translation of the letters, the original of which as usual was in the Russian language, nor to suggest a reply.[38] This was Sher Ali's way to communicate to the British his general dissatisfaction with their evasive replies and reluctance to undertake definite commitments for Afghan protection in return of friendship. Both Mayo and Northbrook had taken the same non-committal attitude, and Northbrook had further alienated Sher Ali by writing a letter and sending a present to the Chief of Wakhan, a tributary of Kabul. The point was not altogether lost on the British officials, but they did nothing about it. The continuity of the Russian communications and the intended return to Afghanistan of a Sardar who had lived in Russian territory indeed worried them more. On 29th May 1872, the Foreign Secretary of India, Aitchison, wrote with some concern suggesting that the Afghan Sardar be stopped in London, where he was at the time, and that some means should be found to bring this correspondence to a close.[39] The new Viceroy, Northbrook, however, did not quite share Aitchison's alarm and sent a courteous reply expressing the desire of continuing friendship and thanks for having sent Kaufmann's letter for his perusal. No translation appears to have been forwarded, nor any reply suggested. The situation remained as it was, the British assuring friendship but retaining freedom to determine the occasion for the exercise of their obligations. Sher Ali acknowledged Kaufmann's letter courteously and evaded the reply about Sikander Khan, by noting the given information regarding the Sardar. A copy of this reply was sent to India arriving there in August 1872.

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[37] For 1874 advice. Memoranda A (Collection) No. 19, p. 54. For others see Singhal—*India and Afghanistan: A diplomatic history*, 1962.

[38] Russian letters were generally in the Russian and the Persian languages, and sometimes an English translation was appended. Sher Ali always asked the British to provide him with accurate English versions.

Before Kaufmann received Sher Ali's last letter dated 20th July 1872, he addressed an important letter on 28th June 1872, which appears to have been received with unusual rapidity in Kabul within three weeks, as the British agent in Kabul reported its repercussions at the court of the Amir in his communication of July 20, 1872. In his letter Kaufmann, expressing his "boundless delight" at Sher Ali's letter, recalled the advantages of the interchange of letters. Russian letters even ordinarily, in contrast to those of the British, were written in a language highly flattering to the Amir and contained profuse expressions of friendship and loyalty, but this one was particularly warm. Alluding to the permanence of the boundary between the Russian and Afghan Turkestan, Kaufmann wrote, "From the bottom of my heart, and in perfect sincerity, I desire that God may preserve you also in comfort, and I sincerely believe you also to be my friend. Your wisdom and sagacity will doubtless have taught you by the study of history, that the Great God wishes the King to rule who, preserving his subjects in comfort, maintains friendship with his neighbours. May God preserve you in health and safety, during years innumerable, and believe me that I am anxious to see friendship maintained between us".[40]

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[39] Actually Aitchison's note is indicative of conducting diplomacy from the position of strength. He suggested that in forwarding to the Amir a correct translation of the Russian letter, which the Amir had not asked for, "the Amir might be informed that Sikander Khan is now in London, and that the Secretary of State has been informed that His Highness the Amir does not wish him to return to Afghanistan". Sher Ali had expressed no such wish.

Yet this letter created consternation in Kabul and Sher Ali was immensely disturbed by the increasing frequency of Russian notes. His apprehensions were very clearly laid down in the Kabul Diary of the British agent dated 20th July 1872. The account which the agent gives of Sher Ali's fear of Russian designs leaves little doubt of the Amir's undivided loyalty to British alliance. Fearing that Russia would not hesitate to take advantage of even a slight disturbance at the Afghan-Bokhara borders, Sher Ali had issued strict injunctions to the ruler of Turkestan to keep a good "look out along his frontier and take the greatest care in managing all affairs along Bokhara border".[42] Sher Ali found the Russian professions of harmony with neighbours somewhat baffling in view of the fact that in recent years they had advanced their frontiers from "the foot of the throne of Russia to the borders of Bokhara". Once Bokhara and Khiva were annexed by them, the Amir, almost in agony said "...God only knows what line of policy or demeanour they will adopt towards Afghanistan and what troubles may be in store for the Afghan and English Governments".[42]

The continuous military and diplomatic advances naturally compelled Sher Ali to seek clear assurance of protection from his ally, Britain, who had acclaimed Afghanistan under her sphere of influence and asked them to give the matter "more serious attention than they have hitherto done". But the British, as before, remained unresponsive to his entreaties, and in a letter dated Sep-

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49. *Central Asia*, No. I (1881), p. 7.
41. Memoranda (A cupboard). Vol. I, No. 38, p. 7.
42. *Ibid.*

tember 7, 1872, replying to Sher Ali's request, Northbrook, on the advice of his Foreign Secretary, Aitchison, simply acknowledged the receipt of his letter and observed that there was no reason for his government to believe that the Russian government had changed their policy towards Afghanistan, which was one of friendship and of which the Amir had been repeatedly informed. The Viceroy further advised the Amir to reply to Kaufmann's letter thanking him for his friendly sentiments, expressing adherence to a peaceful policy and confidently expecting Kaufmann "to fulfil the repeated assurances given by His Imperial Majesty the Czar and the high officers of the Russian Government to the British Government in regard to Afghanistan".[43] To a friend in fear, it was a strange, if not curt, answer. Actually one cannot help wondering that in view of these elusive answers and uncertain undertakings, how was it that Sher Ali at all continued to hope for an understanding with the British. Only his own distrust of the Russians could have nourished his expectations of British support. Unsure of the British support Sher Ali could not be firm with the Russians. Yet in contrast to Northbrook's advice to reciprocate Kaufmann's sentiments courteously, he ignored Kaufmann's letter which was never answered. In fact he did not communicate with the Russian general, undertaking thus the risk of incurring Russian displeasure, for about fifteen months until November 1873, although two more Russian letters had arrived in the meantime in August 1872, the one dated 12th August 1872 from Kaufmann to Sher Ali and the other dated 14th August 1872 from an unknown Russian officer, who presumably was acting for the Russian Governor-General, to the Afghan Governor of Balkh, Mohammad Alum Khan. These letters were of no great significance containing hardly anything beyond the usual professions of friendship but implying a persistent Russian effort to continue regular correspondence. They, however, gravely added to Sher Ali's uneasiness. It was said in Kabul Durbar, "Notwithstanding that the Russian authorities are well aware that the Government of Afghanistan is united with the British Government, they openly write unsolicited letters for the promotion of their friendship with Afghanistan, and do not relax in the frequency of their communications on the subject, and now they have commenced to send letters to the Governor of Balkh also". Kaufmann, who could not have relished Sher Ali's silence for more than a year, did not, however, make any fresh move to follow up this letter.

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[43] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

During this period many other things had happened. The Russians had occupied Khiva in May 1873 with very little loss in human life.[44] Sher Ali alarmed at this easy Russian advance, had once again made a determined effort to obtain from the British more definite and practical protection against an apprehended Russian invasion. His Prime Minister Syed Nur Mohammad Shah met the Viceroy on 12th July 1873, but failed to elicit a promise of support. Goldsmid's award, dividing Sistan between Afghanistan and Persia to the annoyance of the Amir, had been published in October 1872. Repeatedly repelled by the British, Sher Ali could not risk an open breach with the Russians. In his letter of 16th November 1873 to Kaufmann Sher Ali attempted, therefore, to explain formally the reasons of the delay in reply. Devoid of conviction the attempt was little more than a gesture of courtesy. He expressed gratification at the Russian approval of his friendly attitude and behaviour towards them and hoped that "friendship existing between us will not be disturbed".

It may be observed here that for the first time, Sher Ali ignored British advice, first by not answering Kaufmann's letter of 12th August 1872, and then fifteen months later, by writing a letter without asking the British to suggest a draft. The copy of his letter, however, was duly forwarded to India. Sher Ali had fully discussed Northbrook's letter of September 7, 1872 with his Sardars, but he was unable to understand as to what "arrangements the British and the Russian Governments have made between themselves about Afghanistan".[45] The British had never cared to specify the Anglo-Russian understanding.

Sher Ali's letter to Kaufmann of November 16, 1873 reached Tashkend while the latter was away at the Russian capital after the Khivan campaign. Acknowledging this letter on 6th December, the Acting Governor-General Kolpakovski wrote a somewhat condescending letter asking the Amir to "continue to follow the same straight road along which you have hitherto gone".[46] Earlier on December 1, 1873 Kaufmann had also written a letter to Sher Ali, which had crossed the latter's letter, in which the Russian Governor-General announced the Russian conquest of Khiva and the abolition of slavery, releasing about 400 Afghan slaves.[47] This letter was, as usual, transmitted to the Government of India, but the procedure which the Amir had adopted on this occasion was unusual indicating most clearly his disillusionment with the British professions. Normally the Amir addressed the Viceroy himself but this time it was his prime minister Syed Noor Mohammad Shah, who forwarded this letter to him with a remark that the Amir had read the letter and fully understood its contents. No translation of the Russian letter was asked for, although this practice had been in disuse for some time and no advice for reply was sought. It was indeed a turning point in Anglo-Afghan relations. On 17th January, 1874 the Foreign Secretary of India acknowledged Syed's letter.

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[44] In the entire campaign they had lost 31 men with 102 wounded. Indeed the Russian cost in men in all the campaigns in Central Asia during the 25 years from 1847 to 1873 was relatively low. They "lost less than 400 men and a little over 1600 wounded...Later losses no more than doubled this." (Vide Richard A Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-4).

[45] Kabul Diary dated 23rd September, 1872.

On January 25th, 1874 Sher Ali wrote two letters to Kaufmann. The first was in reply, acknowledging Kaufmann's friendly letter and noting the conquest of Khiva and other combats. The second letter was the first letter written by Sher Ali to Kaufmann which was not a reply to some communication from the Russian Governor-General. It merely announced the nomination of his son, Abdulla Jan as heir-apparent. Both these letters were not published in Parliamentary papers until 1881. It appears these were not forwarded to India at the time, and were found at Kabul by Roberts along with other letters.

Kaufmann being still away in St. Petersburg, Kolpakovski again replied to Sher Ali's letters on 25th February 1874. In his reply Kolpakovski congratulated Sher Ali on his choice of heir-apparent. Once again a marked difference between the British and the Russian techniques of dealing with the Amir is noticed. The Russians, knowing Sher Ali's feelings of intense affection for Abdullah Jan, readily recognised the latter as crown prince; it mattered little to them as to who was nominated as successor for the throne as long as the current occupant was happy with them. In contrast the British were unwilling to commit themselves in advance to accord recognition to a prince, who had yet to win the war of succession.

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[46] *Central Asia*, No. I (1881), pp. 8-9.

[47] The letter is dated 1st December, and the date of receipt in Kabul is also recorded as 1st December, which is incorrect.

Once again there is a long gap of more than sixteen months in the correspondence, mainly because, it appears, Kaufmann was away from Tashkend in St. Petersburgh for about a year and a half. This fact would lend weight to the theory that the Russian correspondence with Kabul was not inspired by the Russian government but by Kaufmann's own personal zeal. Upon his return he addressed himself to Sher Ali in a communication on July 12, 1875, obviously to reopen the correspondence, as his letter merely repeated what his deputy had already expressed. But the manner of its despatch disturbed the British. Previously the correspondence was exchanged at the frontier, but this time the letter was brought by a messenger, Aishan Khwaja Samarkandi, in the first week of September 1875. The Amir was disturbed by Kaufmann's following passage" ... I hope that the chain of friendship existing between Russia and Afghanistan will in future increase and become firm owing to the recent alliance between the Emperor of Russia and the Queen of England.[48] This (alliance) has tended to the fulfilment of the best wishes of the two families, and I doubt not that this alliance of the two powers will be an omen for those countries (the people of) which under the protection of the Emperor of Russia and the Queen of England live in great peace and comfort".[49] Matrimonial alliances between royal houses have been a common feature of political partnerships, and the Afghans, who had been worried for some time that a joint understanding between Russia and Britain could deprive them of their independence, became more apprehensive of their own safety at this new Anglo-Afghan alliance. They feared that "this time the Russian Government has made itself partner in the protection of Afghanistan". Indeed, Sher Ali's fear was not without foundation. Lytton records in his letters that before he left England for India to assume the Viceroyalty, the Russian ambassador in a confidential conversation had suggested a joint control of Afghanistan.[50] These fears were also expressed by Syed Noor Mohammad Shah during Simla Conference when he hinted "at the possibility of a common understanding between England and Russia for the partition of Afghanistan". The British, instead of allaying Afghan fears, instructed their Agent not to "make any remarks on the subject at all", retaining thereby Sher Ali in a state of suspense and fear.

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[48] The marriage of the Emperor's daughter Marie with the second son of Queen Victoria, Alfred.

[49] *Central Asia*, No. I (1881), p. 16.

It was at this stage that Sher Ali for the first time gave access to Russian agent at his court; he hardly had any choice. But he continued to behave correctly, and although he saw the Russian agents, who were always Muslims from Central Asia, the interview was always a short one, and such communications as had passed between them from time to time were handed over to the British Agents at Kabul, who got the copies made.

To Kaufmann's letter of 12th July 1875, Sher Ali replied formally on 19th September expressing pleasure at Kaufmann's return to Tashkend, and the renewed Anglo-Russian alliance. Apprehensive of the Russians and uncertain of the British, the Amir for the first time, presumably to please Kaufmann, admitted that "the despatch of friendly communications should be considered one of the principles of our friendship".[51] As Aitchison observed, this language was a marked change from that of 1870, when Sher Ali was worried at the appearance of Russian communications.[52] But the British must accept responsibility first for encouraging him to acknowledge Russian letters in a civil manner and then for declining to give him the necessary assurance of support.

Kaufmann replied on 10th November 1875 mainly referring briefly to his successful military expedition against Khokand. This letter reached Kabul on 26th January 1876, taking more than six weeks, to which Sher Ali sent a civil reply on February 3, 1876, acknowledging Russian success at Khokand.

Then came a long letter from Kaufmann dated February 1876 containing an account of the happenings in Khokand. The letter was of no importance except that, as compared to previous letters, which were mainly short, civil, this one was much too long. Perhaps it was the length which stirred the Government of India to represent to London to remonstrate with Russia to put an end to this Russian correspondence with Kabul. In their despatch they called attention to the changing attitude of the Amir, who now did not consult them for a suggested reply to the Russian communications as he did before, and who was reported to be holding secret nightly conferences with the agents of Russia. By their own admission, however, they were unable to verify these reports.[53]

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[50] Lytton Papers: (MSS Eur. E./218-314. Lytton to Lock, 25th November, 1878, p. 845.

[51] *Central Asia*, No. I (1881), p. 11.

[52] Indian Foreign Office Note, dated 9-10-1875. (Vide Memoranda A).

By now in London a Conservative government under Disraeli had come to power determined to pursue a more vigorous policy in Afghanistan, which subsequently, aided by the combination of their miscalculations and Lytton's adventurism, involved the British in a disastrous, extravagant and unnecessary Afghan war. Consequently London directed their ambassador at St. Petersburg, Lord Loftus, to bring the subject to the notice of the Russian government. On 12th October 1876, Loftus carried out the instructions in the terms approved by London. In doing so, the British however overstated their case and thus met with denials. Reminding Russia of the assurances that Afghanistan was completely outside her sphere of influence, the British complained that Kaufmann was attempting to conclude, an offensive, defensive, as well as commercial alliance with Sher Ali and called upon the Russian government to "at once instruct General Von Kaufmann to conform strictly to the assurances given by Prince Gortchakoff with regard to Afghanistan, the spirit of which would be infringed by the negotiations of treaties with Sher Ali such as those to which I have referred".[54] As there was no evidence of a treaty being negotiated, the British suspicions based upon unweighed reports could not be accepted as proof of duplicity—the Russian foreign minister M. de Giers in his reply on 19th November 1876[55] categorically denied the accuracy of the report. Earlier, the Russian ambassador in London under instructions from his prime minister, had also denied the report in answer to a query from the foreign office. The British were, no doubt, uneasy at the Russian correspondence with Kabul; yet they could not, with any conviction, justify the mere fact of it as infringement of the Clarendon-Gortchakoff agreement. As a matter of fact, the first letter from Kaufmann to Sher Ali in 1870 was regarded by the men-in-power at the time as a natural consequence of it. Conscious as they were of the weakness of their case for an effective diplomatic representation, they appear to have raised the fear of a secret Russo-Afghan treaty to give their suspicions some weight. To make their remonstrance look clumsier, the British forwarded to Giers on 16th (28th) December as documentary proof, copies of two letters exchanged between Kaufmann and Sher Ali, which were, as any other, messages of formal courtesy, professing friendship, and in no way pointing to the existence of any political negotiations. While rejecting the British protest, Giers, however, denied any knowledge of this correspondence and agreed to ask Kaufmann to explain, "the facts which may have given rise to the rumours". In fact he advanced counter charges complaining that the British troops had violated the territories of the dependencies of Bokhara. Kaufmann in his explanation to Giers, a copy of which was transmitted to the British, strongly protested against the British accusations of intrigue and even denied the reports of having ever sent agents to Sher Ali. He claimed that he sent his letters through the Amir of Bokhara, a dependency of Russia. This was, of course, not true. Kaufmann was not as virtuous as he pretended to be. It must be remembered that although the Conservative Government in London embarked upon a forward policy to forestall Russian invasion in Central Asia and Lytton was considered "a good instrument for this purpose" by Disraeli,[56] yet London was somewhat misled in making their protest so prematurely strong by the information supplied by India under Lytton, who as the subsequent events showed, turned out to be more forward than London had bargained for, and who wrote to Salisbury that the messages from Kaufmann to Sher Ali were many more than what was understood: "During the past year they have been incessant".[57] This was of course not true. As Prasad has also pointed out "...the Government of India exaggerated the extent of correspondence between the Russian Government and the Amir of Kabul and depended on the unfounded rumours for their alarm..."[58]

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[53] *Central Asia*, No. I (1878), p. 83. Despatch to Salisbury, dated 18 September, 1876.

[54] *Ibid.* Loftus to M. de Giers, dated 30th September (12th Oct.), 1876.

[55] 1st December of the International Calendar.

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[56] Monypenny and Buckle, *Life of Disraeli*, Vol. VI, p. 155. Disraeli to Queen; 22-7-1877.

[57] *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. V, p. 413 (cited).

During the rest of the year, while London was remonstrating with St. Petersburg, four more letters were exchanged between Sher Ali and Kaufmann. These were as usual, formal acknowledgments of each other's letters and interchanges of civility.[59] Of these four, two were not published before 1881, until after Roberts had found them at Kabul. Thus ended the first phase of Russian correspondence with Kabul, during which the British were aware of the contents, received copies and often suggested draft replies. Most of it was published and there is no evidence at all pointing to Sher Ali's duplicity. On the contrary the British do not come out so very well. It was they who encouraged Sher Ali to acknowledge civil notes of Kaufmann, and by their evasive replies had disillusioned Sher Ali.

The appointment of Lytton as Viceroy in April 1876 inaugurating an era of "Love me or I will break you" Afghan policy marks the beginning of the second phase of this correspondence. Sher Ali was disappointed not disaffected, agitated not alienated, still hoping to be rehabilitated in British confidence. But after the breakdown of the Simla Conference in October 1876[60] and of the Peshawar Conference in February 1877, Lytton's aggressive designs and attitude had become transparent to Sher Ali. The British agent was withdrawn from Kabul, breaking thus the little direct diplomatic contact the British had with Afghanistan. This closed the opening through which Sher Ali used to channel Russian letters and his replies etc. Consequently no more correspondence between him and Kaufmann reached India, until it was found by Roberts in 1879.

However it was not until 18th October 1877 after the Turkish Mission to Kabul too had failed, that Sher Ali acknowledged Kaufmann's letter of October 1, 1876.[61] It was almost after a year that Sher Ali had written to Kaufmann; yet Lytton was reporting to London that the correspondence between them was "incessant" during the previous year. Beyond usual courtesies and a brief explanation as to why he had detained a bearer of the Russian letter of November 1876, Mulla Saifulla, for five days, there is nothing of importance in it. In fact before the Amir wrote this letter, he had just received another note from Kaufmann through Rajab Ali Khan, a Samarkandi. No copy of this letter is available but the references made to it by the Amir in replies and in Peshawar Diaries of 13th April 1878, tell us that it was written on 15th August 1877, and that it contained "merely formal expressions of friendship".[62] Actually it was in this letter that Kaufmann had raised the question of Mulla Saifulla's detention. It was, however, on April 9, 1878, that the Amir formally answered the letter, which was short and unimportant. Rajab Ali had also carried a letter from the Governor of Katti-i-Kurghan to the Afghan foreign minister Arsala Khan, who, however, died on 31st March 1878, and the letter was answered by his successor, Wazir Shah Mohammad Khan, in normal terms of compliment and courtesy.

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[58] Prof. B. Prasad, *The Foundations of India's Foreign Policy,* Vol. I, Calcutta, 1955, p. 182.

[59] Letter No. 23 from Sher Ali to Kaufmann. dated 1-10-1876. Letter No. 24 from Kaufmann to Sher Ali, dated 1-10-1876 Letter No. 25 from Kaufmann to Sher Ali, dated 6-7-1876 (announcing departure for St. Petersburg). Letter No. 26 from Sher Ali to Kaufmann dated 23-11-1876.

[60] It was at this time that Lytton described Sher Ali "an earthen pipkin between two iron pots".

By this time the Anglo-Afghan relations under Lytton's direction had deteriorated considerably and rupture was assured. All the military preparations had been made and Lytton was waiting for an opportunity. At the same time public feeling in Britain was also very high against Russia over the Turkish question, and war between the two seemed imminent, not only in the Mediterranean area but also in the neighbourhood of Oxus. But for the opportune conclusion of the Congress of Berlin in June 1878 the very extensive warlike preparations of the two Powers would have been put to test. In a situation such as this, the value of Afghan alliance was of great importance to both Britain and Russia. Kaufmann, who could not have been unaware of the estrangement between Sher Ali and Lytton, despatched on June 13, 1878, exactly on the same day as the Congress met in Berlin, General Stolieteff on a mission to Kabul, who arrived there on the 22nd July 1878. The fuller implications and repercussions of this move are not our concern at present but it aroused a great storm and finally gave the opportunity to Lytton to declare war against Afghanistan.[63] Although the Anglo-Russian dispute in Europe had been settled in June, the second Afghan war could not be stopped, as both Kaufmann and Lytton were now acting on their own and in defiance, certainly Lytton, of their superior authority. On May 30, 1878 Russia had come to a preliminary agreement secretly with Britain, and there was telegraphic communication between St. Petersburg and Tashkend, yet the Russian mission left on a mission, evidently hostile to the British interests, 14 days later. It is possible, as Kaufmann claimed, that he might not have been aware of the secret agreement, which was after all preliminary, and the Russian government, unaware as they might have been of Kaufmann's intentions, did not realise the need to communicate to him the agreement.[64] In any case the Congress in Berlin had just begun and was yet to arrive at an understanding. Kaufmann's conduct, in attempting to exploit Anglo-Afghan tension for Russia could not be very well objected to if the war between Britain and Russia had actually broken out. Dreading rupture in Europe, he had made this move which he ventured not before, and it is well within the bounds of practical politics, that he might have instructed Stolieteff to offer a treaty alliance to Sher Ali. But as the subsequent events show, once the Treaty was signed and the danger of war removed, Kaufmann politely or skilfully declined all Sher Ali's requests, which he himself had aroused. Whatever might be the fact on the Russian side, Lytton certainly, on the British side, acted in defiance of London.

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[61] For an account of the Turkish Mission, see *Journal of Indian History*, December 1961.

[62] Memoranda A, Vol. I, No. 38, p. 22.

As an Afghan, desirous to preserve the independence of his country, Sher Ali could naturally parley with Russia, as with British, but he was reluctant to receive the Russian mission, as he was to receive the British, and only agreed under threat of war from Kaufmann. Stolieteff carried a letter dated June 1878 from Kaufmann to Sher Ali, in which the Russian Governor-General had commended Stolieteff to the Amir's confidence and impressed upon him that "the advantages of a close alliance with the Russian Government will be permanently evident".[65] Before this letter Kaufmann had written another letter on January 31 (12th February) 1878 which was received by Sher Ali on April 16th; the letter is missing but, judging by the Amir's reference to it in his reply dated 23rd August 1878, to Kaufmann's June letter, it appears that in that letter Kaufmann had given an account of the Turco-Russian war.

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[63] See Singhal, *India and Afghanistan*, Ch. 3, University of Queensland Press, 1962.

[64] Lobanov, in an interview with Granville on January 24, 1881, asserted that at the time these letters were written the news of the signature of the Treaty had not reached Stolieteff. (Vide *Central Asia*, No. I (1881), p. 30).

While Stolieteff[66] was still at Kabul and the Amir's reply was unwritten, Lytton pressed him to receive a British mission led by Sir Neville Chamberlain in a letter on August 14. Three days later, his most beloved son and heir-apparent died, adding untold grief to his already considerable misery. On one side he pleaded with Lytton to wait until at least he had recovered from his grief, on the other he wrote a polite letter to Kaufmann on 23rd August, informing him that he had fruitful conversations with Stolieteff, who would give him verbally the report of what had transpired between the two. The letter is vague and it does not refer to any firm commitment made with Stolieteff. If there was any, at least a mention should have been made in this letter, which was his first after the Russian missions' visit. He wrote "I have fully understood the contents of the letters, as well as the verbal representations of the above-named General (Stolieteff), who has your full confidence, as well as that of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor. He has reduced to writing the verbal representations, the object of which was to strengthen the friendly relations between the illustrious Government of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor and the God-granted Government of Afghanistan, and made it over to me. I have communicated my replies to your letters to the said General, who will state them to you verbally".[67] No logic can overstretch to read in this letter even a hint at the conclusion of a secret treaty, of which Sher Ali was accused, or even of a desire to sign one. On the contrary, it indicates his reluctance to sign one. He says that Stolieteff had recorded the conversations and that he had given him merely a copy of their record.[68] If this was the alleged secret treaty, there should have been at least some sort of a formal exchange of notes, drafts or proposals. No treaty or any such legal document was found at Kabul or anywhere else; it was written from memory for the benefit of Roberts, by Mirza Mohammad Nabi who claimed to have copied it for Sher Ali. According to Sher Ali's letter to Kaufmann a copy of the record of the conversations, including the treaty, if there was one, was made over to him by Stolieteff, which would contradict Nabi's testimony. And if the Amir got further copies made, then what happened to the "original" copy? Moreover it seems surprising that the document which the Amir refrained from even mentioning to Kaufmann, for reasons, presumably of security, he let an ordinary Sardar of infirm loyalty copy for him. In any case the authenticity of such dictated documents must at best be limited, even if one were to ignore the special circumstances prevailing in Afghanistan at the time. There were, many statements collected by the British officers during those days which were found to be grossly inaccurate. Mohammad Hussan Khan also furnished from memory a version of this treaty which was shorter and different in words, but somewhat similar in nature.[69] The "treaty" contains ten clauses, of which number nine is missing and which, even on casual examination, reveals a few peculiar features. It was drafted in the name of the Russian Government and not in the name of the Czar of Russia, of His Imperial Majesty, as one would have expected it to be. Under this treaty the Amir was to surrender his foreign affairs to Russia but did not get anything in return beyond a vague assurance of Russian assistance "to repel the enemy, either by means of advice or such other means as it may consider proper". No financial assistance or subsidy was mentioned, and no date was given to the document. A "treaty" which was supposed to be "a permanent and perpetual one" appointed Kaufmann by name to be the recipient of all the Amir's communications who "will

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[65] Some officials believed that Stolieteff had brought two letters from Kaufmann—one private and one official. Sher Ali himself, in his reply to Kaufmann on 23rd August, 1878, speaks of "two friendly letters". But as the contents are the same, and the dates identical, it would appear that they were two translations of the same letter. In the second letter the above quotation is mentioned in the following form "...be it known to you that, if a friendly treaty will be of benefit to us, it will be of far greater benefit to yourself". (Vide *Central Asia*, No. I (1881), p. 16).

[66] Stolieteff was accompanied by six officers and escorted by 22 cossacks.

[67] *Central Asia*, No. I (1881), pp. 16-17.

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[68] No copy of this record was ever found.

[69] Both versions are available in *Central Asia*, No. I (1881), pp. 17-18.

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be authorised by the Russian Government to fulfil the wishes of the Amir". These were the conditions which the British had offered to him several times, even more;—the British were prepared to give generous subsidy, unlike Russia, which Sher Ali had declined each time. Why should he accept less from the Russians when the British were offering more?

However Stolieteff left Kabul towards the end of August, leaving behind Colonel Rosgonoff and the bulk of the mission.[70] The special messenger bearing Lytton's letter of August 14 arrived on September 10, asking the Amir to receive Chamberlain who was waiting at the Indo-Afghan border to enter. Sher Ali's pleas for postponement were rejected.

Upon reaching Tashkend, Stolieteff wrote to the Afghan Foreign Minister, Wazir Shah Mohammad Shah on 21st September 1870, the day Chamberlain's mission was at Ali Masjid announcing that he was "starting to see Emperor today in order to inform His Majesty personally of our affairs", ending with a bold note that "I hope that those who want to enter the gate of Kabul from the east will see that the door is closed, then please they will tremble". Significantly he referred to "affairs", not to "treaty" or agreement, if there was any, and did not mention Kaufmann at all, who was to be the main "beneficiary" of the "treaty". Moreover, he addressed the letter to the Foreign Minister, not to the Amir. On 8th October he wrote again to the Wazir professing to work incessantly for Afghan interests and paying high tribute to the Czar. This letter is a clumsy attempt at glib writing. Beyond self-praise and extortions it contains hardly anything more. He mentioned nothing about his visit to St. Petersburg for which he was leaving the day he wrote his last letter. Even "our affairs" on which he appeared to be so keen were not alluded to. Astute statesmen like Sher Ali could have seen through a half-wit like Stolieteff in a moment. Perhaps Stolieteff knew of Sher Ali's opinion of himself for he never addressed his communications directly to the Amir.

On the 6th October, a fortnight after the British mission was turned back, Sher Ali did not appear either excited or nervous at the grim prospect, but dignified and composed to face the inevitable. He did not even beg Russian support; he merely asked them to give the subject serious attention.

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[70] Stolieteff left Kabul on 24th August, 1878, reaching Tashkhend 23 days later on September 16th. He must have been in some hurry to return as the same distance he had covered in forty days' time on his outward journey.

With this letter was enclosed a letter for the Czar of Russia dated 9th October 1878. This was the first letter which Sher Ali had ever addressed to the Emperor. It is an interesting letter for a variety of reasons. It is succinct, dignified, and illustrative of the diplomatic ability of Sher Ali.[71] He briefly narrated the growing discontent of the British with him and hinted most skilfully that the main reason for the British hostility was his friendly disposition towards Russia. Yet he insisted that he "had done nothing unfriendly and hostile" against the British. But the most significant part of the letter was the comparison he drew between the Afghan situation of the day with that of 40 years before. "The British Government this day stands in the same position with regard to the Afghan Government as it did 40 years ago, viz. in those days an ambassador of the illustrious Russian Government and an agent of the British Government had arrived in Afghanistan. The late Amir, led by his sound judgment, preferred the friendship of your Imperial Majesty to that of English Government, and Afghanistan is consequence suffered what it suffered." Very ingeniously Sher Ali reminded the Czar that although the late Amir was wise to opt for the Russian alliance, the Russians did not play their part and come to his assistance, leaving him to suffer. Could the same happen again? Sher Ali ended his letter by hoping that the Czar would send him "friendly assistance", which was not specified. This fact would again suggest that there was no "treaty" at all, for if there was one, Sher Ali would not have "hoped" but invoked the treaty demanding aid, if not strictly on legal grounds, on moral grounds certainly.

About the end of October Sher Ali wrote to Stolieteff pointing out the aggressive designs of the British and asking him "to render such friendly assistance as may be thought proper".

Meanwhile Kaufmann sent two letters dated 21st September 1878 and 3rd October to Sher Ali.[72] These are missing but their contents, as revealed by the Amir's reply to them on 4th November, had nothing to do with the British affairs at all. Kaufmann had requested the Amir to accord travelling facilities and necessary assistance to a Russian named Pulkawnick Matyoff through Afghanistan to the Persian frontier. Sher Ali agreed to do so but warned the Russian to be careful in Kafiristan.

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[71] *Central Asia*, No. I (1881), pp. 19-20.

[72] These are Russian dates; they would be 1st October and 15th October respectively under the Gregorian calendar.

With reference to Sher Ali's letter to the Czar, Kaufmann wrote to the Amir on 4th November that he had telegraphed an abstract of his letter to the Emperor and sent the letter itself. But he significantly added "I am informed on good authority that the English want to come to terms with you; and as a friend I advise you to make peace with them if they offer it."[73] Sher Ali was not naive enough not to have realised that this was as broad a hint as it could be, that he should not expect Russian aid in an event of war, if at all he ever had expected it.

On 29th October, only a few days before Kaufmann had written expressing knowledge of peaceful intentions of the British, an ultimatum was served upon Sher Ali by the British asking him to apologise to them for the insult offered to their mission on September 21, within three weeks, failing which the British army would march into Afghanistan. The ultimatum reached Sher Ali ten days later and left him just enough time to send his apologies by return of post. Royal apologies, even if they are appropriately demanded, are not obtained at such speed. His reply dated 19th November, though written within the ultimatum period, did not reach in time to stop the war.[74] On 20th November a day before the British troops entered Afghanistan, the Amir wrote to Kaufmann in reply to his letter of the 4th November mentioning the British threat and complaining that, although he had made overtures for peace the British were not expected to listen to any of his pleas and remove misunderstanding. It is significant that he talked of "misunderstanding" between himself and the British to the Russian Governor-General with whom he was supposed to be conspiring against the British. Also in this letter, written on the day the British ultimatum was to expire and the conflict was waiting at his doorstep, he did not either ask for Russian military aid or mention any treaty alliance. The letter is not at all conspiratorial, but full of bitter disappointment at British intransigence.

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[73] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[74] Lytton had very cleverly manipulated Anglo-Afghan rupture. First he despatched his letter through a messenger, Gulam Hussain Khan, a former British agent at Kabul. who was repugnant to Sher Ali, as he had abused his position by intriguing in Afghan politics against Sher Ali for which he was, indeed, recalled by Lawrence in 1864. Then he selected Chamberlain as the leader of the mission. who was a stout supporter of Lawrencian policy, knowing full well that a rebuff issued to him, which was certain, would weaken criticism of his poicy by his greatest opponents, and finally by defying and even blackmailing the British Cabinet. (For a fuller discussion see Maurice Cowling—*Lytton, the Cabinet, and the Russians. English Historical Review*, Vol. LXXVI, 1961 and Singhal—*India and Afghanistan*).

In reply Kaufmann on 26th November 1878, unaware perhaps of the commencement of the second Afghan war, wrote on the authority of the Czar that "the British Ministers have given a pledge to our Ambassador in London that they will not interfere with the independence of Afghanistan". Kaufmann added that he was asking his officials, Mohammad Hassan Khan and Gulam Haider Khan, who had been deputed by Sher Ali to accompany Stolieteff on his return journey to Tashkend and had since been living there, to return to Kabul. On what basis did Kaufmann give such an assurance is not known, but it is quite clear that he was dissociating himself from any possible Afghan involvement against the British.[75] Writing to Rosgonoff, who was still residing at the Amir's Court, at about the same time in December 1878, he said that "the Amir knows perfectly well that it is impossible for me to assist him with troops in winter". Whether he could after the winter, was unlikely too.

Afghanistan fell rapidly before the British army. In a three-pronged attack on November 22 Ali Masjid was occupied and on 2nd December Peiwar Kotal in Khurram Valley was captured. It was at this time when Afghan territory had actually been run over that Sher Ali addressed on December 8, 1878, two letters, one to his official at Tashkend, Mohammad Hassan Khan and the other, to Kaufmann. Evidently Sher Ali had not received Kaufmann's letter of 26th November in which the latter had informed the Amir of the return of Mohammad Hassan Khan to Afghanistan. In both these letters he gave a brief account as to how the twenty British regiments had stormed his five regiments and captured Ali Masjid. But in his, letter to Hassan Khan, urging him to press to send aid urgently, he says that Russia must now not "withhold the aid of troops at this time of need and in accordance with the *requirements of the friendship* between the two Governments, and not to defer the aid till some other time, but *to send to Afghan Turkistan the* 32,000 *troops of Tashkand which General Stolieteff told in your presence were ready and would be dispatched whenever I required them.*"[76] It is clear by this letter that there was no written document. For the Amir, to prove his case, employed the device of citing a witness who was present when an assurance was given. If there was a treaty why did he not invoke it when he needed it most? It is also significant that it was Mohammad Hassan Khan, who later produced a written version of the alleged treaty from his memory, but the Amir mentions only his presence when a verbal promise was made.

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[75] This letter was a reply to Sher Ali's letter of November 20, which must have travelled remarkably rapidly.

His appeal for military aid to Kaufmann, made long after the actual attack, was differently stated. He did not mention the fact of 32,000 troops promised by Stolieteff, but appealed to Russia to help in his dire need in the name of "perfect concord" which had existed between the two countries, the "recent alliance concluded through General Stolieteff and the blame which must settle on the skirt of His Imperial Majesty's Government" if "any harm or injury" befell Afghanistan. His mention of the "recent alliance", cannot be accepted as pointing to the existence of a treaty, for alliance is not treaty but a vaguely used word meaning various degrees of association. In any case, as Lobanov pointed out later to Granville, "alliance" was substituted for "friendship", either deliberately or through mistranslation. The original term must be in Persian, which is not available, certainly not to the present writer. Again, why should the most important reason be casually mentioned as an afterthought as one of many, and remain unstressed and unrepeated? Sher Ali's request was in the nature of an appeal, not of a demand. In fact in the same letter, almost immediately after the mention of recent alliance he categorically states: "*As the interests of the two Governments are identical, I expect, as a matter of course, aid in men from you.*". That he was not unaware of Russian reluctance to aid him against the British is well indicated by the fact that he had declined, politely of course, to allow Rosgonoff to leave Afghanistan "for the sake of the mutual welfare of the Governments and for *certain other considerations*". Evidently he was holding the Russian back to be used as a hostage for some political ransom at a later date. Sher Ali was, indeed, desperate for help.

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[76] *Central Asia* No. I (1881), p. 22. Italics mine.

Kaufmann's reply to Sher Ali's request for aid was characteristic for its duplicity and evasiveness. His reply dated 2nd January was written about three weeks after Sher Ali had fled from Kabul and in it he said "...it is impossible to assist you *now*. I hope you will be fortunate. It all depends on the decree of God. Believe me, that the friendship which I made with you will be perpetual".[77] Of what use would have been the help if it at all come, after Afghanistan was destroyed, and of what meaning friendship? But it illustrates Kaufmann's tactics of raising hopes without making definite commitment.

The story of Sher Ali's end is somewhat tragic. He fled from Kabul on the 13th December 1878. On his way to St. Petersburg he fell sick at Mazar-i-Shariff and died there on 21st February 1879, a broken-hearted man. After his flight he wrote to Kaufmann on December 22, 1878, from some unnamed halting place, expressing his desire to proceed to the Russian capital to "have a congress held there to inquire into and settle my cause with the English after asking them what right they had to advance on Afghanistan". The Amir, who had heard of the Congress of Berlin, was hoping that a similar assembly of powers called at St. Petersburg could arbitrate between him and the British and apply on the latter diplomatic pressure to obtain redress for his country. Lytton found Sher Ali's bid to appeal to the conscience of Europe "humorous".[78]

Realising the embarrassment Sher Ali's presence in St. Petersburg could cause to the Russian Government, Kaufmann hastened to advise the Amir in a letter dated 7th January 1879 "not to leave your Kingdom", adding that "the Emperor has caused the British Government to agree to the continuance of Afghan independence.

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[77] *Central Asia*, No. I (1881), p. 24.

[78] Lytton to Layard 24-12-1878. (Vide Lytton Papers Mss. Eur. E/218-3/4, p. 910.

The British Ministers have promised this". A few days later on 11th January, he wrote again informing Sher Ali rather curtly that the Czar had directed him to ask the Amir to come to Tashkend, but "I have received no instructions about your journey to Petersburg". Kaufmann had made abundantly clear that Sher Ali was not welcome in Russia, although he did not quite know how to stop him from coming. These last three letters of Kaufmann were received by Sher Ali at Mazir-i-Shariff where he had arrived on 4th January 1879. He replied to all these letters on 2nd February, the last letter he ever wrote, with a princely dignity tinged with irony, at a time when he had lost all he had, his country was overrun by a reign of terror, and he was heart-broken and health-broken by "the sudden attack of catarrh and a fit of gout". Although he still expressed a desire to proceed to St. Petersburg upon recovery of his health, he knew that his journey's end had come. Sick, betrayed, and helpless he acknowledged "the sweet expressions" of Kaufmann and "the flavour of the Royal favours of His Majesty the Emperor" with a dignity not indistinct from irony. At the same time he announced the despatch of a few of his trusted Sardars to Tashkend "to remind you of that passage in your letter which conveyed a reassurance to me, and which is to the effect that His Imperial Majesty the Emperor has exacted an agreement from the British Government to Afghanistan retaining its independence". Sher Ali knew the value of the written word; he had caught Kaufmann for once making a definite statement and he held him on to it. He would have done the same with a treaty, if there was one.

While the affairs of Afghanistan were in a state of flux, he died on 21st February 1879 in his fifty-sixth year after a life full of hectic activity and varying vicissitudes of fortune. His death could not have come at a more opportune time for the Russian Government, especially for Kaufmann. It is therefore not possible not to recall that he was being treated by a Russian doctor Yuralski, who along with Rosgonoff and other remaining members of the Russian mission to Kabul, was held almost as hostage by the Amir, and who was not unaware of the very embarrassing position in which Russia would have been placed had Sher Ali lived to travel to St. Petersburg. Thus ended the life of a prince who refused to surrender an iota of dignity before threats of war and betrayal of friendship alike, to accept diminution of his authority as a prelude to certain foreign domination, as had happened to many other Indian or Asian princes, and "to barter away the independence of his country in exchange for any help to be rendered to himself".[79]

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[79] Hanna, *op. cit.*. Vol. I, p. 261.

APPENDIX

Russian Correspondence with Kabul[1]

No. of Letter	Date	From Whom	To Whom
	Part I		
	1875		
*1.	28th March	Gen. Von Kaufmann	Sher Ali
2.	15th July	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
*3.	20th December	Gen. Von Kaufmann	"
	1871		
*4.	17th July	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
*5.	28th October	Gen. Von Kaufmann	Sher Ali
	1872		
*6.	19th May	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
*7.	— February	Gen. Von Kaufmann	Sher Ali
*8.	20th July	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
*9.	28th June	Gen. Von Kaufmann	"
*10.	12th August	"	"
11.	14th August	Not known	The Governor of Balkh
	1873		
*12.	16th November	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
*13.	6th December	Gen. Kolpakovski	Sher Ali
*14.	1st December	Gen. Von Kaufmann	"
	1874		
15.	25th January	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
16.	"	"	"
*17.	25th February	Gen. Kolpakovski	Sher Ali

[1] *Central Asia*, No. I. (1881) (Cmd. 2798).
* Also published in *Central Asia*, No. I (1878).

No. of Letter	Date	From Whom	To Whom
	1875		
*18.	12th July	Gen. Von Kaufmann	,,
*19.	19th September	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
*20.	10th November	Gen. Von Kaufmann	Sher Ali
	1876		
*21.	3rd February	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
*22.	— February	Gen. Von Kaufmann	Sher Ali
*23.	27th August	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
24.	Ist October	Gen. Von Kaufmann	Sher Ali
*25.	6th July	,,	,,
26.	23rd November	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
	1877		
27.	18th October	Sher Ali	,,
	1878		
28.	9th April	,,	,,
29.	— April	Afghan Foreign Minister	Governor of Katti Kurghan
30.	— June	Gen. Von Kaufmann	Sher Ali
31.	23rd August	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
32.	21st September	Gen. Stolieteff	Afghan Foreign Minister
33.	8th October	,,	,,
34.	— October	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
35.	9th October	,,	The Emperor of Russia
36.	— October	,,	Gen. Stolieteff
37.	4th November	,,	Gen. Von Kaufmann
38.	4th November	Gen. Von Kaufmann	Sher Ali
39.	20th November	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann
40.	26th November	Gen. Von Kaufmann	Sher Ali
41.	— December	,,	Col. Rosgonoff
42.	8th December	Sher Ali	To his Envoy with Gen. Stolieteff
43.	,,	,,	
44.	22nd December	,,	Gen. Von Kaufmann
	1879		
45.	2nd January	Gen. Von Kaufmann	Sher Ali
46.	7th January	,,	,,
47.	11th January	,,	,,
48.	2nd February	Sher Ali	Gen. Von Kaufmann

No. of Letter	Date	From Whom	To Whom
	Part II		
	Correspondence after the death of Sher Ali		
	1879		
†1.	9th March	Gen. Von Kaufmann	Yakub Khan
†2.	29th March	Gen. Ivanoff	Musa Khan
†3.	8th April	Gen. Von Kaufmann	„
†4.	7th May	„	Yakub Khan
†5.	26th July	Yakub Khan	Gen. Von Kaufmann

1. The text of the alleged secret treaty between the Russian Government and Sher Ali—two versions.
2. Sher Ali's Firman.

† Also published in *Afghanistan*, No. I, (1880).

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Maratha-Nizam Relations

NIZAM-UL-MULK'S LETTERS

BY

P. SETU MADHAVA RAO, M.A., I.A.S.

Considerable contemporary material is available on the biography of Nizam-ul-mulk, the great General and statesman of the later Mogul Empire. Men who came in intimate contact with him, have fortunately, left accounts of the career of Nizam-ul-mulk (1671-1748). Only a few of these can be named below.

(1) Khwafi Khan served as the Diwan of Nizam-ul-mulk from 1713-1715. He has given a detailed account of the career of Nizam-ul-mulk in his celebrated work, the Muntakhabullubab, also known as the Tarikhe Khwafi Khan.

(2) Yusuf Muhammad Khan Turani served as the Director of Armouries, Governor of Bijapur and the Custodian of the fort of Parenda under Nizam-ul-mulk. He has given an account of his master's life in the work 'Tarikhe Fathaiya' written in 1754 A.D.

(3) Shah Nawaz Khan who later became the Prime Minister of Nasirjung (1748-49) and then of Salabatjung (1753-57) was the Diwan of Berar under Nizam-ul-mulk. His celebrated work 'The Masirulumara' contains a biography of Nizam-ul-mulk.

(4) The celebrated scholar, Gulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, first met Nizam-ul-mulk when the latter was fighting with the Marathas near Bhopal in 1737 A.D. He was in intimate contact with him till the death of Nizam-ul-mulk in 1748 A.D. Bilgrami has given an account of the career of Nizam-ul-mulk in his famous work 'The Khazanai Amira' composed in 1763 A.D.

(5) Lala Mansaram served Nizam1ul-mulk as Peshkare Sadarat, that is, Secretary to the Ecclesiastical Department. His work 'The Masire Nizami' is a very interesting one, as it contains, besides a biography of Nizam-ul-mulk, ninetyfour anecdotes about him.

The above are but a few of the contemporary authors who have left accounts of that remarkable personality. Besides biographies, we have collections of the letters of Nizam-ul-mulk. Two such collections are preserved in Hyderabad. One is by Muhammad Hashim Musawi Khan Jurrat (born in 1677 A.D.). The other is by Munshi Ramsingh.

In the 'Masirulumara' Shah Nawaz Khan refers to Musawi-khan in the following words.

"Musawi Khan Mir Hashim, whose nom-de-plume was Jurrat was Qiladar Khani (attached to, at one time, or trained by Qiladar Khan). Musawi Khan has been in the service of Nawab Asafjah for three years. His ostensible post is that of the Mir Munshi but his influence and intimacy are such as cannot be exceeded".

Musawi Khan was an erudite scholar. The letters which he wrote under the instructions of Nizam-ul-mulk, are distinguished by a flowery and courtly language, so much appreciated in that period.

These letters were collected by Musawi Khan's grandson. The collection is known as Munshate Jurat or Munshate Musawi Khan. Scholars like Dr. Yusuf Hasain Khan, Mahbub Junaidi and others have made use of these letters in their biographies of Nizam-ul-mulk.

The other collection of letters is known as the Gulshane Ajaib. Munshi Ramsingh was also a Secretary (Munshi) under Nizam-ul-mulk. The collection of the letters written by him under the instructions of Nizam-ul-mulk has also been utilised by historians to some extent.

A few letters of Nizam-ul-mulk are also to be found in the Archives of Bhopal and Jaipur.

With all this, it may be said that very few letters of Nizam-ul-mulk have been translated into English.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has translated two letters of Nizam-ul-mulk. One is a letter addressed to the Nawab of Cudpah, describing the Nizam's campaign against Bajirao in 1731. The other is a letter to Sawai Jaisingh of Jaipur. Both these letters were published in 'Islamic Culture' Volume 15, issue 3 of 1941 A.D.

In his 'Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah' Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan has included a translation of the following letters of Nizam-ul-mulk.

(1) Letter to Hussain Ali Khan (page 135).

(2) Letter to Sadduddin Khan (page 138).

(3) Letter to the Emperor on the defeat and death Mubariz Khan (page 160).

(4) Letter to the Emperor on the receipt of a farman (page 177).

(5) Letter to the Emperor on Maratha affairs (page 199).

(p) Letter to the Emperor on the rebellion of Nasirjung (page 238).

Thus, so far, only eight letters of Nizam-ul-mulk, have been translated into English.

If the collections of Musawi Khan Jurrat and Munshi Ramsingh are studied diligently, they are likely to yield very useful material.

A photostat copy of the collection of Musawi Khan Jurrat preserved in Hyderabad was made available to me through the kindness of Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives, Government of Maharashtra. The collection includes nearly one hundred and seventy-five letters.

While many letters are of little interest such as letters of thanks for Imperial gifts, quite a number of letters are very useful to students of History, such as the affairs of the Marathas, the rebellion of Haidar Quli Khan, the Governor of Guzerat, the downfall of the Sayyad brothers, and other important affairs.

In the following pages nine letters of Nizam-ul-mulk have been selected from the Musawi Khan collection. They all deal with the Marathas. A perusal of these letters brings out the following little known facts of Maratha-Nizam relations.

(1) Nizam-ul-mulk refers again and again to the fact that the Emperor Aurangzeb, inspite of all the resources he used in his Deccan campaign, could not put down the Marathas.

(2) He had now to fight them when their strength had increased considerably.

(3) Hoping that the Emperor would send assistance he fought the Marathas for nearly eight years. The help never came.

(4) He is convinced that without all the resources of the Empire being utilised, the Marathas could never be suppressed.

(5) He emphasises the pressing necessity of mutual consultations and unity of action to meet the peril frcm the Marathas. He chides the Mogul Generals who believed that the cmpaign against the Marathas could be ended within three or four months.

(6) He, however, never lost heart. He manfully continued the struggle against the Marathas. As late as 1743, he entered Tamilnad, captured Trichinopoly from the Marathas and eliminated their influence from that area. To prevent the Marathas from advancing in the north, was however beyond his power, and he seems to have resigned himself to the establishment of the Maratha power beyond the Narmada.

In the letters that follow I have indicated the approximate dates. Some of the letters are addressed to the Emperor, while the rest seem to have been addressed to prominent noblemen like Itmaduddowlah, or the Amirulumara.

Towards the end of Nizam-ul-mulk's reign, Muhammad Hashim Musawi Khan Jurrat seems to have been deprived of the favours of the Nizam. Afzalbeg Qaqshal, in his Tuhfatusshora (composed in 1165 H. 1753 A.D.) refers to this fact. This may probably explain why there are very few letters from his pen after 1744 A.D.

(1)

Letter to the Emperor

(About 1720)

"The great Province of the Deccan which had been brought under control during the time of Hazrat Khuldmakan (Emperor Aurangzeb) at great cost in men and money, cannot be abandoned. The defalcations of Sadatulla Khan (The Nawab of Carnatic) and the affluence of the Zamindars of Srirangapattan were reported to Your Majesty. Instructions were received from that quarter.

The fact is that the proper Governance of the Province of the Deccan is linked up with the destruction of the Marathas. But to destroy these people will require innumerable army and treasury, in addition to other resources beyond measure. During the time of Khuldmakan (The Emperor Aurangzeb), with all the resources in men and treasures from Bengal and Northern India, the destruction of these people (Marathas) and the elimination of disturbances raised by them in the Deccan could not be achieved.

The faithless ones (Sayyad Brothers) had their *jagirs* in the provinces of Northern India. They used to receive drafts of lakhs of rupees from that area. The imperial troops and a number of noblemen were attached to them. They too had their *jagirs* in Northern India. It was for this reason that they could not cope up with the situation in the Deccan. Finding no other alternative they came to terms (with the Marathas).

After I reached the Province of Daruzzafar (Bijapur), Sadatulla Khan, and other chiefs, such as Abdul Nabi Khan, and Bahadur Khan, sons of Dilerkhan, came to see me. They resorted to deceit and lying. They had no sense of honour. They had also no fear of any punishment. They used to practise hypocrisy and cunning. During the regime of the faithless one (Sayyad Husain Ali Khan), these people showed antagonism to Husain Ali Khan, and hence received favours from the late Emperor. Even at present they have kept up the practice of praising the Emperor and belittling the Governor of the Deccan. They made use of this practice to raise disturbances. They did not care for the affairs of the Emperor. Inspite of my efforts, there was no change in them. The payment of dues by them cannot even be conceived.

I was convinced of the difficulties of Governance in this province, I made repeated requests that your Majesty may bestow one crore rupees to cover operations, allow fifty lakh rupees from the Mahals of Northern India as Tankhaw, and also assign the revenues of the port of Surat for the expenses of administration of Deccan. But my request did not bear fruit. The officers of the court did not pay heed to it. The chastisement of the Marathas, the administration of the Province, (Bijapur) in view of the illegal occupation by Sadatulla Khan, and getting *Peshcush* from *Zamindar* of Srirangpattan are things which can be accomplished by the Grace of God. I only put forward my requests keeping in view the interests of the Emperor. But the request was not acceded to.

So, relying on God, I was trying to put affairs in order here. Viewing the ruin of the districts and the nonreceipt of income from them neither a stay here (Province of Bijapur) nor coming to terms with the Marathas is to my liking.

(2)

Letters on affairs in the Deccan

(About 1720)

Your letter inquiring after the affairs in the Deccan gave me great pleasure. The faithless ones (Sayyad brothers) had come to terms with regard to the affairs of the Deccan (with the Marathas). As there are no resources to subdue the forts and the region of the Deccan (in the possession of the Marathas) and destroy the Kafirs (Marathas), there was no alternative left to continue the observance of the terms made. The spell cast (by the Marathas) can only be broken if assistance in the shape of considerable money and large armies is made available by His Majesty. To think of campaigning against them (Marathas) without assistance would be against all prudence. But this has had no effect. That is why peace was maintained (with the Marathas). But these people, (the Marathas) have no sense of restraint. They are not satisfied. They are raising disturbances as before. Without assistance from His Majesty, to which a reference has already been made, there is no other way but to forbear and keep quiet. These people (Marathas) have established themselves throughout this province, even as infected blood spreads over all parts of the body.

At present I have posted experienced Deputies at all places.

(3)

Letter about the Maratha advance

(1732-1733)

Amirul Umara Bahadur, and Itamaduddowlah Bahadur had decided that before the wretches (Marathas) had crossed the River Narmada, they would reach Narmada and after a meeting would concert plans to chastise (the Marathas). Due to certain overwhelming reasons, delay took place.

At present, they (the Marathas) are scattered in the Provinces of Guzerat and Malwa. The proposal is to bring about a meeting, after driving them (the Marathas) from these provinces. A letter bearing the above contents was received by me and was the cause of great joy.

It is not thought that the wretches (Marathas) would be destroyed in one campaign.

These people (our armies) were negligent and had no knowledge of the movements (of the Marathas). Movements of armies took place on both sides. One army (of the Marathas) was by God's grace destroyed. This was in reality the foundation for the downfall and destruction of these forces of darkness (Marathas).

Any way if meetings and mutual consultations are held, necessary efforts would be made successfully.

I have written previously to Itmaduddowlah in detail. The points I have made in that letter should be kept in view in planning to destroy the wretches (Marathas). After these people are chastised, assistance from the emperor in the shape of men and money should be forthcoming, so that they (Marathas) could be dealt with effectively. By the grace of God and the fortune of the Emperor, these affairs could be settled satisfactorily.

The jackal natured Pila (Pilaji Jadhav) is still facing Itmaduddowlah, inspite of his (Itmaduddowlah) having a large army and a number of guns. If at this time Maharajah Abhay Singh, who has been appointed by the Emperor, reaches (near Itmaduddowlah), and if Gazanfarjung, (Muhammad Bangash) for whose assistance to Abhay Singh, Itmadudowlah has made a request, holds the fords of Chambal (where Bajirao has created difficulties), then by the efforts of all, the campaign will, by Gods Grace, end successfully. *Verse*: "If two hearts unite, they can shatter mountains". The jackal natured Pilaji, will, no doubt, strive his best until the time that river Narmada will be in floods.

During this period, the arrival of these two noble men (Abhay Singh and Gazanfarjung) will be of great benefit. Then Itmaduddowlah can chastise and drive the Marathas to the banks of the Narmada. In a similar way the fords of Chambal and Dholpur could be held. Then a meeting can be held successfully. That great noblemen are engaged in this campaign and that a meeting is to take place is a grand matter.

God willing, as soon as the news is received that Amirulumara, Itamaduddowlah, yourself, and Maharajah Abhay Singh have reached the Narmada, the Maratha chiefs who are with their armies in the Deccan and who are ready to go to the assistance of the armies in Northern India, will necessarily have a break in their plans.

By God's grace, when the meeting takes place, and, the Marathas observe this unity, their backs will be broken and their chastisement will be achieved satisfactorily.

(4)

Letter on the affair of the Marathas

(About 1733)

"I always understood from your letters that a meeting was to take place. But your present letter has greatly disappointed me. This reveals the spirit of indecision. In earlier letters you had indicated that a meeting would take place and plans to destroy the Marathas would be undertaken. But in your present letter there is no reference whatsoever to a meeting and mutual consultation. In short, your letter says, "The arrival of reinforcements in the shape of the Imperial armies and those of the great nobles and Rajahs will take place. Whatever efforts possible, will be made during these three or four months".

You must know that such opportunities do not occur again and again. After meetings and mutual consultations, plans to chastise the Marathas and destroy their homelands can be put into operation.

The fact is that I am greatly disappointed. With this fickleness, what faith can there be that action will be taken. The operations against the Marathas could not succeed, although Hazrat Kuldmakan (Emperor Aurangzeb) spent a great part of his precious life, poured immeasurable treasure and spread his large forces against them. How then can it succeed in a campaign of four months?

If this was all that was to take place, then it was useless to write about the necessity of meeting and mutual consultations. The strange thing is that I had written very clearly about the need for mutual consultations with the aim of chastising these wretches (Marathas). My letters may be with the Secretaries still. If you read them again, there will no contradiction in your letters.

If I had the necessary strength to destroy them (the Marathas) and their homelands, I would not have asked for meetings, mutual consultations and united action. If the aim is to carry the campaign to completion, then we must strive as the Hazrat Khuldmakan (Emperor Aurangzeb) did. We should have strong determination. We should forget from our minds all thoughts of ease and comfort.

It was only out of a sense of loyalty to the Emperor, that, relying on the expected assistance in men and money from the Emperor, I fought during the last six or seven years. These have been communicated in detail. This fight was beyond my power and resources. My resources were insufficient and no assistance was forthcoming. It was only through the grace of God that I succeeded against the wretches (Marathas) and protected my region from their disturbances. I have never been amiss in performing my duties. No assistance was forthcoming. There are two aims for the realisation of which assistance is necessary. One is the destruction of the homelands of the Marathas. The other is the removal of chauth. The destruction of their homelands cannot be achieved without necessary reinforcements.

Chauth can be prohibited only by bringing out a rupture with the Marathas. But to take it to a successful conclusion requires assistance. To force a rupture without assistance is against all prudence and a step involving us in great peril and danger.

In short, drawing up of a plan (against the Marathas) cannot be thought of without meetings and mutual consultations. After meeting, a way can be found. By the grace of God, steps could be taken to chastise the Marathas, or negotiations for a peaceful understanding under certain conditions, could be started.

Whatever the Emperor desires, steps could be taken to achieve his wish.

(5)

Letter about Jaisingh

(About 1733)

Jaisingh is devoid of courage and a spirit of adventure. I have tested him. My conviction is this. Jaisingh is in affluent circumstances. What is the necessity for him to give up all pleasures and plunge himself into operations of difficulties and danger.

His colleague is Abhay Singh, son of Ajit (Ajit-Singh). Through persistent reports it has been ascertained that he (Abhay Singh) has advanced from Jodhpur. If he has evil designs, then his colleague (Jaisingh) should recall him to his side.

He (Jaisingh) wants the Marathas to be his allies. In this he has two aims, one, that disturbances should subside, and the other that the Marathas should be shielded. By this he does not want to create disturbances. Therefore, as I have written previously, as a matter of precaution, four thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry are being sent to Burhanpur. I myself, relying on God, have resolved to cross (the River Narmada). Be sure of the arrival of the victorious army.

(6)

Letter of Nizam-ul-mulk regarding Maratha activities (1733 A.D.)

To put down the Marathas who had created disturbances, it was decided that Itmaduddowlah and the Rajah (supporter of dignity) Jaisingh should join hands and punish the Marathas and expel them. This was postponed due to reasons beyond control. As at present these wretches are spread in North India, I resolved to devastate their homelands and punish them. Otherwise our efforts would be wasted. It was with this view that I had written. God knows and the people also know that my aim was the carrying out of the orders of the Emperor, as a sacred task. Since the enthronement of the Emperor I have never spared my life and property. In spite of the jealousy of the evilwishers, I tried to bring order in the affairs of the province of Deccan. I exerted myself in this sacred duty. It can be ascertained how I dealt with the turbulent chiefs of Karnatak. What I did was of the utmost benefit. But the proud chiefs (Marathas) did not care for the feelings of the Emperor and inspite of my severe protestations, they crossed the river Narmada. They have caused disturbances and devastations in the provinces of Guzerat, Malwa, Akbarabad and Allahabad. I considered it my sacred duty to punish and destroy these dark hearted wretches (Marathas). I never cared to derive any benefit from this. My only aim was to carry out the orders of the Emperor, render public service, and prove my loyalty to the Emperor, render public service, and prove my loyalty to the Emperor. I did not care for the jealousies of the evil wishers. I had insufficient resources. But I trusted that assistance would reach me from the Emperor in the shape of contingents and money.

With this belief I broke the agreement of peace with Bajirao With his outstanding qualities, Bajirao is today the guardian angel of the Marathas. Fighting broke out (with him). The guns (Zamburkhana) came into operation wonderfully. The fighting continued for seven months. During all this period no assistance of men or money was forthcoming.

Second time, I engaged myself in fighting the devils (Marathas). I did not show any anxiety about not receiving assistance in men and money. After meeting Gazanfarjung (Muhammad Bangash, the Governor of Malwa. The meeting took place in March 1731), I once again embarked on pursuit and punishment of Bajirao. Filled with consternation and terror Bajirao fled away. He left his baggage in wilderness and fled with the utmost disgrace and humiliation. He escaped from the Gazis and was in a state of utter wretchedness.

A third time, that, is, last year, in the faint hope of an expression of kindness by the Emperor through reinforcements of men and money, I, embarked on *jihad* (war) in the territory of Devgarh in the province of Berar. This was inspite of the fact that I was engaged earlier in a recurrent fight. I was all ears to hear the noise caused by the arrival of reinforcements from the Emperor and all eyes to see them arriving. How I destroyed the armies of Raghu Bhonsla and the evil Kanhu, must have been made known through reporters and messengers. Every intelligent person will know that I am sincere, and have never swerved even a hair's breadth in my endeavours to destroy the enemy.

But if any one were to launch a campaign to destroy the Marathas and devastate their homelands, without assistance of men, money and war material, he is bound to run into difficulties. Mere issue of orders will not avail anything. A wrong advice is not proper. It is a sin. Such advisers are not the well-wishers of the State. I am saying this, keeping in view the great increase in peril (from the Marathas).

There are great Maratha Chiefs at the head of armies more numerous than ants and locusts, stationed in the Deccan. While consultations had started and meetings were held (by us) to destroy them, they, inspite of their great resources hung back from adventures in North India. They have become apprehensive. But they are planning, with the utmost caution, to make greater disturbances and conquer more territories than before. They are making great preparations to start fighting. Excepting a few, who have been referred to already, a number of chiefs are in collusion with them, and are strengthening the hands of these wretches (Marathas) in spreading devastation.

In view of this, the Marathas have caused widespread disturbances in Northern India. It is not possible to devastate their homelands without the assistance of men and money from the Emperor. The Emperor Aurangzeb poured armies and treasuries against them. But the resources were found to be insufficient. This had been explained to Itmaduddowlah at great length. The original letter and the copy thereof are sent to his Majesty. Copies are also sent herewith to you. Anyway a well planned organisation, in this matter is likely to yield the utmost benefit. Itmaduddowlah and the Rajah (upholder of dignity, Rajah Sawai Jaisingh) should concert measures and drive the Maratha Chiefs such as Pilaji and Holkar, who are stirring up strife in Northern India, to the River Narmada. I will also then move in that direction. Bajirao and his distinguished chiefs will rush to the assistance of their armies stationed on the other side of the Narmada. With Gods' grace and cooperation and mutual consultations amongst ourselves, all efforts will be made to bring about the destruction of these wretches. There is every hope that with God's grace, this work will be successfully completed to the satisfaction of the Emperor. Incidentally this will also bring out a meeting amongst ourselves, and result in satisfaction to the Maharajadhiraj (Sawai Jaisingh). Previously a letter on the same lines as above had been despatched. The jackal, Pilaji, inspite of his big forces, is camping in proximity to Itmaduddowlah. Maharajah Abhay Singh is at a distance and hence in no position to come. Gazanfarjang has not held the approaches to Chambal and Dholpur. In spite of the requests of Itmaduddowlah they have neither been given assignments of duty nor have they reached (the place of action). Dholpur will not present difficulties (to the enemy), and with inadequate resources, it will not be possible to check the enemy from passing through these areas. Kindly inform of this position to the Emperor and rush to the assistance of these persons and take united steps to punish the Marathas. Through these measures, drive them to the banks of the Narmada. Guarding the fords of Chambal with little force will not be a prudent step. Gazanfarjang (Muhammad Bangash) is a prudent and tried General. He will exert himself in destroying the Marathas. So also the other Generals.

God forbid. If there is delay in campaigning for the destruction of the Marathas, the difficulties will increase to such an extent that no amount of planning and action would be useful against them. The exigencies of the situation demand cooperation of all sincere men, and a careful appraisal of all aspects of the matter, keeping in view the present and the future. The planning of the destruction of these wretches will have to be done in a spirit of grim determination.

I have therefore written this letter. I have been writing during all these years on the pressing necessity of the destruction of the Marathas. But it had no effect. In writing as I did, I had no other view than that of discharging my duties, and serving the Emperor faithfully. But the contents of my letters had no effect. On the other hand the replies to my letters were sent after great delay. These replies were vague, and had no relation to the questions which I had raised. They added to my sense of disappointment. I had only reliance on God. The Marathas devastated the provinces of Malwa and Guzerat. Their activities extended upto Chambal, and Bundi, and reached the boundaries of Akbarabad, Allahabad and Ajmer. The daring of the Marathas exceeded all measure. It was then, namely last year, that I became aware of the desire (of His Majesty) to meet me. Communications to that effect were received by me. I therefore withdrew my hands from all affairs and remained awaiting (to hear). I am now in accordance with His Majesty's desires ready to devastate the homelands of these wretches.

The fact of the matter is this. Since the beginning of the reign of Khuld Manzil (Bahadur Shah), the Marathas have derived benefits from the provinces of Guzerat, Malwa and regions of Northern India. They have also added greatly to their resources of war. Since the time of Bahadur Shah nothing was done to check them.

The Marathas did not possess even one tenth of these resources during the time of Khuldmakan (Aurangzeb). The Emperor waged a determined campaign to uproot them. At that time the province of Bengal as also the other provinces of Northern India were prosperous and affluent. The Emperor Khuldmakan (Aurangzeb) poured the treasuries of these provinces in this campaign. He captured the forts of the Marathas and established thanas (outposts) in that area. At the beginning of his campaign, Khuldmanzil (Emperor Bahadur Shah, then Prince Moazzam) was posted to the passes in the vicinity of Khelna. Prince Azzam was posted towards Satara. The Emperor himself remained for years together at Bramhapuri which is at a distance of fifty Kroh (one Hundred miles) from Satara. Azzam Shah's camp was at Khelna which is at a distance of forty Kroh (eighty miles) from Satara. Similarly the Prince Bedar Bakht and other noblemen were posted with their armies. All this was, however, of no avail. To the end of the reign (of Aurangzeb) the disturbances raised by these wretches (Marathas) full of guile and evil, could not be put down. Their activities increased day by day. Administration broke down. The Marathas indulged in bloody devastations freely. They were opposed in battles by Princes and noblemen equipped with big armies and sufficient equipment. But this did not yield any good result. All this is known to the whole world.

And now the power and resources of these disturbers (Marathas) have doubled. The affairs of the Deccan, have, in comparison with affairs in the past, fallen into disorder, beyond measure. The forts and posts on the other side of the Bhima River had once been in the possession of the Emperor (Aurangzeb). At present, they have passed into their hands. In addition, they hold further extensive territories as Tankhaw (on condition of service). Further Rajah Shahu holds *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. He was given these concessions on condition that he remained content with getting one third revenue from the Deccan and did not go beyond these claims. But the greed and insatiety of these people (Marathas) is, more than that of Satan. Where they find force opposed to them, they are content with half the revenue. But in proportion to the weakness of places opposing them they leave from one third to one tenth of the collections to the helpless Jahagirdars. They take away the remaining collections. It is for this reason that their chiefs such as Kore (Kawde), Kanho (Kanhoji Bhonsle), Raghu (Raghoji), Fateh Singh (Bhonsle), are always on the move, to carry out devastations. They also take away considerable quantities of grain and fodder from the people.

The aim behind the activities of these people is simply this. To decrease the income of the Mujahias (Moslems), to inflict injuries on the strength of the Moslems through these off and on harassments, and to deprive the Moslems of the strength to wage jihad.

The strength of the Marathas has increased very greatly. It is necessary to hold consultations, help each other, secure assistance in abundant measure, of war material from his majesty, and wage a campaign to destroy them (Marathas). It was on this background that the news of a meeting (with his Majesty) was the cause of great satisfaction and strength to me, as it would mean consultation and drawing up of suitable plans to destroy (the Marathas).

It is not known what fate has in store

The devastation of the cities and regions will cause widespread grief and distress. At present his Majesty may take action against the few Maratha Chiefs who are on the other side of the Narmada. The greater part of the Maratha army led by Bajirao, Sripatrao (one of his distinguished men) Yeshwantrao, Senapati, Anandrao Sarlashkar, Fateh Singh, the adopted son of Shahu, the sons of Santaji Ghorpade, Hindurao, Udaji Chavhan, Raghuji Bhonsle, all distinguished chiefs of the Deccan, is at present in Deccaṇ. The Marathas have heard of the mutual consultations to be held among ourselves and also the proposed combination of the armies (Mogul) of the Deccan and Northern India. They have decided to start fighting in all directions. I have therefore posted Talib Muhiuddin Khan, Muhammad Sayeed Khan, Rajah Chandresen, Sultanji Nimbalkar, Rao Rambha Nimbalkar, Hirzullah Khan Bahadur, Jamil Beg Khan, Bapuji Nayak, Shujaat Khan, Abdul Aziz Khan, Hafizuddin Khan Bahadur, Sayyad Khwajah Khan, Khwajah Nurullah Khan (the last, Governor of the province of Hyderabad), Sayyad Najmuddin Khan, and Shamsuddin Khan, to various places. They have been asked to exert actively in protecting the country, and punishing the turbulent. The fighting that took place last year is wellknown and does not need description. This servant (myself) does not spare himself in any way. He has nothing to be ashamed of in the presence of God and the Prophet. If it is decided to wage campaign, and if the required materials are supplied, I will report on whatever exertions I will be making, I have every hope that by the Grace of God, my exertions will be recognised and win for me the grace of His Majesty, and also bring me consideration in this world and the next. It is obvious that when the Emperor embarks on a campaign with a great army and with all the resources at his command, the enemy is sure to be destroyed within a short time. The power and resources of the enemy have at present gathered such strength that without assistance forthcoming from His Majesty, any activity on my part would be inadvisable. It would be a short sighted step. On the other hand, considering its effects, it will be very improper. It will require mutual consultations and careful preparation if misfortune is to be avoided. As the saying goes, "The problems have to be settled on the spot... Whatever His Majesty decides will be carried out. Since the news of the sending of reinforcements started, a long time has elapsed. This has given the Marathas sufficient time. No delay should occur. If a delay takes place, God forbid, grave calamity will result and no amount of planning will have any effect. In the meeting to take place all these will be discussed mutually, and decision will be taken on measures to be adopted.

(7)

Nizam-ul-mulk's letter on operations against Bhaskar Pandit (About 1742)

"After the capture of Mulhair, reports were constantly received that Ali Qarawal and Bhaskar, the agent of Raghu (Raghoji Bhosle) had spread in the Province of Berar and were planning to invade Bengal. Therefore, in order to chastise them I resolved to march to that region. I marched long distances. I decided to clear the Province of these wretches. Ali and Bhaskar were overwhelmed with fear. They knew for certain that wherever they moved in the Province of the Deccan, the Mujahids (holy warriors) would pursue them and make efforts to destroy them. They would not leave a trace of these wretches (Marathas) on the earth. In accordance with the saying, "Nothing is better than the shifting of residence". They had decided on the invasion of Bengal and for that reason had spread like lightning towards the province of Berar. I therefore wrote to Iwaz Khan Bahadur, the Governor of the Province of Hyderabad that he should not get anxious on account of the large number of the Devils (Marathas). He should place reliance on God and bar their progress and pursue and chastise them. It is the practice with the jackalnatured enemy (Marathas) that they divide their numerous army into many detachments. Their various chiefs move in different directions. To the misfortune of Ali Qarawal, he came face to face with Iwaz Khan Bahadur. Bhaskar was at a distance. He seized this opportunity and fled towards Bengal. Ali Qarawal came under fighting from the Gazis (Nizam's army). The quarry was about to be destroyed. With the greatest of difficulty, and with heavy loss, Ali Qarawal followed Bhaskar. His aim was to join Bhaskar and march with him towards Bengal. They would then help each other. It is in the nature of the Satans to run away. They (Marathas) are always practising the art of moving out. Therefore the colleagues of Iwaz Khan could not match them in the rapidity of movement.

On hearing of this, I left my heavy baggage in Hyderabad and made rapid marches against them. I traversed long distances within a short time. In a short time the army of Islam would have clashed with them. Ali Qarawal felt that the net was closing around him. He saw all avenues of escape closed. He therefore paid a heavy amount to a Zamindar of that region, and with the greatest difficulty he fled through impassable routes and reached Raghu (Raghoji) in the Deccan. He could not join Bhaskar. I therefore decided to destroy Raghu and Ali, and also to foil the plans of Bhaskar. In the height of the rainy season, I started. In rendering service to Your Majesty, I considered, the dangers and perils as pleasures and comforts and marched from Hyderabad towards Berar and Devgarh. My aim was to spread consternation in his (Raghoji) homelands situated in that Province (Berar). No engagement, however, could take place. They (Marathas) were unnerved, and giving up all courage they fled away. I heard later that he (Raghoji) wrote to Bhaskar that the victorious army (Nizam's army) had marched against him. Affairs had gone out of control. No assistance was available from any direction. He (Bhaskar) should, therefore, give up the campaign of Bengal, and return hurriedly so that he could be a source of strength to him (Raghoji). To discerning persons it will be apparent that this manoeuvre has been of great help to Mahabatjung (Ali Vardi Khan, Governor of Bengal). I hope Mahabatjung will dwell on this in his reports to Your Majesty.

By God's grace, Raghu (Raghoji) and Ali Qarawal have been disgraced. They have lost their self confidence. They are in difficulties. Bhaskar too is shaken and bewildered. Bengal has been freed from danger.

Verse: How pleasing that with one miracle two aims have been achieved.

(8)

Letter on operations in Bengal

(About 1742)

Northern India has fallen into grave disorders, owing to the negligence of the officers of the Empire and also because no armies were posted for the purpose of the chastisement of the disturbers of peace. Since a long time the Marathas have created a commotion in Bengal. No steps have been taken to put affairs in order. Abul Mansur Khan (Nawab of Oudh) was appointed to chastise the (Marathas). He has a well-equipped army. He is neglecting his duties. My resolution to march towards Bengal was not to the liking of the Emperor. I got indications of his attitude.

And now, after a great devastation, I have received a *farman* (orders) of the Emperor to go to Bengal and chastise the Marathas. The Emperor's orders could only be due to the will of God.

Certain events have occurred in the Deccan due to which it has become necessary to stay, for a while in this region. Himmatyar Khan Bahadur came into conflict with Bahadur Khan, the Fauzdar of Karnool. In the fight Himmatyar Khan was killed. Safdar Ali Khan (Fauzdar of Karnatic) has also been killed in the Karnatic.

I have therefore decided to march towards Karnatic. I am making long marches everyday. I will put down these disturbances (in Karnatic) by the Grace of God. I have fully determined that I will then go to Bengal.

(9)

Nizam-ul-mulk's letter to the Emperor on the capture of Trichnopoly

29th August 1743

"The fort of Trichnopoly is one of the famous strongholds of Karanatic. With its strong bastions and walls, its width and the depth of its moat, it is—an unrivalled place. The differences between the Nawab of Arcot and the Governor of this fort, gave an opportunity to Raghu (Raghoji Bhosle) who captured the fort. But for this fire of internal discord, the Marathas could not have gained this fort. Anyway, this caused great commotion in the Karnatic. It became necessary to take strong action. I felt that this action would be full of difficulties. But I placed my reliance on God and marched till I arrived at a distance of five *Kos* (ten miles) from the fort. There were two rivers on the way. It was not thought proper to take the whole army across the rivers. Hence half the army and renowned generals were posted in front of the fort. They were instructed to lay siege to the fort, carry forward entrenchments and make all efforts to capture the fort. The fort had considerable number of cannons. Guns, mortars, and grenades were also in abundance. The cannon-balls and bullets and grenades issued continuously from the fort like hail from the skies. But our brave men fought on gallantly and carried the siege regularly. They carried the entrenchments forward. They showed great bravery and made outstanding efforts.

As it happened, the rainy season added to the difficulties and hazards of the operations. It was raining hard. The garrison also rained cannon-balls on the besiegers. The balls of their big cannons weighed three Shahjahani maunds each. The stone balls weighed one maund. They were so heavy that the walls and bastions could crack under their impact. A number of our Mujahids (holy warriors) received injuries, and many drank the cup of martyrdom.

Therefore renewed efforts were made to carry forward the entrenchments, and pursue the siege vigorously. The men faced their difficulties manfully and advanced forward.

All of a sudden, the two rivers were in full flood, upsetting all our arrangements. There was water everywhere. Signs of the outburst of storm were apparent. Our warriors were engaged in operations. They had to work in dim light.

Scarcity of grain added to our difficulties.

The wretch Murar Rao (Murarrao Ghorpade) had gained an interval of four to five months, when we started on this campaign from Aurangabad and reached here. He utilized this period in scouring the country-side. He seized grain, and other necessary articles. He also collected ammunition and put them in the fort. This was in addition to the resources existing in the fort. Even during the siege operations, the garrison succeeded in smuggling tobacco and other required articles into the fort. These people are expert in such lifting operations. They seize all such opportunities that present themselves. In the transport of horses and camels, the army of Islam had to undergo great misfortune.

The friends and supporters of the garrison also rushed supplies and other assistance to the besieged. Sidhu (Sidhoji Ghorpade), the father of the wretch (Murarrao) issued from the direction of Bankapur with a large army and marched a few stages towards this fort. I therefore appointed Shaikh Ali Khan Junaidi with a strong army to chastise him. I also sent Jalaluddin Husain Khan, the Darogah of the artillery, with a well equipped detachment to check and chastise the Zamindars and turbulent poligars striving to render assistance to the besieged. I posted Mir Muqtada Khan Rissaldar towards Mysore, so that no assistance from any direction should reach the garrison. Rajah Shahu is the guardian angel of the Marathas. That we should take this fort is a thing which is against his wishes. He therefore spread his armies in the Deccan. His Generals, arrived with their armies in the Province of Hyderabad. Fighting took place between them and the Governor of the Province, Anwaruddin Khan. By the Grace of God, they (the Marathas) were chastised and fled away. In a similar way the Rajah (Shahu) sent strong armies in every Province (of the Deccan) and stirred up strife. He also invited Balaji from Northern India. In response, Balaji came to the Deccan with all his forces. The siege of this fort is a great shock to Raghu (Raghoji Bhosle). Although he is in Bengal, his heart is in Trichinopoly. He left off his campaign (in Bengal) in great haste and without achieving any result, has returned to the Province of Berar. In short, this siege has resulted in great commotion. If I were to dwell on the difficulties and the perils of this operation, it would be long a letter. I therefore, shorten it and write to submit that Praise be to God, inspite of all difficulties facing us, the garrison begged for the safety of their lives. On the seventh of the month of Rajab, the fort was captured. May the Sun of His Majesty shine in increased splendour in the world.

How Asoka was Drawn to Buddhism

BY

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When Aśoka's great devotion to the teachings of Buddha is recalled, one naturally asks what or who might have influenced him to prefer those teachings to several other schools of thought current in his time. But unfortunately we have no direct evidence to satisfy our curiosity in respect of this matter. Buddhist tradition has it that Aśoka was drawn to Buddhism by the serene countenance of the monk Moggaliputta Tissa who ultimately converted him to Buddhism, but it has little historical value, for tales of people being impressed and attracted by the serene countenance of Buddha or his followers are far too common in Buddhist literature, and these tales are only a picturesque and dramatic version of a more long-drawn series of prosaic developments.

It is also said that the teachings on noble exertion in the Appamāda section of the Dhammapada attracted Aśoka to Buddhism and remained a source of inspiration to him throughout his life. Though that may be quite true, it does not however explain how Aśoka came to know of the Dhammapada. In Rock Edict 13, he speaks of his repentance consequent upon the suffering and loss of life caused by the Kalinga War, and of his strong inclination and desire for Dharma and instruction in Dharma—*tive dhaṃmavāye dhaṃmakāmatā dhaṃmānuṣathi cā Devānaṃpiyaṣā* (Kālsī version). That one suffering from repentance and remorse should turn to religion for solace and support is very natural, but all the same one wishes that a little more information were available regarding this phase of Aśoka's life. In the Minor Rock Edict, he speaks of his two-and-a-half years' lay discipleship (presumably after the period of mental suffering caused by the Kalinga War, an event of the 8th regnal year), which brings us roughly to the 11th regnal year. A little more than a year before this time (viz., the 11th regnal year), i.e., in the 9th to 10th regnal year he had become fully a Buddhist—"I went to the Saṃgha", and as clearly seen in his use of the term *Saṃgha* in the Schism Pillar

Edict, the Bairāṭ Buddhist Text Edict (commonly known as the Bhābrū Edict) and in Pillar Edict 7, by Saṃgha Aśoka invariably meant the Buddhist Order. It is fairly certain therefore that the lay discipleship which he entered in about the 9th-10th regnal year was also under the Buddhists. It was in the 10th regnal year that he visited Bodhgaya, abolished the royal hunt and commenced the Dharma tours (Rock Edict 8).

Aśoka's association with Moggaliputta Tissa, under whose guidance the proceedings of the Third Council were conducted by Aśoka and who was presumably a learned, devout and elderly monk, need not be doubted. It is very probable that he was Aśoka's guru, with whom Aśoka studied the Buddhist scriptures and learnt the teachings of Buddha. But we are trying to go into the history of a period slightly anterior to Aśoka's association with Moggaliputta, i.e., whether Aśoka adopted Buddhism because of Moggaliputta or he adopted Moggaliputta as his preceptor after he had otherwise been drawn to some extent to Buddhism. There is no evidence to show if during the period of his repentance or in the early stages of his religious-mindedness Aśoka had approached for instruction the teachers of any other of the eminent religious sects of the time such as the Brahmans or the Nirgranthas (Jainas) or the Ājīvikas, etc. His solicitude and regard for these sects is well expressed in his Inscriptions and he must have been familiar, to some extent, with their teachings. Yet that he chose Buddhism as the creed of his personal allegiance may not have been caused entirely by the accident of his meeting with Moggaliputta.

I believe it is possible to imagine the existence of another influence that might have helped to draw Aśoka to Buddhism. Though no direct or clear evidence is available about the matter, certain circumstantial information supplied by the Buddhists of Ceylon might provide us, I believe, with a clue to the hidden factor.

The Mahāvaṃsa mentions one of Aśoka's queens by the name of Devī, which was certainly not her personal name but the title by which queens were called. It is said about her that she was the beautiful daughter of a rich merchant of Vidiśā, with whom Aśoka fell in love when once on his way to Ujjayinī as his father's viceroy. It is further added that this queen lived in Vidiśā and not in Pāṭaliputra, and that she was the mother of Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā who went as Buddhist missionaries to Ceylon. Before he set out for Ceylon, Mahendra is said to have gone to Vidiśā to meet his mother who took him to a beautiful vihāra on the Cetiyagiri (Caityagiri, 'the hill with a chapel'), also called Vedisagiri (Vidiśāgiri, 'the hill of Vidiśā'), now identified as Sanchi.

From this report we gather the following, viz. that a Buddhist shrine existed at the time on the Sanchi hill, to which the queen was deeply devoted. Exactly when Mahendra set out for Ceylon is not known but it was very probably after the Third Council which decided to send Buddhist missions abroad, according to tradition. The date of the Third Council too is uncertain, ascribed as it is to various dates between Aśoka's 17th and the 29th regnal years. Probably it took place not very long after the 20th regnal year.

Aśoka's stupas were mostly built at places associated with Buddha. Because Sanchi had no such association, it has been surmised that Aśoka's Buddhist monuments at Sanchi were built because of its nearness to Vidiśā where his favourite queen lived. But Bairāṭ (near Jaipur in Rajasthan) which saw a number of Aśokan monuments had no association either with Buddha or with the Vidiśā queen. It is probable, therefore, that Aśoka honoured Sanchi and Bairāṭ in spite of their non-association with Buddha's life, because of the existence at these places of Buddhist shrines of an older date, perhaps possessing sacred relics of Buddha. Archaeologists think that the Aśokan pillar (and presumably also the stūpa) at Sanchi were erected probably before the pillar at Lumbinī, the latter's date being the 20th regnal year. The oldest of the extant shrines at Sanchi is probably the one sometimes called the Queen's Monastery, built at a level lower than that of Aśoka's stūpa and pillar. It might have been renovated and enlarged in post-Aśokan times but its original nucleus was probably the shrine to which the queen took her missionary son for valedictory blessings. Even if it were the Aśokan stūpa—if it were already built at the time—to which the queen took Mahendra, it would indicate her Buddhist leanings. It was probably her strong religious-mindedness that made her shun the palace life of Pāṭaliputra and continue to live in Vidiśa, so that, it may be, she could live nearer to the Sanchi shrine, the centre of her devotion.

We are told by the Mahābodhivaṃsa that it was the Vidiśā queen who built the vihāra of Vedisagiri. This might mean that if she did not actually found it, she enlarged and renovated it, may be even before the construction of the Aśokan stūpa. The same text also informs us that she was descended from a branch of the Sākyas who had migrated to Vidiśā during Buddha's lifetime. Probably the Mahābodhivaṃsa, although a text not older than the 11th century A.D., records tradition current among the Buddhists, and does not invent these pious legends to give the queen, a devotee of Buddha, a sacred lineage. Whether she was descended from the Śākyas or not and whether her ancestors had migrated to Vidiśa during or after the Buddha's times, it seems clearly suggested that she was an ardent Buddhist, and if there is any truth in the report that she was connected with the Śākyas by blood, it suggests that she was a Buddhist before Aśoka became so.

It is not improbable that Aśoka sought the company of his beloved consort during the days of his mental distress after the Kalinga war, asked her to come to Pāṭaliputra for the purpose or went himself to Vidiśā. Or, perhaps the queen of her own accord, hearing of Aśoka's depressed state of mind, asked him to come to Vidiśā for a change, or perhaps she went herself to Pāṭaliputra to comfort him. In that case, it is quite possible it was her religious- mindedness that soothed Aśoka's mental agonies and drew him to the source of her faith and strength.

We get a few more details about the Vidiśa queen from Buddhist tradition. The Mahāvaṃsa informs us that another name of this queen was Asandhimittā and that she was the *second* wife of Aśoka. Buddhaghosa mentions in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī a story about queen Asandhimittā who is not described as the chief queen but as one of the queens of Aśoka. In this story she is associated with a bird called karavikā or kalaviṅkā, possessing an exceedingly sweet voice and belonging to the Himalayan region. For prominent persons in ancient India, to possess or to be given several names is common and therefore the name Asandhimittā, real or imaginary, need cause us no problem.

Is there any historical basis at all for all that we have so far learnt or inferred about the Vidiśā queen? Perhaps there is.

That Aśoka had many wives is proved by his references to them collectively in the plural number in Rock Edict 5 and Pillar Edict 7, of whom only one queen is mentioned by name as "the *second* queen, Kāruvākī, mother of Tīvara" in the Queen's Edict. This brief Inscription runs as follows —

"By the word of the Beloved of the gods, the Mahāmātras everywhere are to be told (thus): The gifts here of the second queen, (viz.) mango-groves or parks or almshouses or anything else that are counted (i.e. registered in state documents) as (gifts) of that queen, all that are now to be counted (registered) thus, (viz.) 'Of the second queen Kāruvākī, the mother of Tīvara'."

Kāruvākī's extensive charities reveal her strong religious disposition, and so the Vidiśā queen Devī or Asandhimittā, described as the *second* wife of Aśoka who was the builder of the Sanchi shrine and mother of Mahendra, according to tradition and legend, naturally comes to our mind. Buddhaghosa's mention of her association with the Karavikā or Kalaviṅkā bird recalls her name Kāruvākī mentioned by Aśoka. The origin of this name has been supposed by some to have been from the Vedic *gotra* of the Kārus or to be connected with the modern caste of the Karwas, but perhaps a more natural and plausible interpretation would be to take it not as a *gotra* or caste name but as a personal name in its literal sense meaning "one possessing artistic (*kāru*) speech (*vāk*)" which would remind us of Buddhaghosa's bird "with an exceedingly sweet voice". That historical names and even events are given a distorted and fanciful interpretation by later generations is a well-known trait of the Indian imagination. The bird's original habitat having been the Himalayan region is probably reminiscent of the Terai home of the Śākyas, from whom the queen is said in the Mahabodhivaṃsa to have descended. I suppose we may thus infer the identity of the legendary Vidiśā queen with the historical Kāruvākī.

But why should queen Kāruvākī be called "mother of Tīvara" in the Queen's Edict and not "mother of Mahendra", and why should she be so called when no son of Aśoka by the name of Tīvara is known to history or legend?

The intention of the Queen's Edict is fairly clear, viz. it orders that the gifts of the second queen be thenceforth registered under an amplified name of the queen, but why so, we do not know. It has been surmised that the queen had given birth to a son. It may have been so. Probably the queen had no male child other than Mahendra who on adoption of monastic life had ceased to belong to the world, as it were, and therefore the queen was now to be known as the mother of her new-born son who probably died young later and thus was not known to legend or history. From the manner in which the Queen's Edict is found engraved on the Allahabad Pillar, in company with the Schism Pillar Edict and Pillar Edicts 1-6, it would appear that the Queen's Edict was inscribed before Pillar Edicts 1-6 (all of which were dated the 26th regnal year). Tīvara, therefore might have been born shortly before the 26th regnal year, when Aśoka must have had several other sons, much older than Tīvara, born of the other queens. When the empire fell into disruption after Aśoka's death, the scramble for power among Aśoka's older sons and other ambitious rivals probably swept the young Tīvara's claims, if he were still alive, clean off the board, so that he remained of inconspicuous status throughout his life.

A meaning of the word *tīvara* in Sanskrit is 'the ocean'. Was the new-born son of the second queen so named in memory of the overseas missionary work of her son Mahendra and daughter Saṅghamitrā?

The second queen's Buddhist affiliation may perhaps be inferred from another historical accident. The Queen's Edict is found inscribed nowhere but on the Allahabad pillar. Why? Probably because it was not at all meant to be inscribed, and it came to be engraved on the Allahabad pillar through official mistake. It was surely not the *Dharmalipis* alone, meant to be engraved on stone, that were sent by Aśoka to his subordinates everywhere. A number of imperial orders on various administrative matters which were not of the nature of *Dharmalipis,* used to be despatched from the Central Secretariat with the usual preamble "By the word of the Beloved of the gods, the Mahāmātras (at such and such a place, or everywhere) are to be told thus", and these were surely not meant to be engraved. The Queen's Edict was just one of such orders, merely a matter of legal and documentary technique requiring the gifts of the queen to be registered in future not as of the "Second Queen" but as of the "Second Queen, Kāruvākī, the mother of Tīvara". No question arose therefore of its engraving on stone. But because the order related to the Second Queen's large charities, whose religious disposition was well known and who was probably regarded as the Emperor's intimate associate in Dharma (including Buddhist?) activities, the authorities of the Prayāga (Kauśāmbī) region, where the Allahabad pillar was erected, mistook it for a *Dharmalipi* meant to be engraved. That mistakes of a similar kind used to be made from time to time by the provincial authorities in matters relating to *Dharmalipis* is proved by this that certain words of the nature of postscripts added at the end of some *Dharmalipis* by the Central Secretariat for instructing the provincial authorities regarding the engraving, propagation or publicizing of the *lipis,* and which were never meant to be engraved, were inscribed on stone in full in certain areas, viz. the various postcripts to the Minor Rock Edict engraved at Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Brahmagiri, Yerrāguḍi etc., and to the Schism Pillar Edict engraved at Sārnāth.

It may be asked, if the conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism took place by the influence of the second queen, why tradition or legend did not recall it when it could record certain other facts showing her religious disposition, her devotion to and building of a Buddhist shrine, and even her descent from the clan of the Śākyas. Perhaps because the church leaders were averse to mentioning that, so important an event in church history as the conversion of a powerful monarch who did so much for the propagation of the faith, was effected through the agency of a woman, however devout. In their eyes it was probably more in the fitness of things that the great deed should be performed by the serene countenance of a monk (did Aśoka come in contact with Moggaliputta Tissa because the latter was associated with the Sanchi shrine revered by the queen? In the Northern legends, however, Aśoka's monk guide at Buddha's birth place, supposed by some to have been his preceptor, is named as Upagupta). Or, it may be, the outside world did not know fully how much the great emperor had been affected by his beloved consort's faith and thus gave all the credit to his monk teacher.

On the Significance of the Term *arma-*, *armaka-* in Early Sanskrit Literature

BY

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The word *árma-* has ceased to be current in the classical period of Sanskrit literature (and it has left no traces in Pali or Prakrit), but it was known to Pāṇini who gives rules concerning the accentuation of certain compounds having this word as last member: The list of these, gathered from Pāṇini himself and from the Kasika commentary, is as follows: *Bhūtārma-*, *Adhikārma-*, *Sanjīvārma- Madrārma-*, *Aśmārma-*, *Kajjalārma-*, *Dattārma-*, *Guptārma-*, *Kukkuṭārma-*, *Vāyasārma-*, *Bṛhadarma-*, *Kapinjalaārma-*, *Mahārma-*, and *Navārma-*. All these are place names and the element *arma-* at the end means a ruined site or settlement.[1] The meaning is based on the rendering usually given by commentators when explaining this word—*Vinaṣṭagrāma-* or *śūnyagrāmanivāsa-* and it is generally accepted and can be regarded as established. Actually the commentators are not completely consistent and unanimous in their renderings, but there is no doubt that this meaning which predominates is the correct one and that alternative renderings can be ignored.

There remains however the question of the exact sense in which the word *grāma-* is to be taken in this context. As V. S. Agrawala points out,[2] the two terms *grāma-* and *nagara-* were used indiscriminately in the Vāhīka country (i.e. the Punjab) although distinguished in Eastern India as 'village' and 'town'. In the case of these place names one would expect that the meaning required would be 'town' or 'city' rather than 'village', since any material remains of mere villages would be insignificant, and would not qualify for a name having general currency and for that reason being worthy of mention in the grammatical work of Pāṇini. To account for this we must assume that they were substantial ruins, and that the word *grāma-* in this context is to be taken in the sense in which it was used in the Vāhīka country. From this one might be tempted to think that the situation of these ruined sites was in fact in the Vāhīka country. Certainly the only one that can be localised from the name—Madrārma—does not belong to this region, and it would not be surprising if the same applied to the other names formed on this pattern, particularly when we bear in mind the fact that in Paṇini's geography there is a distinct bias towards the North-west.

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[1] Cf. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 66-67.
[2] Op. Cit., p. 43.

The next question that presents itself is regarding the nature and origin of these ruined cities which would appear to have been so abundant and well known in Pāṇini's time. Were they earlier Aryan settlements which had been abandoned or were they the ruins of the cities of the Indus civilisation which, at this early date, must have been a fairly prominent feature of the landscape? It is to be remembered that in 'Pāṇini's time (say fourth century B.C.) the period of urban civilisation for Aryan India was of comparatively recent origin so that although one might expect a few such deserted or destroyed cities (and presumably Navārma-was one of these), one would not expect them to be so thick on the ground as this large collection of names would indicate. On the other hand the number of Indus sites of the required magnitude already identified in this region is sufficient to explain this long string of names (which is to be taken as typical and not exhaustive), and it is to be remembered that during the early Aryan period the ruins of many Indus cities must have formed a conspicuous feature of the countryside.

It is difficult, however, to form any very definite conclusions simply on the basis of the list of names preserved by the grammarian and his commentators. More information is needed concerning the nature and location of these *armas,* and fortunately for our purpose this is available in adequate measure in the Vedic literature, and it is of such a nature as to confirm the theory already suggested that this term does in fact refer to the ruined sites of the pre-Aryan Indus civilisation.

An instance of a compound of the type attested by Pāṇini appears in the name Sthūlārma—occurring in the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* which mentions a lake (*hrada-*) to the north of Sthūlārma- (25, 10, 18). The context indicates that this is in the vicinity of the river Sarasvatī. The reference antedates Pāṇini by centuries and it shows that this type of name terminating in *-arma* goes back to the Vedic period, and at this early period it becomes still more likely that any ruined sites referred to should be those belonging to the Indus civilisation.

As a general rule, however, the word *árma-* or its derivative *armaká-* are used independently in the Vedic literature and not simply as a constituent element of proper names as is the case later. In most contexts there is in fact some particular site which is mentioned by name in connection with the term *arma-* but some time the word is used in a more general way.

An instance of this occurs in the Yajurveda (VS. 30, 11 *ármebhyo hastipám* "to the ruins an elephant keeper") in a context which does not further contribute to the meaning. In particular it is not obvious what appropriateness was seen in the connection between *hastipá-* and *árma-*.

A compound arma-kapāla meaning 'a tile from a ruined site' occurs not infrequently in the Śrautasūtras (e.g. Baudh. ix, 1, 3; x. 1, etc.) where it appears among a list of paraphernalia for a sacrifice. In this connection the Vādhūlasūtra glosses: *atha yad armakapālāni bhavanti armād evainaṃ tat pṛthivyāḥ sambharati*, "Since there are tiles from a ruined site, in this respect he assembles it (the fireplace) from a ruined site of the earth". From these sūtra references we gather that *armas*, or ruined sites were a commonplace thing in the Vedic period, since these *arma-kapālāni* prescribed in the ritual appear to have been readily available. This is in agreement with the fact that material remains of the Indus civilisation have been located in abundance throughout the territory occupied by the Vedic Indians subsequent to its downfall.

The existence of a series of ruined sites along the course of the river Sarasvatī is indicated by a passage occurring in the *Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra*, x, 18, 3; *Naitandhavā nāmārmaḥ Sarasvatyām. teṣām eko vyarṇaḥ*. "On the Sarasvatī there are ruined sites called Naitandhava; Vyarṇa is one of these." Other texts in a similar context refer to Vyarṇa and Naitandhava but the detailed information as to their true significance appears only in the passage quoted above.[3]

The mention of these ruined sites with the precise information about their location, informing us that they were situated along the Sarasvatī, is exceedingly valuable information, since it is now well established that Indus sites are a feature of this region. A recent excavation of one of these sites, at Kalibangan on the south side of the Ghaggar (ancient Sarasvatī) has demonstrated the importance of this region as a centre of the Indus civilisation.[4]

The *Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra* gives information about another *arma-*, this time situated near the source of the Dṛṣadvatī, sister river to the Sarasvatī. The text is as follows (x, 19, 9): *Dṛṣadvatyā dakṣiṇena tīreṇeyāt, tasya prabhavyam armam prāpya etayeṣṭyeṣṭvā Triplakṣāvaharaṇam prati Yamunām avabhṛtham aveyāt,* "He should proceed along the right bank of the Dṛṣadvatī; having reached the ruined site near its source, and having sacrificed there with this sacrifice, he should go down to the Yamunā, at Triplakṣāvaharaṇa for his concluding ceremonial bath".

The same word is found, but enlarged by the suffix *-ka* as *armaka-*, in Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa iii, 238: tayor hâdattayor juhāva—Indrakrośa ity armakas—*tasmiṃs tiṣṭhan: Viśvāmitrajamadagnī imā Ikṣvākūṇāṃ gā vindadhvam iti,* "As these two (horses) had not been given, he called—there is a ruined site called Indrakrośa—standing in that; O Viśvāmitra and Jamadagnī, acquire these cows of the Ikṣvākus".[5] From the context it can be seen that this *armaka-* was situated on the Indus. It is referred to by the name Indrakrośa, but without the explanation that it was an *armaka-* in a parallel passage in PB. xiii, 5, 15: *etena va Indra Indrakośe Viśvāmitrajamadagnī imā gāva ity akrośat.* Here the name of the place is associated with Indra's shouting in this legend, but this connection can easily be secondary. Originally the name may have arisen from a legend of Indra's shouting in the battle which resulted in the fall of the original city.

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[3] Cf. ĀpŚrS. xxiii, 13, 12 saṃvatsaraṃ Vyarṇe Naitandhave agnim indhīta. and P.B. xxv, 13, 1; ŚānkhŚrS. xii, 29, 28; etc. The rendering given by BR is 'waterless', but there seems no reason why the word should not be equated with the *vyarṇa-* given by Pāṇini (vii, 2. 24) as the participle of *vi-ard-*. The meaning, 'forcibly overthrown', would suit.

[4] Preliminary report by B. B. Lal in *Illustrated London News,* March 24, 1962.

[5] Reading and interpretation established by R. Hoffmann, *ZDMG,* 110 (1960), p. 68.

From the passages so far surveyed it has become clear that ruined sites were a common feature of the Vedic scene, and that a considerable number of them were of sufficient importance to be known by name; furthermore that this situation continued to the time of Pāṇini, who was aware of a large number of such sites, but apparently for not much longer than that, since later the word dies out and references to ruined sites in these regions cease. The theory has been put forward that the ruins in question were the ruins of cities belonging to the pre-Aryan Indus civilisation. The reason is that from what we know of ancient Indian history and archaeology we must in any case assume that the Vedic Indians lived in a country abounding in such ruins, and consequently when ruins are referred to in the Vedic literature the natural conclusion is that they must be of this origin. It is in fact difficult to imagine what other ruins could possibly be referred to the archaeological facts being what they are. Further proof of this theory can be provided by citing the following verse from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (II, 4, 6, 8) which contains a concise historical statement to this effect:

> *yéṣām imé pū́rve ármā́sa ā́san*
> *ayūpā́ḥ, sádma víbhṛtā purū́ṇi* |
> *vaíśvānara tváyā té nuttā́ḥ*
> *pṛthivī́m anyā́m abhí tasthur jánāsaḥ.*

"The people to whom these ruined sites, lacking posts, formerly belonged, these many settlements widely distributed, they, O Vaiśvānara, having been expelled by thee, have migrated to another land."

This is a very clear statement. In the country occupied by the Vedic Indians at the very early period when this verse was composed there were many ruined sites which had been destroyed by fire, and whose original inhabitants had in consequence abandoned them and migrated elsewhere. These inhabitants were the predecessors of the Aryans and the latter were responsible for their defeat and expulsion. So much is clear from the sentence immediately preceding in which this contest is obliquely referred to in mythological guise: *atheme 'manthan amṛtam asurāḥ, vaiśvānaraṃ kṣetrajityāya devāḥ.* "Then these Asuras churned *amṛta*, but the gods (Agni) Vaiśvānara, for the conquest of territory."

References to the strife between the gods and asuras are of course innumerable, but here the use of the term *kṣetrajitya-* can only refer to the conquests of the Aryan peoples themselves, and the repetition of Vaiśvānara in the verse immediately following shows that this also is to be viewed in the light of the conquest of territory by the Aryans. In the Ṛgveda references to the function of Agni as a destroyer of cities belonging to the pre-Aryan inhabitants are common and for this the following verse can serve as an example (RV. vii, 5, 3):

tvád bhiyā́ víśa āyann ásiknir
asamanā́ jáhatīr bhójanani |
Vaíśvānara Pūráve śóśucānaḥ
púro yád Agne daráyann ádīdeḥ.

"Through fear of thee the dark coloured inhabitants fled, not waiting for battle, abandoning their possessions, when, O Vaiśvanara, burning brightly for Pūru, and destroying the cities thou didst shine, O Agni".

Reading this in connection with the passage quoted above from the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* we get a complete and unambiguous statement of a historical event, namely the conquest by the Vedic Aryans of the territory previously occupied by the Indus people, the destruction of their cities which for long, under the name *arma-* remained familiar features of the landscape, and the flight and emigration of a considerable section of the original inhabitants. In the Ṛgveda the word *armaká-* occurs once, in i, 133, 3:

ávâsāṃ maghavaň jahi
śárdho yātumátīnām |
Vailasthānaké armaké
Mahāvailasthe armaké.

"Strike down, O Maghavan, the host of these sorceresses, in the ruined city of Vailasthānaka, in the ruined city Mahāvailastha."

The name Vailasthāna occurs also in the first verse of the same hymn:

ubhé punā́mi ródasī ṛténa
drúho dahāmi sáṃ mahī́r anindrā́ḥ |
abhivlágya yátra hatā́ amítrā
Vailasthānáṃ pári tṛḷhā́ áśeran.

"I purify both heaven and earth with truth, I burn up the mighty evil spirits that are opposed to Indra, in the place where the enemies, having been overpowered and slain, lay shattered around Vailasthāna."

The evidence of this Vedic hymn is very interesting. It refers to a large ruined city by name. The name contains what appears to be a non-Aryan element *vaila-*,[6] which may be derived from the language of the original inhabitants, though there is no means of guessing at its meaning. It refers also to the destruction of the city and to the fate of its defenders lying slain in large numbers around it. The excavations of Mohenjo-Daro have revealed traces of such a slaughter accompanying the fall of that city, and this process is likely to have been repeated in other places. The Ṛgvedic poem still clearly preserves the memory of such an event in connection with one of these cities. It also shows that after their destruction these abandoned sites were looked upon with a high degree of superstitious awe, and that in particular they were considered to be the haunt of evil spirits and demons hostile to the Aryans and to the Aryan gods. Evidently it was considered necessary, from time to time, to exercise these evil spirits by rites performed within or beside the ruined sites themselves, and such a ceremony is the occasion of this hymn.

Such are the references to *árma-* or *armaká-* in early Sanskrit literature. They extend from the Ṛgveda to Pāṇini, but detailed information is found only in the Vedic texts. It has been argued in the first place on general considerations that such ruins would be expected to belong to the Indus civilisation on account of their situation and date and a detailed examination of the statements of the Vedic texts in connection with this term has confirmed this. The result is of value since it has not been easy to correlate literary and archaeological evidence as far as the early history of India is concerned. By these references to *árma-, armaká-* the position is now considerably clarified. They confirm the theory that it was in fact the Aryans who were responsible for the overthrow of the Indus civilisation, they show that for centuries the most important of these ruins were conspicuous features of the countryside and they supply interesting information about the location of some of them.

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[6] Usually given as neuter by the dictionaries, but now on the evidence of the passage in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, it should be given as masculine: K. Hoffmann, *loc. cit.*

Measures against the Indian Press during Bande-Mataram Movement

BY

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The Indian unrest against the British Government during the days of *Bande-Mataram* Movement was many-sided. One prominent aspect of the agitation was the growing aggression of the Indian Press. This paper deals with the Government policy towards the Press, and the measures adopted to restrict its freedom.

The Governor-General, Lord Minto, from the very beginning of his administration, became very critical of the freedom which the Indian Press, especially the Vernacular Press, was given to enjoy. Press prosecutions, therefore, were immediately instituted. In June, 1906, the *Punjabee* newspaper of Lahore was prosecuted under Section 153-A, Indian Penal Code. The proprietor was convicted and sentenced (in the final proceedings in the Chief Court) to six months' simple imprisonment and to a fine of Rs. 1,000, or in default to six months' further imprisonment. The editor was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment or a fine of Rs. 200, or in default to a further term of three months' imprisonment. In October, 1906, the editor of the *Hind Swarajya* newspaper of Bombay was prosecuted under Section 108, Criminal Procedure Code. The accused was convicted and ordered to execute a bond for his good behaviour for six months, with two sureties for Rs. 300 each. The editor was subsequently prosecuted for a further offence under Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, found guilty and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment.[1] To John Morley, the Secretary of State, random prosecutions did not appear as a very sound method in dealing with the Press. Coming to know about the press prosecution at Bombay, he wrote to the Viceroy, rather in an ambiguous way, the following: "I should think, from what appeared, that it was quite right; but press prosecutions and editorial imprisonments are delicate things with a strongly Liberal House of Commons in front of one. I think it is only too likely that we shall before very long be in for some measures of the repressive sort. But before entering on that policy we must have consultation and discussion. The seditious press makes me sick. It is so desperately bad of its own bad kind."[2] The Reuter was creating an atmosphere in England that the Indian dominions were in no pleasant or comfortable state. It seemed as if the whole foundations were shaky—Hindu, Muhammedan, European, all alike in being uneasy, though entirely unlike in their grounds for it. It was not difficult to understand that there was plenty of exaggeration and over-excitability all round. Whatever be the extent of general discontent, the Press was held responsible for the growth of that undesirable condition. Hence was the attempt at prosecution. But prosecution itself led to greater discontent. In the Punjab when the proprietor and editor of the *Punjabee* was finally convicted, demonstrations and unrest followed. There were student demonstrations against the European population.[3] John Morley got worried at the news, but the Viceroy explained the position regarding the prosecution of the *Punjabee*:

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[1] *Morley Papers*, Vide *Minto to Morley*, Vol. VI, *Memorandum on Press Prosecutions in India*, Vide *Private Telegram from Secretary of State*, July 31, 1907.

> "In such cases the infliction of a severe sentence appears to me a necessity. The *Punjabee* is really owned by Lajpat Rai, one of the most advanced Congress leaders, and I have no doubt the action of the paper was deliberately prompted. It may be open to doubt if the Punjab Government should have prosecuted or whether it should have been left to the Police Officer concerned, Mr. Spencer, to prosecute the paper off his own bat for libel. I am inclined to think the Punjab Government was right. If the idea gets abroad in India that the Government are afraid to enforce the law one hardly knows what the effect may be or where it may spread to. We cannot afford even the shadow of an appearance of weakness here. The strong hand carries more respect in India than even the recognition of British justice, and we cannot afford to risk our dislike to severity being taken as an indication of our diminishing power."[4]

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[2] *Morey Papers, Morley to Minto*, Vol. I, October 19; 1906.
[3] *Minto Papers*, M. 1069; *Diary of Events*.
[4] *Morley Papers, Minto to Morley*, Vol. V; February 18; 1907.

The Central Government showed a strong desire to support the Local Government of the Punjab as a special case, because sedition was spreading in that province rapidly. Any lukewarmness in support of the Local Government was fraught with danger. The case of the *Punjabee,* according to the Government, was 'an extremely bad one'. It was an attempt to dig up an old story with the intention of creating racial ill-feeling. Elsewhere, the utterances of newspapers were growing outrageous. The Government could not afford to treat them with contempt. It was calculated that to deal with them lightly in the way of punishment was only to make matters worse, because it would advertise the newspaper which was just what a seditious editor wanted. Severe treatment was thought to be the only remedy. "It is a question whether we can count on inflammatory writing falling flat, or whether we consider it so dangerous that we must by some means or other put a stop to it", thought the Viceroy.[5] The Secretary of State entertained some sympathy for the press prisoners when they were convicted. But to Minto, in certain cases, no special consideration was necessary or desirable. Morley agreed that the press prosecution at Lahore was all right, and 'the sentence may be all right also.' But he pointed out that so long as press offences were dealt with by Courts of Law, it might be hoped that justice was done. But prosecutions without due process of Law were pointing to grave dangers. The Secretary of State raised another point. The Indian seditious Press deserved punishment for outrageous utterances against the Government. But then, what about punishing the 'Anglo-Indian ultras' or the British sympathisers of India for their articles against the Government to bring the Viceroy and the Secretary of State into discredit. He philosophised in a sarcastic manner that that kind of thing could not be performed in 'this second-rate sort of world'. With this Morley proceeded to remind:

"Only do not forget the susceptibilities of the people at home —one of the secrets by the way of British freedom and power— as to the virtues of an unfettered press. Whatever Anglo-Indians (this is how Morley described the British sympathisers of India) may say, there they are, these susceptibilities. So I do hope you will keep a sharp hand over the local governments, and bid them seek orders from you in matters of this delicacy. I remember the furious row about poor Lytton's Press Law—but that, I think, gave the *Executive* all sorts of powers, apart from law courts."[6]

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[5] *Morley Papers, Minto to Morley,* Vol. V, March 5; 1907.

The Viceroy had complained of the difficulties the Government faced in really knowing the inner state of things in the *moffussil,* limited as the administration was for the most part to official surroundings. The fearless Press could penetrate far from the governmental supervision into the remote corners of the country. Sedition and unrest in the far-away *moffussils* were considered to be very dangerous to the stability as well as prestige of the Empire. There were risks on every side. Certainly a considerable risk was there in muzzling free expression of opinions, but on the other hand there was the danger of allowing unlimited license to the open preaching of rebellion amongst 'an ignorant and inflammable population.' The Government of India could quite see the storm which any appearance of over-severity might raise at Home, and yet agreed to do what it could to protect itself from the agitation in India. Some press prosecutions were admitted as 'foolish'. To make things systematised and lawful, the Government engaged its Home Department to work up the question of Press control. For the Government, there was the question of avoiding a double standard. The fault of spreading discontent did not lie only with the Indian Press; the Anglo-Indian Press was equally playing its part in fomenting trouble though in a different way. Some of the Anglo-Indian Press were 'both low and mischievous'.. Referring to only one instance of a letter, signed 'Britisher", in a newspaper, the Governor-General said: "One could not have read anything much worse—the bitterness of the writer's demand for immediate punishment of native political organisations and his eagerness to be selected to administer that punishment himself. Nothing could be worse than the Native Press, but the low standard Britisher can do much to increase the evil."[7] While little was done against the Anglo-Indian Press which poured venom against India and the Indians, measures were tightened up against the Indian Press which criticised the Government.

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6. *Morley Papers, Morley to Minto,* Vol. II; March 14; 1907.
7. *Morley Papers; Minto to Morley,* Vol. V, April 2; 1907.

In February, 1907, the editor of the *Vihari* newspaper, Bombay, was prosecuted under Section 108, Criminal Procedure Code. He was ordered to execute a bond for Rs. 1,000, with two sureties of Rs. 500 each to be of good behaviour for six months. The editor at once severed his connection with the paper, so the bond was of little use. In May, 1907, the proprietor and editor and the publisher of the *India* newspaper, Gujranwala, were prosecuted under Sections 124-A and 131, Indian Penal Code. Each of the accused was sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment, and the *Hindustan* Press, where the paper was printed, was ordered to be confiscated under Section 517, Criminal Procedure Code.[8]

The members of the Viceroy's Council busied themselves to devise means to deal with the Press more effectively. The members considered that though the measures such as the deportation and the ordinance produced marked effect on lawlessness and seditious speeches, they excited the Press to greater virulence and to more flagrant sedition. Local Governments of Bengal and Central Provinces, the London Press and the English Press in India urged upon the Central Government immediately to sanction several prosecutions. The Government inaction was criticised, and the loyalists became more pronounced in demanding more severe measures. To the Governor-General's Council, prompt action appeared as expedient. In the first week of June, 1907, the British House of Commons was scheduled to debate on India. The Indian Government apprehended that it would certainly be attacked for repressive measures such as the deportation and the ordinance. The House was supposed to feel that there was no need to go beyond the powers of the ordinary Law. While discussions of that nature would be going on in the Parliament, measures against the Indian Press would lead to further criticism. The daily and weekly telegrams to England gave full accounts of the prevalent lawlessness, but, as the Government of India felt, they said very little about the Press, and the consequence was that the outrageous tone of the Indian Press was not brought conspicuously to the notice of English politicians. In view of such things, the Council decided to bring about the Press measures before the House of Commons started its Indian debate. The Government of India's attitude was that if criticisms in Parliament were to come, better they should come after the action had been taken, and not in anticipation of it. In that case, the Parliamentary criticism would not materially affect the decisions of the Indian Executive. The suggestion was that the Government should send a telegram to the Secretary of State informing him at some length of the action they were taking, and saying that the Resolution on Press would be published forthwith. As Adamson of the Home Department said: 'Thus our whole case will be before the Secretary of State, the House, and the English public, before the debate takes place, and I have no doubt that in the three points taken together, the deportation, the ordinance and the Resolution, we have the most ample justification for the whole of our action.'[9] Things were done accordingly, and promptly too. Risley carried the resolution on the Press to the Governor-General on May 29, and on June 3, 1907, it came into light 'warning all newspapers against publishing seditious matter and authorising local Governments to institute prosecutions for sedition.'[10] The Resolution ran thus:

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[8] *Morley Papers*, Vide *Minto to Morley*, Vol. VI, *Memorandum on Press Prosecutions in India*; Vide *Private Telegram from Secretary of State*, July 31, 1907.

> "The Government of India have recently had under their consideration the unbridled licence of certain publications of the Press throughout India. They have also considered the deleterious moral effect which such publications are having throughout the country. The Governor-General in Council is convinced that such a state of things cannot be allowed to continue and it is therefore resolved that in all cases where matter tending to create sedition, ill will towards Government, or ill feeling between the various races inhabiting India has been published in any newspaper or other publication, Local Governments and Administrations shall be empowered to proceed against those responsible for all such publications under the existing powers of the law."[11]

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[9] *Minto Papers, Correspondence*, 1907, Vol. I; No. 258; *Adamson to Minto, May* 28, 1907.

[10] *Minto Papers*, M. 1069, *Diary of Events.*

[11] *Minto Papers, Correspondence*, 1907, Vol. I; No. 258; Vide *Adamson to Minto*, May 28; 1907.

While giving power to the Local Governments to deal with the Press, the Governor-General could not possibly hide the probable dangers resulting from it. The Press was not always wrong when criticising the local administrative policies. Nor were the Local Governments always right in their administrative measures. The free Press was therefore a restraint on arbitrary actions of local authorities. With the new Press Resolution, which gave power to Local Governments to bring the Press to punishment, the criticism of even small matters came to an end. For instance, speaking about the freedom of Press *vis-a-vis* the Punjab Government, the Viceroy thought that "we must not for a moment forget the many faults in our own administration which are giving just cause for complaint. My own belief is that there has been much, verging almost on the tyrannical, in the government of the Punjab that calls for careful enquiry. We have plenty of the blackest sedition to deal with, but unfortunately the leaders of that sedition have been able to call to their aid real grievances, the existence of which we cannot deny. Land assessment and water-rates require much looking into together with the extortion of the Native underling official, the middle-man between the British administrator and the tiller of the soil."[12] The Press had the dutiful courage to raise voice against such grievances. The Viceroy, after removing this weapon from the Press, justified his own action by saying that what India required at that time was the preservation of the *izzat* of the local authorities, which as he felt was, 'in the eyes of many people much more important than the rectification of just grievances." His more important justification was that the Press was beginning to influence the Indian Army. It was too great a danger to ignore, and the Government could not afford to look upon it with contempt. It was getting more and more evident everyday that the intention of the extremists was to influence the Indian Army by means of the Press and the circulation of seditious pamphlets. Their success was supposed to bring about such horrors that it was considered criminal on the part of the administration to disregard the warnings that stared it in the face. Therefore, measures as were being taken to suppress the democratic freedom were considered as smaller evils in consideration of bigger interests involved.

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[12] *Morley Papers, Minto to Morley*, Vol. VI, June 5; 1907.

Prosecution of proprietors and editors was only the beginning of harder measures to follow. Adamson, who had prepared the earlier Resolution on Press, anticipated the Viceroy's subsequent steps. The Press file, much to his regret, was taking a different course. "I should never have dreamt of proposing the resuscitation of Lord Lytton's Act, and I am afraid that I can never consent to it", said Adamson. "I have no objection to a moderate and sensible Press Act being drafted and circulated for opinion to Local Governments, so that it may be ready to be brought into force if prosecution fails."[13] His view was that Lord Lytton's famous Act was quite impossible at their time, and that the Liberal Secretary of State would not accept it. Further he feared that if the Indian Government even proposed it, it would discredit itself with His Majesty's Government which had up till then so generously supported the Indian Government in repressing disorder. But the position seemed to be that the other members of the Governor-General's Council thought that the resuscitation of Lord Lytton's Act had been already agreed to in principle.

To put a few instances of the press prosecutions, on June 12, 1907, two Muhammedans, Liakat Hussain and Abdul Ghaffoor, were arrested at Barisal under Section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, for publishing seditious pamphlets. On June 17, in the Punjab, the editor of *Hindustan,* Dina Nath, was arrested for complicity in the charges brought against the editor of the *India,* Gujranwala. On July 2, 1907, the editor of the *Yugantar* newspaper, Calcutta, was prosecuted under Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code. Subsequently, the accused was convicted and sentenced to one year's regorous imprisonment. The magistrate also ordered confiscation of the press at which the paper was printed. On July 4, the editor of *Sonar Bangla* was arrested. On July 29, the office of the *Bande-Mataram* was raided by the police. A prosecution was instituted under Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, against the editor. On July 30, finally the editor and proprietor of *India* were sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment under Sections 124-A and 131 of Indian Penal Code. The editor of *Hindustan* was sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment for abetment of above offences. On August 6, 1907, the press of the *Sandhya* newspaper in Bengal was searched and arrest warrants were issued against the manager, printer and the publisher of the said paper. On August 17, Arabindo Ghose, the editor of the *Bande-Mataram*, was arrested.[14]

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[13] *Minto Papers, Correspondence.* 1907; Vol. I, No. 274; *Adamson to Minto;* June 13; 1907.

Such arrests and punishments did not serve the desired purpose. Many in the Government were not very much pleased with the results of the prosecutions for sedition. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal pointed out: "We can put the wretched editor into jail; but until we can also stop a paper upon conviction for sedition, I do not think that we can achieve any result worth the cost. There is some expense. There is a great deal of expenditure of time and trouble. There is increased enthusiasm on the part of the students and others. There are public and private meetings to celebrate the 'martyrdom' of some miserable and unworthy person. And the paper goes on the same but stirring up greater bitterness."[15] So some better means of stopping sedition were seriously thought of. On June 8, 1908, the Indian Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, VII of 1908, was passed. Within a few days the prosecution of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the editor of the *Kesari* newspaper, under Section 124-A of Indian Penal Code, for articles in some issues of the above paper started. On July 23, he was sentenced to six years' transportation and a fine of Rs. 1,000.

The control of the Press did not stop with this. In January, 1910, in the first meeting of the New Council of the Indian Empire, over which the Governor-General himself presided, he declared that the Government should not tolerate any longer the freedom of a revolutionary Press which led to outbreaks of violence. The opinion in conscientious quarters after the Viceroy's threat was that if a newspaper answered to his description, it certainly did not deserve to exist, and there was the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act passed 18 months earlier, which could be put in force against such papers. That law was 'not wanting either in severity or vagueness', and had been successfully employed against many papers. But Lord Minto meant something more. He had declared before in his speech on the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act that he did not think that India was ripe for freedom of the Press. Unable to stamp out sedition even after more than four years of strenuous efforts, Minto finally decided to give a last and a crushing blow to the Indian Press. On February 8, 1910, the Indian Press Act was passed. To the highest authorities it did indeed constitute a triumph. From the very start of the Viceroy's campaign against sedition, the Secretary of State had hoped and requested that "where time permits you will acquaint me with your intentions beforehand, more especially where the *press* is concerned. It won't surprise me if you desire to take some steps in press matters, but you should know that people here are very sensitive about this. . ."[16] Again and again Morley expressed his anxiety as to a Press Law. The British Parliament did not view with great pleasure the Viceroy's drastic initiative as regard the Press. In June, 1908, Dr. Rutherford wanted to put an embarrassing question to Asquith—whether the Home Authorities were going to allow the Government of India 'to pass a Press Act without giving Parliament an opportunity of discussing it.' Morley saved the situation. "I asked him (Rutherford) to come and see me. I dealt with him in tones of fraternal good nature; told him pretty fully what sort of a law we meant to have; urged him to remember that we must show our intention to keep order as a condition of reform; and he was melted almost to tears as he left me, after promising to take off his awkward question, and not to put it on again without at least consulting me. You see I have an invincible faith in what Mathew Arnold called 'Sweet Reasonableness'!!"[17] Within a few days of this reasonableness, Minto passed his Indian Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act. When the Viceroy at last passed his famous Indian Press Act in February, 1910, John Morley was obliged to observe it with, what he himself described, 'peculiar pleasure and satisfaction.'

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[14] Vide *Morley Papers, Minto to Morley*, Vol. VI; *Memorandum on Press Prosecutions;* and *Minto Papers*; M. 1069, *Diary of Events.*

[15] *Minto Papers. Correspondence*, 1907, Vol. II, No. 596; *Fraser to Minto;* September 3; 1907.

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[16] *Morley Papers, Morley to Minto,* Vol. II; May 9; 1907.

[17] *Morley Papers, Morley to Minto,* Vol. III, June 4; 1908.

Divya Prabandham of Alwars as a Socio-Cultural Source

BY

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The *Divyaprabandha* or the sacred anthology of the Tamil Alwars (Vaishnavaite saints) forms one of the richest traditional source books for contemporary art, culture, ethics and folk lore. Together with the corresponding works of the Saivite saints (Nayanmars) of the Tamil country, they constitute the bed rock of the religious faith of the Tamils and the supreme examples not only of mystic expressions but also of lyrical fervour and colourful imagery. If they are not utilised in the fullest manner as literary evidences in historical problems, it is mainly due to our own limitations in fixing the historic value and age of these saints and their copious references to contemporary times. Nevertheless, discerning scholars working unremittingly in this line had helped us by firmly establishing atleast the dates or the historicity of some of the saints, like Perialwar and Tirumangai on the Vaishnavite side, or Tirugnanasambanda, Appar and Sundaramurti on the Saivite side. They make a signal contribution for reconstructing the society of their times.

It cannot be gainsaid, at the outset, that the ambit of the life and activities of the Alwars permitted mainly religious, pastoral and domestic experiences and in no sense were they chroniclers of the accepted type or sophisticated citizens or "nagarakas' of Vatsyayana's definition. Within the spheres of their own activities, they had collected enough material data which they dovetailed into their poems. Their poetry, particularly of the earlier composers like Poigai, Bhutam and Pei Alwars, Perialwar or Vishnuchitta, Andal, Tirumangai and Nammalwar, is essentially pastoral and elegant, without any frills and craftsmanship which comes of deliberate poetic effort. Theirs are rather the spontaneous utterances on the spur of the delicious and soul-enthralling moments of lively impact which god-head created through the Pauranic traditions on their simple and impressionable hearts. It is significant that the Alwars were steeped in the Pauranic lore of the country, mainly diffused from northern India and the manner of presentation of the Epic and Pauranic manifestation of God in their poetry is a clear evidence of the fine assimilation that had already taken place, of the northern Aryan and the southern indigenous Dravidian socio-cultural genius.

The anthology is so encyclopaedic that full justice is impossible within the compass of a single dissertation. However, it will be the aim of this article to high-light the salient references to traditional lore, the form and features of the community in which they lived, and above all, the iconographic elements implicit in their delineation of the gods. Their richest source is, doubtless, the twin epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata,* their popular heroes Rama and Krishna, and their favourite themes, the incarnations of Vishnu.

A few words about the historicity of the Alwars may first be recorded. The first three Alwars of Vaishnavite Hagiology, who are held as contemporary to one another, may be taken, on all accounts, to have preceded the others and by virtue of the date that is reasonable for the others can be placed in the 6th-7th cent. A.D. Paigai hailed from Kanchipuram, Bhutam from Kadalmallai (Mahabalipuram) and Peyalwar from Mylapore (Madras). The fact that the second-mentioned explicitly calls his place Kadalmallai had led some scholars to suggest that since it is Narasimha Pallava-I who had the title 'Mahāmalla' or 'Mamalla', and since we do not have any rock-cut caves at Mahabalipuram actually belonging to his father Mahendra Pallava, and Mamallapuram became a port-of-call probably from the time of Narasimha onwards, the earliest date for Bhutattalwar should only be coeval, at the earliest, with Narasimha Pallava, i.e. 630-660 A.D. It may be stated that although there is much force in this argument, it may not be easy to establish any clear semantic relationship between the word *mallai* (of Kadal-Mallai) and *Mamalla* (the title of Narasimha). Still, we may take the 2nd half of the 6th and the 1st half of the 7th as the reasonable period of Bhutattalwar and Poigai and Pey. The other group, namely Nammalwar, Perialwar, Andal and Tirumangai would be placed in the succeeding two centuries, probably between the second half of the 7th Cent. A.D. and the beginning of the 8th Cen. A.D. Nammalwar's age is still obscure although attempts have been made, if not conclusively, to use the synchronism of Nammalwar with Madhurakavi, his Sishya, by postulating that the latter should be the same as Minister Mārankāri, alias Madhurakavi, mentioned in the Anamalai (six miles east of Madurai) inscriptions, as having built a stone temple for Vishnu with an image of Narasimha, and gifted a rich Agrahara in the neighbourhood for Brahmins, in 770 A.D., in the time of Pandya King Jatilavarmān Parantaka Nedunjadayan. The suggestion in the above was sought to be reinforced by the name of *Kārimāran* for Nammalwar, which was explained as possible if Mārankāri was the name of his father also, which name he bestowed on his disciple Madhurakavi (alias Mārankāri). Be this as it may, it is reasonable to hold that Nammalwar belonged to the end of the 8th and early part of the 9th Cent. A.D. The *Guruparamparai*, the traditional work, shows Nammalwar as preceding Perialwar. It is of interest to note that Kamban, the celebrated author of the Tamil Ramayana had occasion to compose an eulogistic work of 'Andādi' type on Śaṭagopa (another name for Nammalwar). This would suggest a reasonable nearness of time between the two for such glorification, though this would not help us in actually fixing Nammalwar's time. The fact that neither Perialwar (or Vishnu Chitta), nor Andal, both of whom belonged to the Pandyan homeland and the region contiguous to the birthplace of Nammalwar—namely—Tirukkurugur on river Tamraparni—had any occasion to refer, in their hymns on Tirukkurugur, specifically or casually to Nammalwar who was sufficiently brilliant to merit such reference, and the fact that Tirumangai (whose date we would briefly detail below) had also been similarly silent in his poems on Tirukkurugur, would, if they mean anything negatively, seem to imply that Nammalwar may be later to those and would thus belong to the 9th Cent. A.D. But this cannot be proved and may well be of no import. At the same time, two facts may also be recorded, namely, that conversely Nammalwar also had made no reference to Perialwar or Tirumangai, and that Tirukkurugur was sacred even without the presence of Nammalwar who doubtless made it doubly sacred. It was perhaps the custom then not to refer to human personages in their devotional hymns, except the reigning kings who were patrons of religion. A similar approach is observable in the hymns of Saivaite Nayanmars as well. Perialwar, in his poems on Tirumāliruñjōlai or Alagarmalai (near Madurai) refers to a Pandyan king whose title was Neḍumāran "(Konnavil Kūrvērkōn Neḍu māran ten kūdaṛ kōn Tennan Koṇḍāḍum Ten tirumālirumjōlaiyē) Scholars are divided on the issue, if this Nedumāran should be assigned to the time of Jaṭila Parantaka Neḍuñjaḍayan (C. 765-815 A.D.) or to that of Sri Māra Srivallabha (C. 815-62 A.D.). It would seem more plausible to admit the latter. The date of Perialwar would apply with slight modifications to his foundling child Andal, a saint later in her own right with her celebrated composition Tiruppavai, and the only canonised female saint in the ancient Tamil religious hierarchy. Tirumangai had been ably shown by scholars as contemporary to Sambandar, the child saint of Saivism, and assignable to the latter part of the 7th Cent. A.D., during the time of Paramesvaravarman rather than Nandivarman or Danti Varman of the latter Pallavas. This is on the basis of the synchronism of the Pallava-Chalukya relationship between Paramesvara Varman and Chalukya Vikramaditya, as referred to by Tirumangai, and also by the Vaishnavaite hagiological reference in *Divyasuri Charitam* to a meeting between Tirumangai and Gnanasambanda. Thus the period between the 6th Cent A.D. and mid 9th Cent. A.D. was an age of Brahmanic Hindu revivalism and decay of Buddhism—Jainism in the Tamil country, and the Alwars—particularly those of the vanguard as mentioned above—contributed in no small measure to it. The most substantial reinforcement to this revivalism was supplied on the Saiva and Vedanta side by Sankara who was also of the mid-9th Cent. A.D.

The *Guruparamparai,* mentioned already, puts one Kulaśekhara immediately after the first three Alwars, Nammalwar and Perialwar. It is argued by some that this Kulaśekhara is not the same as the other equally renowned Kulaśekhara, the author of the celebrated Sanskrit devout poetry *Mukunda Mālā,* who was a Chera king of early Mediaeval times. However, Vaishnavaite Tamils generally consider only one Kulaśekhara who was the author alike of the Tamil Prabandha hymns as well as of the Sanskrit *Mukunda Mālā.* He is datable to about the end of the 9th or early 10th Cent. A.D. Thus the *Guruparamparai* reference to Kulaśekhara is substantially borne out, but since no absolute dating has been ventured by that hageology, we should take it that the date as above is feasible for this saint. It is interesting to note that Kulaśekhara styles himself as 'Koṅgar kon'—the lord of the Kongu country in his Tamil hymns. Kongu country (the present day Coimbatore, Karur, and Palghat) was actually in Pandyan hands upto the middle of the 8th Cent. A.D. Hence by this means also a Chera King being lord of the Kongu country is feasible only from the end of the 8th Cen. onwards.

It is of interest to note that some of the Alwars like Perialwar and Tirumangai record hymns of sacred places of Vishnu even in northern and western India, like, Naimishāranya, Sāḷagrāma, Badarīnārāyana, Dwāṛakā, etc., which would go to show that they had actually travelled north in their life time, and worshipped the God at these places. It is unfortunate that we do not have more elaborate accounts of their experiences in their travels at that age which would have been most valuable. Incidentally, none of these Alwars had mentioned visits to places like Prāyāgā or Puri Jagannath, and the reason for the same is not explicable unless it is that, no Vishnu temple of contemporary date was in existence in these places.

Two Alwars who have not been referred to above yet are Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi (which is only a secondary name meaning 'the dust of the feet of the devotees of the Lord') who in his earlier life was known as Vipranārāyana, Tiruppānālwār or the Alwar of the Bana caste, who was an untouchable and a musical mendicant and Tirumaḷisai. The fact that a member of the 'low' caste had been canonised as one of the Vaishnavaite saints would speak highly of the lack of any puritanical bigotry in the then society, where love of God was concerned. Bana had contributed only ten stanzas to the anthology, but they are replete with great religious appeal. Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi has left us a significant reference to the worship of Jyesthā devi (the elder sister of Sri or Lakshmi) in one of his poems, with a tirade against such a worship. As we know, it was a favourite practice particularly in the late Pallava-early Chola times for temples to have sculptures of Jyesthā devi—with the typical features like pendent breasts, thick thighs and flabby belly, with her crow banner and broomstick weapon carefully delineated, and with a fair daughter and bovine-faced son accompanying such sculptures, and with her mount, the donkey, also shown in the image. These images were usually found in a part of the prākāra or outer circuit of the temple, but were left in a deliberately neglected manner, just to discount any evil effects on the temple. This consistent iconographic feature of the period between 9th-10th Centuries A.D. in Tamil country gives valuable if approximate date for Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi whom we may thus place in the above period.

The intention of the hymns is to eulogise, on the one hand, the various archāvataras of God Vishnu, as also to portray the abject futility of human existence without affiliations to God-head —in effect, the infallibility of 'no redemption except though the plank of Bhakti.' It would thus be necessary for the Alwars to consider themselves in various lights, in order to emphasize the submissive and self-denying creed of a Bhakta. Thus *Nāyikā-nāyaka bhāva* inevitably enters the argument, and the poetical merit of the composition is heightened to no small extent by the lyrical tempo of the technique. The most popular literary devices adopted had been, either as the saint in the role of the mother pitying and brooding over the miserable plight of the daughter who had forgotten her normal chores, even of caring for her looks, and had been consumed by the all—enthralling devotion to or anticipation of union with the Lord; or in the role of the girl herself chastising the Lord for having mercilessly left her pining and drifting, instead of giving her his insatiable company. The *nāyikā* is also seen sometimes taking recourse to sending messengers to Lord to describe her plight. The usual messengers are the clouds (megha) and cuckoo. The resultant compositions are thus strongly reminiscent of the *Sandeśa Kavyas* of classical Sanskrit literature.

It should be noted here that although an element of passionate physical love, pain and longing is portrayed and physiological and psychological symptoms thereof are narrated with disarming innocence, yet the resultant effect is not calculated nor likely to rouse the baser feelings but to put one in a sympathetic and vicarious frame of mind. The simple-minded and artless pleasures of the rustic maidens have been so unobtrusively woven into the Krishna-Gopi themes that the result is almost always chastening and elevating, rather than morbid and sensual. In much the same manner as it was a traditional duty of a spouse to surrender all her physical charms for the enjoyment of and in the service to the wedded husband and therein reach identity with him, the Lord almighty was also considered as approachable for communion and oneness only on the plank of abject self-surrender. In all the recurrent ripples of rustic physical exuberance in the hymns, there is not a tinge of anything that is lewd or brazen. This is one of the highlights of the entire fabric of *Divyaprabandha.*

Domestic scenes have been described with singular charm. The fond maternal instincts for the divine child overwhelming with love and affection, and the rewarding experience of the mother in seeing the child through the various stages of childhood have been convincingly portrayed, and these have indeed formed a separate branch of classical Tamil—literature, called *Pillai-t-Tamil.* The orientation is unerringly towards the divinity immanent in the child. A most outstanding feature of the hymns of the Alwars is the remarkable degree of their familiarity with most of the avatārs and puranic accounts of the Vishnuite and even Saivaite forms of God-head, and this undoubtedly signified a very deep impact and coalescense that must have happened between the indigenous and intrusive Northern Aryan lore. Particularly the earliest Alwars reveal, independently of any other evidence, sufficient reason of their relative antiquity by the more anterior traits in the iconographic, sociological and literary trends in their hymns. The combined picturisation of the members of the Trinity and the devatas, dikpạlas, etc., as an index of the absence of firm sectarian divisions is displayed in many instances as for instance in Perialwar,[1] in the lullaby where the special articles of presentation made to the divine child (Krishna) by Brahma, Śiva, Indra, Vaiśravana (or Kubera), Varuna, Sri Bhudevi, etc. are given. Again in his description of the Ganga,[2] the Śiva's favourite Konṛai flower, and the Tulsi leaf favourite of Narayana are mentioned as meeting and mixing in her waters. It is also stated that Gaṅgā had gone through the hand of Brahma, the feet of Vishnu and the tresses of hair of Śiva, and is thus thrice-blessed. There are dozens of references to Śiva individually as well as in a syncretic form. The chief episodes associated with Śiva mentioned therein are *Tripuradahana* and Śiva's curse by Brahma, in which he had to carry the severed head of Brahma in his hand and beg for alms, until finally redeemed by Vishnu. Daksha's sacrifice which Śiva destroyed, and Śiva as Chandraśekhara are also mentioned many times. There are also innumerable references to the Harihara conception, one[3] as obtaining at Kadal Mallai (Mamallapuram) where Śiva and Vishnu are both found in the same shrine and another[4] wherein the picture of Harihara has this added iconographic detail that Śiva is depicted on the right half. The other references are equally felicitous and some of them as of the Poygaialwar[5] show considerable sharpness of imagery that makes us feel that Harihara was one of the most important iconographic and popular conceptions in this early period in the south. The first reference above clearly implies that Tirumangai would have visited Mamallapuram Shore temple—his Mallai hymns make it abundantly clear—wherein we have a combined temple having two Siva shrines on the east end and west end and a Seshasayi partly rockcut in between. The second reference is in accordance with the Agamas. In many of the other references to Śiva as were undoubtedly popular in their ages, the matted locks and the bull mount, cobra, ash-smear, Ganga and Chandra on his head and his triple-eye, all come in for glorified mention. We have an interesting reference in Poigai and Tirumalisai to Śiva's four disciples Agastya, Pulastya, Daksha and Markandeya, to whom he is expounding Narayaṇa-Tatva. This is almost the variant of Dakshinamurti concept which was to become very popular in Tamil country in the 8th-9th Cent. A.D. While Ganesa is not specifically mentioned anywhere as an important deity, Kartikeya or Subrahmanya has been mentioned more than once,[6] primarily as Valli's husband. Now Valli was the daughter of a hunter Chieftain, whom Subrahmanya loved and married. Indeed Subrahmanya, as Muruga, is one of the most popular indigenous hill Gods of the Dravidian country and had been referred to in very early Tamil literature as the 'Kurinji' God. The reference hence to him as Valli's husband is quite in tune with the indigenous popularity of Valli-Muruga-theme even during the time of Tirumangai. Kartikeya is also mentioned as one of the attendant deities of Vishnu along with adityas, maruts, etc., in Toṇḍaradippodi's Tiruppalliyelucchi hymns.[7] We have here an early reference[8] of the semi-divine beings who surround Vishnu in Vaikuṇṭha. These comprise the 8 Dikpalas, the 11 Rudras, 12 Adityas, the Asvin twins, etc.

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[1] Perialwar's decad (1-4).
[2] Perialwar's (47-2 & 3).
[3] Tirumangai (2-6-9).
[4] Tirumangai (2-6-9).
[5] Poygaialwar (1-74); (1-98); Pep (3-63).

As is but natural, the main theme is Vaishnavite in all the hymns. But the emphasis on some of the Puranic episodes and incarnations of Vishnu is indeed suggestive of the relative currency of the themes and preference of the votaries. What was

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6. Tirumangai (6-7-6).
7. Tondaradippodi's Tiruppalliyelucchi hymns (6-7).
8. Poigai Tiruandadi (1-52).

considered as the complete list of ten incarnations of Vishnu is clarified[9] which specified Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Narasimha, Vamana, Parasurama, Rama, Balarama, Krishna and Kalki. This is indeed the traditional and standard list and does not include Buddha, nor does it exclude Parasurama and Balarama (as in some sources, on the basis that these two are only *amsas* and not full avataras). It may be stated here that as detailed in *Viṣvaksena Samhitā* and *Tattva-Traya* there are two broad divisions of the *Vibhavāvatāras* of Vishnu into *Mukhya* and *Amukhya*, the former comprising the *Sākshāt* forms and the latter the *'Āvēśa* forms. The latter itself is divided into *Svarūpāvēśa* (like Paraśurāma, Balarama, etc.), and *Śaktyāvēśa* (like Arjuna, Vyasa, etc.). At the same time, there are a number of rare instances of a reference to Hamsāvatara of Vishnu.[10] This is mentioned mainly in Puranas and is more or less akin to Matsyāvatara. Balarama has also been separately mentioned at a few places, as for instance in Perialwar.[11] Apart from the ten incarnations of Vishnu, we have the most copious references to Vishnu as *Ashṭa-bhuja* on the one hand, and in *Gajendramoksha* form on the other. Of the former, which is indeed one of the very early forms of Vishnu known and described from 4th Cent. A.D. onwards,[12] we have many sculptures also and the standard weapons are conch, disc, bow, arrow, sword, shield, mace and either lotus or a kati-hasta or hand on hip. We have also the other variant of the *Purushottama* form or *Virāṭ-purusha* form[13] wherein plough, pestle, bow, arrow, disc, conch, shield, fire are mentioned. This is rather a rare conception and we have no sure iconographic parallels to this. We have many episodes from *Bhāgavata*, *Mahabharata* and *Ramayaṇa* which were, no doubt, the main foundational classics for moral and religious sustenance. Nevertheless, here again, the mention of some out-of-the-rut narrative details would indicate that the classics had been avidly learnt and cherished and that these episodes had particularly attracted the mind and heart of the concerned Alwars. These are variously, Krishna straightening and thus curing the hunch-back of Trivakrā or Naikavakrā the scentbearer girl of Kamsa, who was very devoted to Krishna;[14] kidnapping of Rukmini by Krishna and the discomfiture and death of Śiśupāla,[15] Krishna's retrieval of Guru Śāndīpani's son from the Pancha-Jana demons of the sea, and the conch Pāncha-Janya got from the demon;[16] cutting of Jayadratha's head after hiding the sun temporarily with his disc (chakra),[17] Rama raising the bow against the delinquent sea-god prior to crossing the sea for Lanka;[18] *Pādukā dāna* to Bharata;[19] Śurphanakhā's discomfiture at Lakshmana's hand;[20] Indra's Charioteer Mātali being sent to drive the chariot for Rama in the battle with Ravana;[21] the killing of Lavaṇāsura by Satrughna.[22] The last mentioned had come for special treatment at the hands of Kalidasa in his Raghuvamsa-Canto XV, and it is very likely that Kalidasa and his works were quite popular in the 8th-9th Centuries A.D. in the Tamil country.

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[9] Perialwar (4-9-9).

[10] Perialwar (1-5-10); (1-8-10); Tirumangai (2-7-10); (5-1-9);

[11] Perialwar (1-7-5).

[12] c.e., Ashtabhuja Swami temple and inscription at Nagarjunakonda, Indian Archaeology, A Review 1959-60.

[13] Perialwar (4-7-5).

We have also such recondite but valuable references to certain attributes of God[23]—where Vishnu is mentioned as affiliated to *Chāndogya Upanishad,* as a *Taittirīya,* as a *Sāmavedi,* etc. It is interesting here to note that in the famous *Viśvarūpa-darshana* section of *Bhagavad-Gītā,* Krishna identified himself with a number of distinguished or distinctive things, animals, birds, sāstras, instruments, waters, etc., and he specifically states there that of the Vedas, he is the Sāma (Vedānām Sāma Vedōsmi). It is undoubtedly this that is mentioned when Tirumangai calls Vishnu as 'Sāma-Vedi' in the above verse.

We have already mentioned the incarnations of Vishnu. In particular, certain references to the Trivikrama avatara would bear mention here. Perialwar[24] mentions how Śukracharya, the preceptor of Mahabali, tried to obstruct Bali's promise by preventing the water which was being poured into Vamana's hand, as con-

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14. Perialwar (1-8-4).
15. Perialwar (3-9-3); (4-3-5); Andal (1-11-9).
16. Perialwar (4-8-1); Andal (1-7-2); Tirumangai (5-8-7 & 8).
17. Perialwar (4-8-8); Tirumangai (5-7-8).
18. Perialwar (1-6-7).
19. Perialwar (3-9-6).
20. Perialwar (3-9-8).
21. Andal (1-5-3).
22. Kulasekharalwar (1-10-11).
23. Tirumangai (5-5-9).
24. Perialwar (1-8-7 & 8).

firmatory of the promise, from falling out. For this he took the form of a bee and blocked the nozzle of the *Kamandalu* of Bali. But Vamana shrewdly took a twig and cleared the hole by poking at the bee-obstacle and the result was Śukracharya lost one eye in the process. Then, when actually Trivikrama rose to a Titanic shape and strode the world and Akaśa, Bali's son Namuchi questioned the action of God by stating that he was given three steps only by his Vamana stature and not in any transformed stature, and Namuchi also got hold of God's knees in an attempt to prevent Him from measuring the offered steps. This has been portrayed in two instances of iconography in Badami caves and we see Namuchi actually locking one of the knees of Trivikrama. Namuchi was, however, hurled into the air ultimately by God in the act of measuring. This is not depicted in most of the Trivikrama sculptures of the Tamil country, but it is significant that it is shown in the Badami Cave which was got carved during the reign of Mangaleśa, the uncle of Pulakesin II, in 578 A.D. This cave contains more than one period of sculptural decoration as evidenced by the sculptural panels themselves.

An important set of references to the three aspects of the stance of Vishnu, as sleeping, (śayāna) sitting (Āsīna) and standing (sthānaka) would deserve our attention. These are particularly from Tirumangai[25] and Tirumalisai Alwar.[26] The former refers to the storeyed Vishnu temple containing all the three poses of the main deity, for worship. The reference is clearly to the temples like Dharmaraja ratha at Mamallapuram, Vaikunṭhaperumal temple at Kanchipuram, Sundaravarada temple at Uttiramerur (Kanchipuram District), temple at Tirukkoilur (South Arcot District), temple at Tirukkoshtiyur (Ramnad District), etc. Herein, we have three storeys or *taḷas* in the temples, the lowest showing the lord in sanctum as standing, the next upper storey showing in its sanctum the God as seated and the third storey showing in its sanctum the sleeping or Anantaśāyee pose of God. It is clear also that all the sanctums are directly one above the other and below the superstructure and sikhara proper. This kind of temple structure is clearly intended to provide for all the three varieties of Vishnu images in the same temple and worship is daily offered at all the three sanctums which are approached by regular staircases let into the wall. The reference of Tirumalisai, however, is partly esoteric and partly composite, since he says on the one hand that while the God is seen standing in Tiruvūraham temple, is seated in Pādaham temple and sleeping in Vehkanai temple (all in Tamil Nad), he had a combined standing, seated and reposed stance in his heart—in other words, God is reigning in his heart in all his infinite forms.

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[25] Tirumangai (2-4-1).

[26] Tirumalisai Alwar (64).

While most of the Alwars have dealt with their religious sentiments in an effective form, it was given only to the female saint Andal to weave into her hymns an authentic account of the life and aspirations of an average Tamil girl of charm and merit in the then Tamil country; her daily duties and activities which include bathing at the river front, decorating the street front of her house and the main room of the house itself with *Ailōpana* or 'rangoli' patterns out of fine white sand (or limestone powder), decoration of the walls of her private room, when she comes of age, with the figures of *Manmatha* or Cupid and the ardent desires and dreams of the young one particularly when her heart had gone out to the ever-resplendent God Vishnu. We have also the main rituals of the marriage function of the times graphically portrayed with no small graciousness.[27] The allied activities on the occasion of the marriage include the installation of Toranas of green Banana trees and foliage, with full pots (pūrnaghaṭa) flanking the Torana posts. This is indeed an important feature which obtains even now in some of the marriages of indigenous castes of Tamil Nad. Then comes the auspicious thread tied around the wrists of the bride and bridegroom. Then on the marriage day, at the auspicious hour, the *pāṇigrahaṇa* or clasping of the hand of the bride (offered to the bridegroom) in holy wedlock takes place (e.g., 'pāṇim-grinhīshva pāṇinā' of Sita—Vivāha in Ramayana). Then follows the *circuit* around the sacrificial fire; then, the lifting and placing of the feet of the bride on the mortar stone by the bridegroom, in token of the consciously submissive role he will play in responding to the finer sentiments of his bride after marriage; then comes the scattering of the rice-flakes over each other, to ward off evil eyes; then comes the ritual bath.

It is significant here that the rituals above described follow largely those of the transformed society under the Aryo-Dravidian impact. For instance, the early Dravidian usage of māngalya sutra in the form of tiger-claws tied in a thread (Tāli) around the beloved gave rise later to the *māngalya-dhārana* ritual of the upper strata of the Tamil country. But this feature does not obtain in the Northern Indian region.

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[27] Andal (1-6-1 to 11).

In the rituals as detailed by Andal, we do not see either the *Sāptapadī* or the *Arundhati-darśana,* obtaining in the modern Tamil brahmin marriage which are indeed further adaptations from northern practices based on Puranic traditions. But the indigenous trends like the *Pūrnaghaṭa,* raising of the feet of the bride by bridegroom and placing it on the mortar stone, the scattering of rice-flake, etc., have been neatly combined with the typical northern practice such as the auspicious thread tied to the wrists of the couple, the pāṇigrahaṇa, and the circuit of the sacrificial fire. In effect, it indicates the already accomplished fusion between the Aryan and the local rituals in respect of the social practices. This is indeed as it should be; but we are able to note this authentically as obtaining in the 8th-9th Cent. A.D. itself, since that would be the date of Andal, as of Perialwar, her foster-father.

Of the many precious facets of factual data that we could glean from some of the hymns, mention may particularly be made of the reference to the *Mahāpurushalakshana* like special marks (Ilacchinai) on the palm, sole of the feet etc., as mentioned by Perialwar[28] wherein the marks mentioned are conch (Sank-ah) mark on one foot and disc (Chakra) mark on the other. We have also mention made of the fish emblem of the Pandya[29] and the bull emblem of the Pallavas.[30] We have repeated references by Tirumangai particularly to the four Vedas, five Vedic sacrifices, six Vedangas, seven musical notes, etc. These would show the complete permeation of the full hieratic and social equipment of the Indo-Aryans in the Tamil country and their quick assimilation into the local blood stream. We have a unique mention of the word *malaiyāḷa* in relation to God.[31] Specifically it refers to Vishnu who is reigning supreme in the sacred hill of Tirumeyyam—a Śayāna type temple of rock-cut nature in the Pudukkottai region of Trichy District datable to the mid 7th Cent. A.D.; but the word in the form in which it is used would appear to suggest that even the modern word 'Malayāḷam' for the Kerala country might have derived its origin from the above in the sense of the country the chief patron deity of which is Vishnu—the Malai-āḷan—as the Ananta-Padmanabha Swami at Trivandrum particularly, or the host of other sacred Vishnu centres of Kerala which have been sung by many early Alwars severally, could surely signify.

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[28] Perialwar (1-7-6).

[29] Perialwar (5-4-7).

[30] Tirumangai (2-9-3 to 7).

[31] Tirumangai (3-6-9).

A particularly meaningful commentary on the social conditions of the times is afforded by that vigorous proponent of Bhakti namely Tondaradippodi Alwar, who in his *Tirumālai* takes the cudgels against both the Buddhists and Jainas as also against Jyestha worship by Hindus as already mentioned at the outset. In the hymns[32] of *Tirumālai,* he feelingly refers to the fact that for being eligible to the grace of God, the one and only requirement is Bhakti or unqualified devotion, and not even intellect is necessary. Indeed he has a mild thrust at the literate and the high-born, who are likely to look with disfavour upon the intellectually less well endowed, in their aspirations for Divine grace. This attitude of the Alwar is indeed sufficiently well vindicated by his compeer Tiruppanalwar, the Bana mendicant of low caste, who became a canonised Vaishnavite Alwar, by virtue of the depth of his devotion. Further, it is the basic tenet of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* propounded later by Rāmānuja that Bhakti alone may be enough to make one eligible for God's blessings and protection, as against the *gñāna-* vehicle so ardently expounded by Sankara in the *Advaita* philosophy. Thus we may see that even during the time of Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi—who was more or less the contemporary of Sri Sankara, the Bhakti cult had already opened out its first impact on the masses. It was given, however, to Ramanuja to consolidate it into a regular philosophy and code of conduct.

As already stated, it would not be possible, within the compass of a brief essay such as the present paper, to deal with all the data which '*Divyaprabandham*' offers to the diligent student of art and sociology, but it is hoped enough has been indicated to show that the distinctive features of the *Divyaprabandham,* as a source, are their effusive lyrical and literary flavour, their authentic sociological idioms, and their firm and unequivocal religious and hieratic orientation.

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[32] Tirumalai (3-9); (42-43).

The Bundela Rebellion, 1842

BY

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In the land between the rivers Jamuna and Narmada, once ruled by the powerful Bundela chiefs such as Bir Singh, Jujhar Singh and Chhatrasal, British infiltration commenced during the Governor-generalship of Lord Minto and became an accomplished fact by the end of the administration of Lord Hastings. While subordination was imposed on the princely states of Bundelkhand by a network of treaties, direct British rule was established in the Sagar and Narmada territories by the treaty of Poona in 1817 and the subsequent military operations of 1818-19.

The freedom-loving, warlike and turbulent Bundelas, who had never in the past accepted foreign domination as a blessing to them, were not likely to swallow the insult hurled on them by the loss of their independence. The resentment dominated their minds and made them prone to revolt at the slightest provocation. A violent expression of their resentment during the consolidation of British power in the Sagar and Narmada territories, in the critical month of April, 1842, is well-known in history as the Bundela Rebellion. To all intents and purposes it was a sort of resistance to British rule which had failed to endear itself to the people who treated the loss of political freedom as a hallmark of dishonour and the establishment of British administration as an imposition upon them. It indicated aversion of the Bundela nobility to the new regime and existence of stir and restlessness in their minds. The numerous political and secret consultations of the year 1842-43, preserved in the National Archives of India at New Delhi, are rich and valuable sources of information on the subject.

The causes of the Bundela uprisings were not superficial. They were substantial and deep-rooted. Lord Ellenborough and W. H. Sleeman both felt that the factors leading to rebellion could not be lightly brushed aside. They had a definite moral to give to the British administrators in India. As a result of my brief survey of the Bundelkhand records I have come to the conclusion that the Bundela Revolt was not a sudden outburst. It had been in the making imperceptibly ever since 1818. Several political, administrative, economic and geographical factors contributed to its making. The loss of the right to determine political life and the consequences that flowed therefrom were the basic factors at the root of the terrible political reaction. In the wake of foreign domination had come establishment of an unsympathetic administration, defective land revenue policy, loss of economic vocations, rise of currency complications, disruption of social structure, decay in educational institutions, increase in criminal practices and absence of security of life and property. These factors in their cumulative effect brought about a conflagration against the new set up that had replaced the old and familiar one.

The oppressive, tyrannical and discriminative police administration, the insufficient and inefficient judicial system with slow, expensive, dilatory and uncertain justice, the soaring unemployment and lack of opportunities for the development of personality had become very well-marked features of the new alien government which had no roots in the soil and felt little sense of obligation towards the people. Worst of all was the revenue system which had several defects such as over-assessment by about one half, rigidity in collection, lack of sympathy for the peasantry and the landlords and frequency in the misguided interference by the district officers.

In the first revenue arrangements made by the British, prior to the final settlement by Fraser on the principles laid down by R. M. Bird, the assessment appeared to be arbitrary, exorbitant and extortionate. In fixing the land revenue the government was prompted by the need for larger economic resources. Hence, the revenue system, the fulcrum of a sound administration and economic prosperity of a country, was not conducive to the welfare and happiness of those drawing their livelihood from land. It created inevitable discontent against the new masters and brought unpopularity to the new administration. The foreign collectors of revenue eagerly sought honours and promotions by increasing the assessment on land under their charge at every renewal of the short-term quinquennial settlements. The more was the assessment increased the greater was the praise bestowed upon them by the Revenue Secretary to the Government. Naturally, therefore, for gaining the confidence and favour of higher authorities, they cared little to see that by their actions they were sacrificing the interests of the people subsisting on agriculture. Besides this the procedure of settlements was marked by harassments and was accompanied by a large scale dispossession of the *malguzars* of long-standing on one pretext or the other. Above all the 15% of gross rent left with the landlrods was found to be insufficient. It became the cause of several evils in the collection of revenue.

R. M. Bird, the great revenue administrator of the North-Western Provinces who was deputed to examine the revenue administration of the Sagar and Narmada territories, felt that the so called nominal revenue demand was too high for the country. Even the comparatively reasonable settlement that was made on his recommendations for twenty years was not without its defects. Like all other land revenue settlements this one also suffered from over-assessment, an evil common to all revenue settlements in British India. The inevitable consequence was the impoverishment of peasantry, creation of an influential class of dispossessed persons who began to bear a natural grudge against the authors of their ruin and lent their ears to any scheme calculated to subvert the British authority. The economic loss is the greatest disadvantage that pinches most and becomes a genuine cause of grievance. Discussing the causes and progress of rebellion Sleeman attributed it to the proceedings in the Revenue Department subsequent to 1834.

The loss of extensive proprietory rights enjoyed by the *Patels*, the prevention of succession to the heirs of one of the deceased joint proprietors with the consent of the surviving co-sharers, the prohibition imposed on the sub-letting of land by the *Patels*, the large scale resumption of rent-free villages held in service tenures and settlements made with wrong persons due to political considerations were sources of discontent in the land-owning aristocracy. A circular order of the Sadar Board of Revenue, dated September 13, 1836, brought within its purview every estate in the Sagar and Narmada territories which was not held under a *sanad* or in rent-free or quit-rent tenures. The hereditary estates should have been excluded from this circular. The unhappy consequence of this omission was that by its operation many heirs of the old hereditary proprietors were deprived of their estates in every district. They rarely obtained their shares and those who succeeded in getting them had to spend a lot and wait for long. This gave rise to much distress and bitterness and it became a fruitful source of discontent over a vast tract and among a population of three millions. This defect had arisen largely from misinterpretation of orders of the Board of Revenue.

Another source of discontent was the prohibition against the sub-letting of estates by the landholders. The Sadar Board of Revenue had prohibited the sub-letting of government farms by the lessees on penalty of the lease being declared null and void. But this order was made applicable to all landholders other than the *sanad* holders. This unwarranted interpretation of order was an over-doing. The number of estates forfeited under this order and the persons affected by it was large. The land-owning aristocracy suffered a great deal. The feeling of dissatisfaction to which it gave rise was very great and general.

A still more potent cause of dissatisfaction among the petty chiefs and *taluqdars* holding more than one village was that the government made settlement with the heads of villages, assigning to the legal owners only a certain percentage of revenue. This was done even where there were no village proprietors. This measure deprived the chiefs of a good deal of their authority, influence and occupation. It reduced their income considerably by transferring to the heads of villages a major part of rent which used to be retained formerly by the chiefs themselves. This was another unwarranted interference by the government which could have been justified if there existed a class of hereditary proprietors among the cultivators with prescriptive right of occupancy. The grievances caused by it were perfectly justified. Besides this, the liability of the estates held under *sanads* in rent-free or quit-rent tenures to attachment in satisfaction of decrees of the civil courts, by which the age-old law of uninterrupted inheritance was threatened to be done away with, was also an important cause of dissatisfaction.

Till 1836 the petty chiefs and *jagirdars* of the hilly tracts and forest lands were outside the jurisdiction of the British Civil Courts. But when Commissioner Shore brought them under the jurisdiction of the Courts of Sadar Amins, there was a wave of indignation in the Sagar and Narmada territories. The *Amins'* Courts became unpopular and their presiding officers hateful to the chiefs most of whom were deeply involved in debt but had a very high sense of self-respect. The *Amin* of Jabalpur was notoriously corrupt. That of Hoshangabad had lost confidence of the people. Those of other places were no better. A large number of cases of landlords and chiefs came before them for adjudication. Hardly a week elapsed without an act of humiliation to the chiefs which they resented without resistance. Even those who held land rent-free or at a quit-rent found themselves exposed to this process. All alike considered it derogatory to their dignity to appear before these courts which were presided over by men of lower social and economic status. Till 1836 their social intercourse with the European functionaries had been easy, unreserved and intimate. But with the extension of the jurisdiction of these courts it became restricted and difficult. This cold attitude of the British rulers and want of direct touch with them was greatly felt by the landed aristocracy which attached great value to its contacts with the rulers.

The complaints against some other aspects of civil justice were equally general and just. The majority of European officers had neither time to supervise the local civil courts nor ability and inclination to do it. Very often the incompetent executive officers were transferred to the judicial branch of administration. The consequence was that the judicial machinery had become clogged by huge arrears of work. The subordinate judicial officers had little apprehension of a strict scrutiny into their proceedings. In these circumstances many of the Indian judges also became careless, some notoriously corrupt and others altogether negligent of their responsibilities. This want of efficient and effective supervision over the administration of civil justice had a very serious effect on administration which multiplied grievances against the British rule in the Sagar and Narmada territories. The careless functioning of the Arbitration Courts presided over by *Tahsildars* was also a source of grievance. Justice was delayed, uncertain and expensive. It was not in keeping with the past Indian tradition. The general feeling was that justice was denied to them.

Another cause of grievance among the petty chiefs of the Sagar and Narmada territories was economic. Unemployment became the most baneful effect of British rule. All the chiefs who used to render military service to their Indian overlords in the past became virtually unemployed. They were no longer required to render military service to the new masters. Their families gradually grew larger and financial responsibilities increased, while their income was substantially reduced and the possibilities of employment became meagre. Their hereditary profession was service in the army. Proficient in the use of swords and shields, they were best fitted for the military career and unfit for other professions for which they had neither training nor aptitude. Hence, they became idle and discontented drones on land. Their freedom of action was also considerably restricted. They were permitted neither to wield power nor to exercise unlimited discretion. They were obliged to obey the new government and remain at their mercy. This state must have been unpalatable to them. It is not surprising if in sheer exasperation several of them lost their sense of social obligation, took to marauding activities and turned into devils. Most of the *Pindari* and *Thug* leaders were drawn from this class of people. The deeds of their devilry are well-known to a student of history.

Disarmament of the people was an equally potential cause of grievance against the British rule. The landholders and the well-to-do peasants and traders generally complained that they were dispossessed of their arms, that free sale of arms was prohibited, and ordinarily licences were not issued to them. This policy made the property holders and friends of peace and order entirely unable to defend themselves from attacks of marauders, dacoits and robbers who had increased in number. While the peace-loving people suffered from a sense of insecurity the turbulent ones carried arms clandestinely and never obeyed the government orders. Their propensity to create disturbances increased.

Thus the want of an effective and efficient administrative machinery after 1818 was an important factor that caused wide-spread disaffection in Bundelkhand. The general impression created upon the people about the new government was that the courtesy and consideration with which the members of the middle and higher classes were treated by their European functionaries in the districts were considerably less than what they were in the previous regimes. Sleeman found substantial truth in this feeling of the people. Commenting on the administration in India Lord Ellenborough mentioned that when he passed through Bundelkhand and the Doab he saw how scandalously the civilian officers had neglected their duty. Their behaviour towards the subject people was cold and unsympathetic. He regretfully admitted that the people of Budelkhand and the Sagar and Narmada territories were not well-governed. This view of the Governor General leaves little to doubt that the Bundela uprisings were the outcome of the nature of British rule in that region. In fact, neither the Bundelas had reconciled themselves to the changed political circumstances and the alien administrative system nor had the new rulers identified themselves with the people. Sleeman who had considerable experience of the Sagar and Narmada territories reported to Lord Ellenborough, as a result of his enquiry into the causes of the Bundela rebellion, that the revolt was caused quite as much by the insolence of officers as by the scarcity of troops.

A multitude of political events in Bundelkhand such as confiscation of estates, deposition of rulers, assumption of governments and the day-to-day interference in their affairs must have contributed a good deal to the dissatisfaction against the British power. The Lapse of the principality of Jalaun in 1840 on the death of Govind Rao, the assumption of the government of Jhansi in 1839 owing to the incompetence of Gangadhar Rao, the confiscation of Chirgaon in 1841 on account of the rebellion of its jagirdar, Bakhat Singh, the deposition of Raja Parixit of Jaitpur in 1842, the interference in the succession disputes of Datia and Orchha in 1839-40 and 1841, the deposition of Raja Kishore Singh of Panna and the arrest of a number of Bundelas prior to 1842 for acts of rebellion committed in the Sindhia's territory highly enraged the Bundela mind and led to the participation of a number of the dispossessed Bundela chiefs in the rebellion and the connivance of the existing ones.

The opportunity for an open resentment came in 1842 when the myth of British military invincibility was exploded in Afghanistan by disastrous reverses and their prestige was at its lowest ebb. Before measures could be taken to rehabilitate British military glory and poiltical prestige by destroying the independence of Sindh and reducing the military might of Gwalior the Bundela dissatisfaction found a terrible outlet in the form of an open rebellion against the authors of their ruin. In the opinion of Sleeman 'the Kabul reverses gave weight to the native predictions that the British rule would end in that year and accounted no little for the uprisings'. The crippled state of the British army led to a general belief among the disaffected and discontented persons that the British Government had no means to suppress them and would be obliged to restore to them their old possessions with all their ill-gotten wealth and retainers. The predatory Bundela, Gond and Lodhi aristocracy were ready to take advantage of the gloomy state of affairs for the British in India. The leniency shown in dealing with them in the past and the weakness of the existing government removed fear of the government from their minds. Sleeman's principal assistant, Captain Boland, stationed at Hoshangabad, reported to him that the news of the Kabul disaster and the smallness of British forces in the Sagar and Narmada territories led the disaffected elements to believe that they might succeed against the British who were not in a position to coerce them. The absorption of Narsinghpur district into Hoshangabad in 1836 and the withdrawal of troops from there enabled the opponents of British rule to turn the situation to their advantage.

Temperamentally inclined to resort to tumultuous activities such as dacoity, criminal practices and marauding raids, when unemployed, and unable to display their accustomed liberality and public-spirited benevolence, owing to the loss of their political influence and economic prosperity, the Bundelas could not but violently express their resentment when the British hold over the Sagar and Narmada territories was weak. It was a well-known fact that the Bundelas, beset with difficulties, were apt to take to their hills and forests and become rebels. The fear of their resistance was often the only check upon the rapacity of their chiefs. The new government entertained no such fears.

Describing the participation of the sons of Vijai Bahadur in the revolt of 1842 Captain Brown has made the following significant general observation:—

> "On the other hand it must be considered that our rule must ever be most distasteful to a warlike race of men who from times unknown have ever lived by plunder and many of whom from the lateness of our acquisition of these territories still remember and sigh for the bygone days of their freedom...They cannot but perceive that whilst all other ranks of men prosper under our rule they alone are gradually sinking in wealth, estimation and respectability. The peaceful life they are obliged to lead is not only distasteful...but the natural increase of their families adds to their embarrassments. Under such circumstances can it be thought surprising that the exaggerated rumours of our disasters in Afgha-

nistan should have found in this class a too ready credence, or when backed by their personal knowledge of the reduced state of our military stations that they should have been induced to listen to the insidious counsels of their more potent neighbours by whom they were promised and did receive both assistance and refuge".

If the political, economic and social unsettlement had made the Bundelas rebel, the geographical factors such as the uneven topography, thick forests, hilly terrains and rugged mountains rendered their detection, pursuit and suppression extremely difficult.

The immediate cause that ignited fire seems to be mostly personal. It is known from the records that Madhukar Shah and his younger brother Ganeshju, the two sons of Vijai Bahadur, the chief of Narhut, and Jawahar Singh Bundela of Chandrapur went into open rebellion in April 1842. They were dissatisfied on account of having been served with decrees from the civil court of Sagar presided over by the *Sadar Amin* and threatened with attachment of their property. Madhukar Shah was enraged by the police tyranny also. From the Sagar District Gazetteer it is known that the chief constable of an adjoining police station, who wanted a *Bedni* (dancing girl), forcibly carried away from the house of Madhukar Shah the one he had engaged on the occasion of *Holi*, causing considerable insult to him. This irritated him most and made him a rebel. Similarly Jawahar Singh was forced to become a rebel. His rent-free villages were assessed in 1819 and his petitions against the assessment proceedings were rejected. Later on, owing to his inability to pay revenue his estate was taken over. This left him without means of subsistence and reduced him to the necessity of begging, robbing or starving for he could get no service, knew no trade and did not like to become a tenant. Being a man of high rank and social status he could not adjust himself to new circumstances. Driven to desperation, he started marauding activities.

Madhukar Shah and Ganeshju attacked the police station at Narhut in the Sagar district on April 8, 1842. Jawahar Singh collected several hundred followers and attacked, plundered and burnt the large village of Esurwara, killing and wounding several persons. Joined by his three sons he attacked several other villages and made a common cause with the Narhut rebels. He became one of the most formidable insurgent leaders. On enquiry Sleeman felt convinced that he was more harshly treated than any other chief before he joined the insurgents. He was a man with extraordinary qualities as a soldier and was related to the high ruling families of Bundelkhand. Another leading member of the conspiracy was Bikramajit. He died a few months after the outbreak. His son, Dhokal Singh, took his place and made matters worse. He murdered Murad Khan Jamadar and others at Narhut, worked in collaboration with the two principal leaders of that place and carried on violent activities throughout the year.

These spearheads of revolt were joined by several other rebel chiefs such as Punchun Singh, Dariyao Singh and Ajit Singh of Garha, Parixit of Girwar, Laxman Singh of Shahgarh, Dhurmangad Singh of Chanderi and the chiefs of Baradongra who, on the 9th April, sacked the town of Khimlasa with a population of 12000. Encouraged by the Tehri, Chirgaon and Chanderi rebels many committed depredations upon the British territories in Khurai, Nariaoli, Dhamoni, Binaika and other places. Although several of their attempts were foiled by the Sagar detachments still they remained a potential menace to the British Raj in the Sagar and Narmada territories. Their attack on the Bengal infantry under Lt. Ternan, near Shahgarh, was repulsed. Sleeman wrote to James Thomson, Secretary to the Government of India, on September 15, 1843, that numerous petty chiefs of the Bundela, Gond and Lodhi clans were very unfriendly to the British rule.

Raja Dhelan Sah, the Gond chief of Madanpur, with his brother Nizam Sah, his son Lal Singh and Narwar Singh occupied Deori and carried depredations over a very large part of Narsinghpur district, north of Narmada, known as Chanwarpatha where all the landholders, with only three exceptions, joined the revolt. Joined by several local leaders, he completely entrenched himself on the Barmhan Ghat and made help to the British from the southern side virtually impossible. In collaboration with a Bundela chief, Ranji Singh, he captured several strategic points and fortified them effectively. He showed great daring and enterprise in taking possession of Tendulakheda in Hoshangabad district. Assisted by Narwar Singh he shot down Hugh Fraser of the Bengal Civil Service Bhagwant Singh, the Gond Raja of Hirdepur, his brother Jujhar Singh and two sons, Narwar Singh and Surat Singh and the chiefs of

Alipura and Dilheri attacked a detachment of the 57th B.N.I. Other notorious leaders were Pahalwan Singh of Gurowli and Narbada Bux. Many other names of the leaders of lesser significance are found in the records. Some of them are Brijbhukhan, Khet Singh, Triumbak Rao, Chimna and Rao Mahukum Singh.

These rebels consolidated their position by posting trusted men at all the strategic points on road junctions and Narmada ghats in Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad, Jabalpur and Mandla. They blocked roads, seized boats, strengthened defensive positions and did not allow passage to government servants or persons known for pro-British proclivities. British rule was removed from the regions comprising parts of the districts of Sagar, Narsinghpur and Hoshangabad. Independent Bundela and Gond administrations were established with all paraphernalia and hierarchy of officials known for their anti-British sentiments.

The success of the Bundela and Gond chiefs encouraged other dissatisfied persons to give open expression to their resentment. In the district of Damoh, Bahadur Singh of Abhana, brother of the Raja of Hutri, was the most active leader of the insurgents. He was, in fact, the originator of rebellion in Damoh and a collaborator of Madhukar Shah. He was joined by his relative Hindupat who was one of the principal leaders in the attack on Tezghar. In the Jabalpur district Raja Hirde Sah was the most prominent person to raise the standard of rebellion. One of his lieutenants, named Gajraj Singh, began his venture like Madhukar Shah and Jawahar Singh by attacking Gajpura police station. Despite frantic efforts by the Government to capture them, they escaped the British vigilance. Even those who professed staunch fidelity to the British had their hearts with the anti-British elements. Most of the prominent persons either helped them secretly by supplying information, provisions and arms, granting shelter and permitting encampments to them or remained quiet spectators for fear of losing whatever little they had. On account of this popular sympathy and cooperation several of them could not be captured by the government.

Thus from Narhut and Esurwara the rebellion spread like wild fire over almost all parts of the Sagar and Narmada territories with Baitul and Seoni as the only exceptions where violent reactions were prevented on account of their proximity to the loyal Bhonsla state of Nagpur. Most of the country inhabited by the Bundelas, Gonds and Lodhis remained distracted throughout the year 1842. Sagar, Damoh, Jabalpur, Narsinghpur and Hoshangabad were in a state of considerable ferment. Alarm prevailed all over Bundelkhand. The discontented Thakurs of Tehri, Panna Chanderi, Sironj and Shahgarh joined the rebellion. Bakht Singh, fugitive chief of Chirgaon, whose estate was confiscated in 1841, also joined the rebels with a large body of insurgents. He was killed at Pemwari on June 9.

Raja Parixit Singh, the ex-ruler of Jaitpur, dissatisfied by British interference in the affairs of his state and his ultimate deposition, joined hands with the rebels with his uncle Kumod Singh. According to Sleeman, the Nawab of Banda and the Rajas of Charkhari and Hazipur instigated him to join the insurgents. He and Hirde Sah made a common cause and kept the southern part of Bundelkhand most unrestful. They captured several small fortresses and strategic points, invited other Bundelas to join their ranks and exhorted the people to rise in revolt. With their number increased, they carried their incursions far and wide and ultimately restored to guerilla warfare against the British forces under Captains Watson and Brown who were deputed for their arrest. The Hindu landlords of Bhopal and several disaffected persons in the Gwalior state had sympathy for them. They helped them secretly and prayed for their success.

The simultaneous outbreaks at a number of places made it virtually impossible for the British with their limited military strength in that region to cope with the situation successfully. The elusive and quick movements of the insurgents and the support given to them by the local population rendered the British almost helpless for sometime. Desultory guerilla fighting between the rebels and the British forces was kept up at a number of places. When an all—pronged drive started against them from several directions they gave the British forces much trouble by the use of short-cuts through mountains, forests, ravines and rivulets and kept them baffled for a long time.

Ultimately overwhelming forces were brought from Allahabad, Banaras, Nagpur, Jhansi, Bhopal and other places to deal with the rebels. Had not the troops from the North Western Provinces been poured into the Narmada Valley in the month of October, when it was exceedingly unsafe to pass through the deadly belts of jungles skirting the Vindhyas and Satpura ranges, the predatory gangs of hundreds would have swelled into thousands and the whole wealth of the country would have been at their mercy. The tillage for the spring crop could not have been carried on. The revenue of the season must have been lost and thousands of the peasantry must have taken to plunder for want of other means of subsistence. The opportune arrival of Col. Watson's Field Force and Col. Blackwell's troops at Jabalpur and Narsinghpur and of the Holkar's troops at Hoshangabad changed the situation and saved it from becoming a universal chaos.

Besides these military measures, a proclamation was issued in Hindi on the 2nd November 1842 declaring the rebels as disturbers of peace and calling upon all the chiefs and peace-loving inhabitants of Bundelkhand and the Sagar and Narmada territories to assist the British forces in their efforts to eliminate them and restore peace. They were asked to supply information about the whereabouts, designs and movements of the rebels. In return they were promised protection, justice and redress for the wrong done to them. Cooperation or connivance with them was declared punishable. Rewards were announced for the arrest of the known leaders of revolt. Printed copies of this proclamation were widely circulated.

At last with a superior military force the rebels were overpowered. Several of them were forced to surrender. But a majority of them could not be caught. The topography of the region facilitated their escape and provided much-needed shelter to them. They successfully evaded the pursuers' vigilance and remained at large in spite of the vast British resources and proclamations of rewards for their arrest. When drastic measures failed to yield the desired results and indefinite prolongation of disturbances was apprehended owing to the difficulties involved in the restoration of order, the government thought of conciliatory measures and issued a sugar-quoted proclamation on November 17, 1842, asking the rebel chiefs to lay down their arms and surrender themselves and the plundered property unconditionally. To weaken their combination and create dissensions among them, assurances were given to the rank and file among them that they would be forgiven and their lives would be spared if they agreed to work as informants and cooperate in the apprehension of their ring leaders who alone were to be punished for their crimes. This attempt to demoralize and divide them and to win over the chicken-hearted in order to obtain clues about the whereabouts and activities of their leaders was not without its effect. In response to it the weak, fearful and irresolute persons surrendered themselves and helped in the arrest of some of their leaders. When the offers of small sums failed to induce the people to help the government in the capture of the rebel leaders, Sleeman raised the value of rewards. The highest award announced was Rs. 10,000 for the arrest of the ex-Raja of Jaitpur.

Personal jealousy among the Indian people and their inclination to sacrifice general interest for personal gain, which have been the principal causes of their political ruin in the past, were very much in evidence in Bundelkhand. To show substantial proof of his fidelity, the Bundela Raja of Shahgarh captured Raja Hirde Shah of Hirapur and his whole family including his son Meharban Singh, cousin Ishwari Singh and Rao Amar Singh and surrendered them to Sleeman on December 22, 1842. To prevent the possibility of a disturbance as a consequence of his arrest and detention he and his associates were sent as state prisoners under a strong police escort to Chunar to be lodged there in the fort as political prisoners. The women and children of his family were given pension and sent to Jabalpur. In return for this help to the British cause, the Raja of Shahgarh secured pardon for his brother Laxman Singh who had participated in the rebellion. He was given a *khilat* and was freed from the payment of *nazrana* to the paramount power. Loyalty to the British and treachery to the Bundela cause put the Raja of Shahgarh to great difficulties.

Raja Mardan Singh of Banpur helped Captain Wakeman in capturing Madhukar Shah. With his arrest the backbone of rebellion was broken. It is said that he was betrayed by his sister when he visited her house and stayed there for the night. To his great surprise he found himself under custody at the dead of night when he was awakened from sleep. For his help to the British in the arrest of several rebels the Raja of Banpur incurred the resentment of his clansmen. The loyalty of Thakur Newal Singh of Kukurroa was also of great consequence. He was sent on an expedition against the rebel Raja of Jaitpur and the surrender of the rebel leaders, Balwant Singh and Durian Singh, was brought about by him. Lalla Ram Chowdhari of Chanderi and Thakur Prayagdas of Bijai Raghogarh helped the British cause in their respective regions. Mohd. Hussain, Newal Singh and Ram Prasad Tiwari induced Ganeshju, Bahadur Singh, Dhokal Singh, Dariyao Singh and Punchan Singh to surrender for which they were liberally rewarded. Captain Brown suggested punishment to Madhukar Shah, the eldest offender, pardon to Ganeshju, the younger one, forfeiture of the latter's claims to inherit his father's estate and permission to him to reside at Sagar as a British pensioner. Ram Charan, Tahsildar, helped in procuring the surrender of the Gond rebels on a definite promise that punishment of death would not be inflicted on them. For this valuable service he was granted a *khilat*. By their surrender tranquillity was restored to the districts of Narsinghpur and Hoshangabad. The zamindars of Karwardha and the subedar of Chhatisgarh helped in the destruction of Narbada Bux and the arrest of his followers. The Raja of Chanderi arrested Parixit of Girwar and delivered him to the government. For this service he received a reward of Rs. 5000/-

Despite the cooperation of the loyal chiefs, in all very few rebels could be caught. When inducements failed to bring about their surrender, it was decided to give an exemplary and deterrent punishment to some of the influential leaders in order to create terror in the minds of others and prevent them from taking law in their hands again. Consequently Ganeshju and Madhukar Shah were subjected to public trial as a result of which the former was transported for life and the latter was publicly executed and his dead body was burnt behind the Sagar jail where the people later on erected a masonry platform to honour the great martyr for the cause of freedom in the Sagar and Narmada territories. This platform became a place of worship and the honoured dead became an object of veneration. His name was perpetuated in the local ballads and folk songs. Persons of lesser consequence, who had surrendered in response to the proclamation, were pardoned after a few interrogations. By April 1843 the revolt was finally suppressed and the cause was lost.

In the suppression of the Bundela Rebellion very valuable assistance was secured from the Raja of Nagpur and the Nawab of Bhopal. A number of self-seeking Bundela chiefs like those of Shahgarh, Banpur and Chanderi, who doubted the ability of the British to recover their position in Bundelkhand, stood aloof from it, watched the progress of events and ultimately went whole hog with the winning side. A number of other notable persons, whose names have already been given, also helped in its suppression in the hope of gaining British favour and reaping advantages in life. Among the English officials, Charles Fraser, the Commissioner of the Sagar and Narmada territories, and persons under him such as Hugh Fraser, Captains Clement, Charles Brown, Boland, Doolan, Hamilton and Lt. Hayes, whose duties lay within the scenes of disturbances, rendered great service to the British cause in putting down the insurrection. Major Pinto, captains Trevelyan, Spence and Elliot also worked, incessantly. Most of the Indian personnel in the administration of the East India Company remained steadfast in their loyalty to the British.

Acting almost independently in separate groups with no co-ordinated planning and without adequate military and financial resources, the rebel Bundelas were crippled effectively in their isolated pockets with superior military resources. Localized in nature, the violent resistance movement could not make much headway in the absence of a talented and resourceful leader beyond keeping the British engaged for sometime and indicating to them the existence of not an altogether ineffective discontent against British domination. Yet in the history of India's resistance to British rule the Bundela Revolt is an important episode.

Those among the rebels who had neither surrendered nor had been caught but had successfully escaped punishment, continued to nourish grievance against British rule in India in their jungle fastnesses where they were the only listeners of their echoes. Brooding over their fate they became the determined enemies of British rule in Bundelkhand. They spent their days in hiding with a grim determination to use every opportunity to destroy British rule. Although their revolt did not succeed, the fire of resistance once ignited, remained smouldering in their discontented hearts. Whenever they got an opportunity to damage the British cause they never missed it. Out of sheer desperation several of them turned into dacoits and gave vent to their feelings by criminal acts. One of the most notorious Bundela dacoits kept the Malthone border disturbed for a long time. Cutting of the noses of his victims at a *nala* about a mile south of the town on the Sagar-Jhansi road became his favourite penchant. Since then that *nala* has been known as '*nakta nala*'. He was ultimately caught and hanged at

Jhansi. Others remained at large nourishing a hope for a better future. Some of them made a futile bid to revolt when the British were engaged in Gwalior. At last, when a gigantic revolt against British rule occurred in 1857, the Bundela leaders, after fifteen years of self-imposed incarceration, came out in old age with all their zest to join the struggle for independence in the Sagar and Narmada territories.

The Bundela Revolt disturbed the equanimity of the minds of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief and completely upset them for a while. In fact it was a bolt from the blue to their already unsettled minds. They decided to nip it in the bud, but to their great surprise it assumed proportions and became widespread. The Governor-General, therefore, took over the administration of the Sagar and Narmada territories from the Lt.-Governor of the N.W.P. and took all possible military and diplomatic measures to suppress the uprising and prevent it from spreading in the neighbouring Indian states. He sent instructions to his Agents in Bundelkhand and the Sagar and Narmada territories to keep the Commander-in-Chief constantly informed of all matters occurring within their jurisdictions which might affect the tranquillity of the country and threaten to influence the disposition of the Indian troops.

To Lord Ellenborough the occurrence of the revolt indicated the existence of a sore point somewhere in the body politic of the Company's administration. He, therefore, took a very serious view of things and decided to apply drastic remedy to improve them. He appointed W. H. Sleeman, a person best fitted for the job, as his Agent in the rebellion-torn tracts and instructed him to make an enquiry into the causes of the revolt, to punish the guilty, and to suggest ways and means of preventing the recurrence of such uprisings in the geographically difficult tracts. Sleeman submitted a comprehensive report which throws much light on the nature of British administration in the Sagar and Narmada territories. Convinced of the defects in administration as a source of dissatisfaction, Ellenborough devised a forthright solution of the difficulties by ordering the removal of the entire British staff engaged in the civil administration of the territories and appointment of a carefully selected, energetic and efficient team of officers to improve and ensure better administration. While taking this step he said that the British officials must avoid revolts by winning the confidence and respect of the people under their rule rather than by relying on military might and redeem crude blunders of arrogance. On his instructions judicial work was separated from revenue and police and the working of these departments was improved. Police system was thoroughly reorganized on a military basis in order to secure better results. Curiously enough, the new arrangement proved economical also. Most of the glaring defects in the working of the revenue system, which were the real causes of revolt, were removed.

Sir Robert Peel applauded Ellenborough's reforms but the Court of Directors, annoyed by his drastic measures, criticised them. In defence of himself, he made a significant remark which is an interesting commentary on British civil administration in India: 'The civil servant sees in the *cutcherry* only the worst part of the native character and it is not to be expected that his feeling towards the people should have the impress of regard and confidence.' He believed that the reformed administration would have a useful moral effect on the Indian Civil Service and was satisfied that the desired effect of the new administration was at last achieved in the Sagar and Narmada territories. On being censured by the Court of Directors, he requested them to take a fair view of his measures. His strong reply to their criticism, his drastic administrative measures and his habitual proneness to exercise his free and unfettered discretion angered the Court of Directors and led to his recall.

Culture–Contacts in South India

BY

T. K. VENKATRAMAN, M.A., L.T.

(*Continued from* Vol. XL, p. 469)

We must draw a distinction between these harlots and the Devadāsis. Dedication of women to temples must have been originally meant for rendering service to the presiding deity of the temple in the form of religious dance, or for the discharge of a vow made to that deity. We have instances of this custom in many countries and in many ages. The Vestal Virgins in ancient Rome and the order of nuns in the Roman Catholic communities may be cited as examples of women consecrated for religious service. But, unfortunately, in some countries including India, prostitution came to be followed by these women, so much so, that in Tamil, the word 'Dāsi' which literally means 'a maid-servant', came to be synonymous with a harlot.[277] Sacred prostitution is not confined to India. It prevailed in ancient Greece. The temple of Venus at Corinth had more than a thousand courtesans, and it was a custom for those desiring favours from Venus to dedicate to that deity a number of girls. Marco Polo noticed women attached to Buddhist shrines in the Malaya Archipelago. It is not clear when this custom began in South India. Cōḻa inscriptions refer to Devadāsis who gave charities and public donations and apparently commanded social respect. In the great temple built by Rājarāja at Tanjore,[278] there were four hundred women who lived in free residences and were allowed to possess tax-free endowments of land. An inscription of Mahādeva, a general of the Western Cālukya monarch, Vikramāditya VI, dated 1112 A.D.[279] shows that he built a temple and added to it residences for women attached to it. Marco Polo in the thirteenth century refers to the dedication of young girls to gods and goddesses. Paes noted that in the car festival at Vijayanagar the procession of the deity included dancing girls presumably attached to that god. In the Telugu country, dedication of girls to temple is not so common as we find in the Tamil country. The custom prevailed in the Kannaḍa region. Such dedications are mentioned in Kadamba inscriptions.[280] The custom prevailed in a peculiar form in the Kannaḍa region. One girl from each family in some particular communities was dedicated to a shrine. Such girls called Bāsavis became public women. Dr. Altekar thinks[281] that attaching women to temples became popular in the Deccan from the sixth century A.D. The institution of Bāṣavis prevailed also in particular areas of the Ceded Districts.[282]

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[277] The *Arthaśāstra* refers to prostitutes (Book II, ch. 27) but does not connect them with temples. This custom must have developed later. Basham (*The Wonder That Was India*) thinks that it was rare till the mediaeval period.

[278] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part 3, p. 259.

[279] *Epigraphia Indica*, XIII, p. 37.

Similarity in dress and ornaments throughout North and South India is striking, in spite of inevitable local peculiarities. The *Vedic* men wore two cloths, one round the waist and the other thrown over the upper part of the body. This fashion has been the same throughout India from that time. Yuan Chwang (seventh century) says[283] "The men bind their garments round the middle, then gather them under the arm-pits and let them fall across the body hanging to the right". This upavīta form of the drapery (covering the left side and leaving the right side exposed) has been found in the Indus Valley. Nicolo dei Conti referring to the people of Vijayanagar observes that they wore only a linen cloth round the body. But Caesar Frederic noted[284] that men also wore long caps called colae. The courtiers in the Hoysāla period seem to have worn a uniform of long coat and turban.[285] The woman's dress called sārī is characteristically Indian. But, the fashion of the bodice[286] has not been the same throughout India. From a Tamiḻ poem of the saṅgam age,[287] we gather that a woman wore a curious covering for the breasts consisting of two caps of pearls fastened by a belt. Bāṇa refers to women wearing corslets called kañcuka. The Siṭṭannavāsal paintings show that a woman tied a garment round her waist and threw another round the shoulder over the upper part of the body. Twelfth century sculptures in the memorial tablet which commemorated the death of Queen Lichchala Devi, wife of Sōvideva, the Kadamba king of Nagarkhaṇḍa, show that women were dressed in a sārī and covered the breasts with a bodice. Barbosa, describing the dress of the women of Vijayanagar, refers obviously to the sāri. But, inside it, a smaller garment seems to have been worn covering the front which the Āmuktamālyada calls the Pāvaḍa.[288] The fashions of dressing the hair varied amongst women. The Ajanta paintings and the Siṭṭannavāsal paintings show that women dancers dressed their hair in attractive coiffures. In the Chennakeśava temple at Beḷur are two slabs of stones sculpturing the court of the Hoysāla kings, Viṣṇuvardhana and Narasimha, and these show that women dressed their hair in elaborate coiffures. Love of ornaments[289] was characteristic of both sexes.

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[280] E.g. an inscription of A.D. 1047 of Beḻagāmi. (*Epigraphia Carnatica* VII, Sk. 51).

[281] *Raṣtrakūtas and Their Times*, p. 295.

[282] The following news item from the *Hindu*, dated May 27, 1947 may be found interesting: "The festival Ashadais occurs once in twelve years and is being celebrated in the Bellary District on a large scale. During this festival, some 300 Harijan girls between 2 to 20 years from all over the district are dedicated as Devadāsis to the deity Māriammā in the village of Kappagaḷ seven miles from Bellary. The festival was banned today under Sec. 144, Criminal Procedure Code."

[283] Beal's translation—*Buddhist Record of the Western World*, pp. 73-5.

[284] Purchas, *His Pilgrimes* X, p. 99.

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[285] The use of coats and trousers seems to be a Kuṣāna innovation. Some Gupta coins show that Indian princes occasionally imitated this, though it was not usual. Amongst the ancient Tamiḻs, two pieces of cotton cloth were used (as now), one covering the loins and the other tied round the head. (Puṛam, 189).

[286] Stitched clothes like the bodice were familiar even in the age of the Buddha. Ajanta paintings show indeed that women wore only a short skirt reaching up to the knee from the waist. But, this exposure of the breasts was simply an artistic device (as in art at all times) and does not represent a permanent custom. Ordinarily, the bodice was worn below the sāri, its two ends being fastened together between the breasts.

[287] *Neḍunalvāḍai* 136.

[288] Canto VI, verse 18.

[289] The use of ornaments should not be mistaken as merely due to a love of display. As a wise observer points out 'however simple her garment may be, the most significant part of a woman's dress is her ornaments. To be without any is the universal mark of widowhood. . . . . A woman must always wear some gold, while her husband is alive. . . . . A girl's ornaments are (also) an important part of her dowry (Urquhart—*Women of Bengal*, p. 95). A detailed description of the ornaments worn is found in Altekar, *Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 358 ff.

Even in the *Rig Vedic* times, gold ornaments like necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets and anklets were worn by men and women. In the Indus Valley region, ear-rings, bracelets and bangles were well known. The descriptions of Kālidāsa and other Samskrit writers and of writers in other languages mention a variety of jewels. The excavations at Rājghāt in Vārānasi reveal terracotta figurines of the Gupta period which wear bangles, armlets, ear-rings and pearl necklaces. Another popular ornament[290] was a waist-band of precious metals called mekhala. These ornaments seem to have been common both in the north and in the south. South Indian literature from early times refers to such ornaments. Abdur Razāk referred to the people of Vijayanagar wearing ornaments in their ears, round their necks, arms, waists and fingers. Paes refers to girdles of gold and precious stones. The nose-screw, which is an important modern ornament, was introduced[291] only by the Muslims. Barbosa refers to nose-screws in Vijayanagar.

From what we can judge from the poems of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, royal banquets teemed with fish and meat of all kinds. We observe the same feature in *Vedic* society. The *Vedic* people seem to have killed and eaten[292] horses, bulls, buffaloes, rams and goats besides catching fishes and birds for food.[293] The spread of vegetarianism is a later development and was undoubtedly due to the spirit of Ahimsa which came with Buddhism and Jainism and which was adopted by Hinduism.[294] The strong persistence of this idea of ahimsa in the south is seen in several castes giving up meat. But, meat-eating did not disappear as could be illustrated from the accounts of foreign travellers about meat-eating in Vijayanagar. Still, such was the sentiment against it that we find even in modern days meat-eaters give up this particular food on ceremonial days like Amavāsya. The sentiment against drink is also a later development. Apparently, it was not regarded as a vice in early times. The part played by liquor in religious ritual is an interesting study.

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[290] Perhaps this represents the ancient symbol of virginity.

[291] Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 362-4.

[292] *Ṛig Veda*, I, 162.3, 164.43. V. 27.17, 29.7. *Atharva Veda* VI; 71.1.

[293] *Atharva Vḙda* VII, 117.1, X, 4.19.

[294] Even in the Gupta period, the sentiment against meat eating had not become widespread. According to the *Smṛitis*, meat was eaten even in Śrāddhas.

The *Rig Vedic* people used the juice of the Sōma plant as a sacrificial drink. The whole of the ninth book of the *Rig Veda* is devoted to the praise of Sōma. It was called the 'sweet juice that makes us eloquent'[295] Indra could drink[296] thirty bowls of it at one draught. The Śāktas use liquor in their ritual worship. In the feasts of Hathor in ancient Egypt drink was used freely. In Melanesia, the fermented juice of the Kava plant is associated with religious worship. We find the same custom in Polynesia and the Fiji islands. Consecrated wine plays an important part in the Christian Holy Communion. Liquor is used amongst the offerings made to the South Indian village deities. Apart from its use in religion, liquor was also quaffed in ordinary intercouse. The *Vedic* Āryans indulged in sura. We hear that *Avvaiyār* was offered liquor to drink[297] by the chief Adigamān. The idea that *surā-pāna* (taking liquor) was one of the five great sins (pañca mahāpātakas) was inculcated later by the Śāstras. This must have transformed moral conceptions regarding drink. Even in the present time, though drunkenness is not uncommon, it is regarded as disreputable.

It is difficult to say when betel chewing began. There are references to it in *Andabhūta Jātaka* and in several Pāḷi works. So, the custom must have developed in North India before 300 B.C. Suśruta (possibly first century A.D.) refers to it. The *Silappadhikāram* refers[298] to the giving of betels and nuts and there is also another reference in saṅgam literature to widows[299] giving up betel chewing. These are perhaps the earliest references to this custom in the south. Inscriptions[300] of the ninth and tenth centuries refer to the betel leaf as Veḷḷilai. By the time Sōmadeva wrote his *Kathāsarit sāgara* (eleventh century), betel chewing was common both in the north and the south. It attracted the attention of foreigners. Marco Polo remarks.[301] 'All the people have a custom of perpetually keeping in the mouth a certain leaf called Tembul . . .

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[295] *Ṛig Veda* VIII, 1.25.
[296] *Ibid.* VIII, 66.4.
[297] *Puṛam.* 56. There are other references to the general use of liquor e.g. *Porunārarruppaḍai*, 11.84-93 and 102-21.
[298] Canto XV, 1. 54.
[299] *Puṛam.* 62, 1. 14.
[300] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 90.
[301] Book of Marco Polo (Yule and Cordier) II.

continually chewing it and spitting out the saliva that it excites.' Abdur Razak, referring to the use of betel in Vijayanagar, says[302] that the people 'from time to time discharged their spittle which becomes red from the use of the betel'. Barbosa also refers to this custom. The custom is universal in India and prevails in Asia right up to Melanesia. Betel called in Saṃṣkrit as Tāmbūla or Nāgavalli enters into every important religious ceremony in South India and is also an invariable offering on all social occasions.

The consumption of opium which later spread amongst some South Indian ascetics was unknown both in North and South India till the Muslims brought in the habit.

Sipping, though unfortunately common now, was regarded with aversion in the past. Even now, it is not orthodox. Abu Zaid, the Arab traveller, noted that Indians never ate from the same plate as others. Marco Polo mentions 'When they drink, they do not put the vessel to the lips but hold it aloft and let the drink spout into the mouth.'[303]

Turning now to the custom of the disposal of the dead, it is quite unsafe to assume that cremation was peculiarly Āryan or burial characteristically Drāviḍian. In *Vedic* speech, we have the expressions—Agni-ḍagdhāh, anagni-ḍagdhāh and Utthitāh. Prof. Macdonell and Dr. Keith translate[304] these terms as 'burnt with fire' (which means cremation), 'not burnt with fire' (which means burial) and 'exposed' (perhaps exposure of the dead to the elements). A *Rig Vedic* hymn is interpreted as describing the ritual of burial.[305] We may also note that in the Indus Valley Culture, which was non-Āryan, cremation and then placing the

[302] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India, as Told by Her Own Historians*, Vol. IV, p. 114.

[303] Marco Polo—*The Description of the World* (Moule and Pelliot), Vol. I, p. 389.

[304] *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. I, pp. 8 & 9. Even now one of the verses used in Śrāddhas runs as follows:

yepyagnidagdhāh jīvāh
yepyadagdāh kule mama
Bhūmau dattena piṇḍena
Triptāh yāntu parāmgatim.

[305] X. 18.

ashes or the bones in an urn was known. Finds of funeral urns meant for ashes which belonged to the neolithic period would show that cremation was known even then. The *Maṇimekhalai* mentions[306] five methods of disposing of the body. It may be noted that each of these five methods was also practised in several parts of the world. One was exposure to animals. Exposure to birds and beasts of prey prevailed amongst the Parthians and the Medes. The Parsis continue this custom. Another method was stuffing the corpse into natural pits. Given, an American doctor, observed that the Apache Indians put their dead in crevices of rocks and Perry has recorded this custom in Indonesia. A third custom was placing the dead body in big earthen jars. This was practised in ancient Babylonia and in ancient Crete. It continues in parts of Borneo. But, this custom is now extinct in India. The fourth custom is burial which was practised by several ancient peoples. In the Indus Valley region graves have been discovered at Harappa wherein the dead were buried with their personal belongings. We hear from the saṅgam literature that, sometimes, the dead were buried with their personal belongings under Vanni trees. Burial is also followed amongst the Christians. Even today, some South Indian communities like the Kammāḷars bury their dead. Burial is also the prescribed method of disposing of the corpses of sanyāsis. The last method which is mentioned in the *Maṇimekhalai* is cremation. Cremation displaced older methods amongst the people of North India and, in course of time, became the most prevalent method[307] in South India. Before passing from the subject[308] we can refer to another peculiar usage once found in parts of South India. Mummification of a corpse is supposed to be peculiarly an Egyptian custom. But, it has been found in some South Sea Islands and amongst the Maoris of New Zealand. Mummification seems to have been practised on the bodies of the Incas of Peru. Dr. Rivers shows that, in the seventeenth century, the Todas of South India extracted the bowels of the corpse, dried them, wrapped the body in silk and kept the dead body for a year before they burnt it. Roth noticed a similar custom amongst the tribes of Queensland in Australia.

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[306] Canto VI, 11.65-67. Mr. K. R. Srinivasan thinks that the term *'Iḍukāḍu'* refers to the burial ground and 'suḍukāḍu', to the cremation ground (*Ancient India*, No. 2, 1946 and *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1958-9, p. 4).

[307] Rea's Excavations at Ādicanallūr have revealed that burial urns were deposited in rows in inhumation pits. Large urns contained the whole body, and small urns a selection of bones (*A.S.R.* 1902-3, p. 104, 1904-5, p. 41 and 1908-9, p. 92) At Harappā, burial jars have been discovered. Saṅgam literature refers to burial (*Puṟam* 228 and 256) as well as cremation (*Puṟam* 231, 240 and 245). Poem 234 in *Puṟam* refers to a wife offering piṇḍa on darbha for her dead husband. Poem 286 refers to cremation on bier.

[308] Water burial is referred to by Yuan Chwang. It is possibly the casting of corpses in the Gaṅgā. There is no similar custom in South India.

Ancient South Indian society made considerable advance in knowledge. There was considerable development of medicine. It is difficult to say how far the Siddha Vaidya system of medicine of the later period had its beginnings, because the art of medicine came soon to be influenced by northern ideas. The Siddha Vaidya system, as it developed later, made use of preparations which are expressed by Samskṛit terminology, for example cūrnam, lehyam, bhasmam, lōham, rasam, and pāṣāṇam. Treatment included mantram and upavāsam. The tridōṣa theory was at the basis of this system also. It is said that the Siddha Vaidyas make use of twenty-five salts, nine metals, hundred and twenty metallic essences and thousand eight herbs. It is also said that the principal contribution of this system has been the extensive use of arsenics (of which sixty-four are listed) in medicines. The separate system of Malabār medicine has developed indigenous methods of treatment like navara-kil̲i, pil̲ical, dhāra etc. It is claimed that the followers of this system are able to cure rheumatism, paralysis, psychoneurosis and wasting diseases. But, even this lore is largely based on the Samskṛit medical works of Cāraka, Suśruta and Vākbhaṭa, and the Samskṛit works written in the Keraḷa region like Dhāra Kalpa.

It is difficult to say how far the science of astronomy was advanced in South India before northern contact. The *Rig Veda* knew only the year of 360 days divided into twelve months. The later *Vedas* mention the Nakṣatras. The names of week days are mentioned for the first time in North India only in Budha Gupta's inscription of A.D. 484. But, the *Silappadhikāram* distinctly mentions[309] a week day. Kanakasabhai holds[310] that the science of astronomy was well advanced amongst the ancient Tamiḻs. Ramachandra Dikshitar suggested[311] in his *Studies in Tamil History and Literature* that this passage in the *Silappadhikāram* might be a later interpolation. But, in his later work—the translation of the *Silappadhikāram*—he thinks[312] that the idea might have been borrowed from the Chaldeans with whom there was early trade contact. There is perhaps also another explanation. Kaye remarks.[313] "The Hindu names (of week days) are the exact equivalents of the Roman names which came into use in the west about the beginning of the Christian era." If so, it is possible that Rome might have been the source, as we know that there was intercourse between the Roman Empire and South India in the beginning of the Christian Era. In higher mathematics, the early Tamiḻs made no advance and, here, development was only under northern influence. South India, later on, was able to boast of a great mathematician in Lakṣmīdhara, son of the mathematician, Bhaskaracārya, who lived at the court of Jaitrapāla, the Yādava king (1191-1210). We have already seen something of the brilliant contributions made by South India in the field of Literature and Philosophy.

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[309] *Silappadhikāram* XXIII, 11.133-7. The day mentioned is Friday.

[310] *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 99.

Astrology became well defined in South India under northern influence, though, sometimes, the terms came to be vernacularised. Marco Polo noted.[314] 'As soon as a child is born, they write down his nativity, that is to say, the day and hour, the month and the moon's age'. The custom of Pañcāṅgaśravaṇa followed even now in South India on the New Year Day is perhaps referred to by Megasthenes who says 'On the New Year, all the philosophers assembled at the king's doors and made predictions with a view to guiding agriculture and politics.' Belief in omens has become part and parcel of popular Hinduism. Some of these beliefs may be local, but some are India-wide. We have no space to deal at length with this subject. We can mention only a few instances;

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[311] Chapter II, p. 76.

[312] *Silappadhikāram*, Appendix 2, p. 356.

[313] *Hindu Astronomy* (*Memoir* 18 *of the Archaeological Department of India*).

[314] Marco Polo—*The Description of the World* (Moule and Pelliot), Vol. I, p. 392. A peculiar custom in the Tamil land from the past is that Kuṛava women specialised in reading the hand and telling fortunes.

Crude superstitions are connected with personal experiences like the throbbing of the eyes. To quote two examples, one from the north and the other from the south, in Act V of *Śakuntalā*, Śakuntalā exclaims 'Alas, What means this throbbing of my right eye?' Gautamī replies 'Heaven avert the evil omen, child.' *Silappadhikāram* (Canto 5, lines 237-40) refers significantly to the throbbing of the right eye of Mādhavi. To test the guilt of the accused, recourse is had to the procedure of ordeal. The Āpastamba Sūtra recognises it. The Milindā Panha[315] refers to it. Brihaspati in his *Dharmaśāstra* allows guilt to be decided by the accused licking a red hot ploughshare.[316] Nicolo dei Conti, the traveller to Vijayanagar, says that the man accused has to lick with his tongue a piece of red hot iron, or carry a red hot iron plate for a few steps, or dip two fingers in boiling butter.[317] These ordeals take place in the temple before the idol and, if he is uninjured, he is declared innocent. In the reign of Sorfōji of Tanjore, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, a dispute was settled by ordeal.[318] The use of amulets to ward off evil or gain particular ends is an old custom. Elixirs and charms were in great use, in all centres of ancient civilisations. Magicians tried to baffle the spirits of disease by providing charms. The numerous spells which are inscribed on clay tablets in the ancient Babylonian libraries show the prevalence of this custom there. In the code of Hammurabi, a section is devoted to wrongful or rightful imposition of spells. We have numerous references in the *Atharva Veda* and South Indian works. Gems were also supposed to avert evil or impart vitality to their possessors. The subject is very wide in its scope and cannot be adequately treated here.

We now turn to the Fine Arts. Music was well advanced in South India even before Āryan contact. Canto 3 of *Śilappadhikāram* describes fully the music of the period and the different musical instruments. It mentions four kinds of instruments called Yāḻ. The yāḻ should not be identified with the later Vīṇa, as it has no frets. But, it was a stringed musical instrument. Pēr-yāḻ was said to have had 21 strings; Makara-yāl̲, 17; Sakōḍa-yāl̲, 16 and Sengōṭṭi-yāl̲, 7. Five kinds of flutes[319] (kul̲al) are mentioned. There were thirty-one kinds of drums like paṛai, murasu, pērikai etc. The tunes were called paṇs. Ramachandra Dikshitar considers[320] that the ancient Tamil̲s had a scale of twenty-two srutis. There were different kinds of musical compositions. Kānalvari was the song of the sea-coast. Āṟṟuvari was the song of the river. Ūsalvari was sung on the swing. There were songs on special occasions, for instance, the ammānai which was sung when playing with a wooden ball. The commentary on the *Iṛaiyanār Ahapporuḷ* mentions old musical works which have now perished. Songs were sung by men called Pāṇar and women called Viṛaliar who travelled from place to place.

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[315] 119-23.

[316] Yuan Chwang mentions four ordeals including that of fire (Watters—*on Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 172).

[317] For inscriptional support, see *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IV, Yi. 2, p. 27.

[318] *Madras Epigraphy Report* 1924, para 64.

Āryan contact deeply affected the development of music. The old musical instrument, the yāl̲, was displaced by the vīṇa. It is difficult to say when the yāl̲ went out of use. Appar, in one of his *Devārams*, refers to the vīṇa.[321]. The Tiruvācakam refers to both the vīṇa and the yāl̲. By the tenth century, the vīṇa had come into regular use. A record of[322] the Cōḻa Rājarāja I mentions a grant of land for a vīṇa player. The old paṇs were also displaced by the modern rāgas. The *Devārams* and all the *padikams* of Nammāḻvār are in the old paṇs.

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[319] The reference in the Kuṛaḷ to the Yāl̲ and the Kul̲al may be noted:—

> " குழலினிது யாழினிது என்ப தம்மக்கள்
> மழலைச் சொல் கேளாதவர் "

The yāḷ was like a harp and played on open strings. Swāmi Vipulānanda has done valuable research on it in his *Yāḷ Nūl*. Mr. Natarāja Pillai (*Sakōḍa Yāzh* 1948) tries to show that it was l̲ike the Gōṭṭu Vādya. But, the latter could not be traced in use before the 17th century. Raghunātha Nāyak refers to it in a Telugu poem. Further, the description we have of the Sakōḍa Yāḷ does not correspond to that of the Gōṭṭu Vādya.

[320] *Silappadhikāram*, Appendix 3. The seven svaras of modern Carnatic music—ṣadja, ṛiṣabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, pañcama, daivata and niṣāḍa have been equated with the old Tamil kural, tuttam, kaikkiḷai, ul̲ai, suḷi; viḷi and tāram.

[321] The curious musical inscription found engraved on a rock in the slopes of a hill behind Kuḍumiyāmalai (Śikhānāthasvāmi temple) in Pudukōṭṭāh State is incised in the characters of Mahendra Pallava's time: Dr. Bhāndārkar suggested that the music of the inscription appears to be intended for the vīṇa (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 228). Dr. Mīnākṣi has discovered from the records that the instrument was a big vīṇa called the Parivādinī (*Administration and Social Life Under the Pallavas*, Ch. XVI, pp. 248-9). Mahendra had, as one of his titles, the appellation—Sankīrṇajāti. Does it mean that he invented the musical time-measure called by that name? Some writers doubt Mahendravarman's connection with this inscription and ascribe it to a different king.

Āryan contact did not mean, however the destruction of the old music. Much that was precious in the old South Indian music was blended into the new music which now grew up. The good fortune of South India was that it escaped the influence of Muslim music which changed the character of music in North India. It is only in South India that the old traditions of both the north and the south were assimilated in a happy union. Śārṅgadeva (thirteenth century), who is supposed to have been born in Kāśmīr, came south. In his *Saṅgīta Ratnākara,* he attempted a synthesis of pre-Āryan music and the music of the north. In 1614, Venkaṭa Makhi further developed this music in his *Caturdaṇḍiprakāsika.* The rāgas were grouped systematically into seventy-two melakartas (primary rāgas) and their derivative rāgas. Famous South Indian composers arose in course of time; for instance, Purandaradāsa (early sixteenth century) composed in Kannaḍa hymns to Viṣṇu called *Devarnāmas.* Tyāgarāja (1767-1847) composed songs in homely Telugu; Muttusvāmi Dīkṣitar (1775-1835) composed in Samkṛit; Svāti Tirunāḷ (1829-1847), a contemporary of Tyāgarāja, composed songs in different languages including Hindustāni and Malayālam. Arunācala Kavirāyar (1711-1778) composed in Tamiḻ. Royal courts gave great patronage to music. In the court of Vijayanagar, musical contests were common. Kriṣṇadevarāya himself played on the vīṇa. Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore was also skilled in music. Rājā Tulajā of Tanjore was not merely a great patron of music but also wrote a work on it. The musical discourse called the Hari Katha Kālakṣepam[323] was brought into South India by the Mahratta kings who ruled Tanjore. In modern times, the influence of the north has shown itself in the importation of

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[322] *Ephigraphic Report* for 1900, p. 8.

[323] This musical discourse is almost always on a religious theme, and illustrates the intimate connection which exists in India between music and religion. The nādasvaram is an invariable accompaniment of any auspicious ceremony, and is indispensable in all religious functions and temple rituals. The chānk-blower plays an important part in funerals amongst several South Indian communities. See Hornell, 'The Indian Chank in Folklore and Religion' in the *Folkore* LIII, pp. 113-25.

Hindustāni tunes which are largely popularised by films. Both northern and southern music still retain some common tunes,[324] though the appellations may differ. The conception that Rāgas have their appropriate emotions, proper seasons and suitable times is common to both the north and the south..

The art of dance was well known amongst the ancient Tamils. The third canto of *Silappadhikāram* gives a full account of the dance. If we can judge by what it says about the training given to Mādhavi, the art of dance was systematically cultivated by prolonged teaching practice. The *Maṇimekhalai* shows[325] that the course of instruction in dance was prolonged for a considerable number of years. There were different kinds of dances, excluding the ritual dances already referred to. A Sākkiyan dance is referred to in the *Silappadhikāram.*[326] This particular dance perhaps survives in Keraḷa to this day under the name of Sākkiyar-kūttu, the Sākkiyars being professional dancers. Popular dances like kummi and kōlāṭṭam developed later on. A reference to the latter is given by Pietro della Valle who visited Vijayanagar and noted[327] that young girls bearing painted sticks struck them together, with a song, each verse ending with the word 'kole'.

By the Pallava period, northern styles of dancing came into vogue in the south. Dancing was also practised in the north from early times. Dancers are referred to in the *Rig Veda.*[328] A Pre-Mauryan terracotta tablet which Sir John Marshall discovered at Taxila contains in its decorations a dancing figure. In several fragmentary terracotta plaques excavated from ancient Kauśāmbi and assignable to the Śuṅga period, we have various dancing poses. The classical treatise on dancing—Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*—is dated by Keith to the third century A.D. He describes 108 mudras of dancing. The old southern classical dance was displaced by the Nāṭya or Bharata Nāṭya as it was called, though the old popular dances continued.

By the Cōḻa period, dancing was greatly encouraged by the kings. Women attached to the temples (Devadāsis) were learned and accomplished. They enjoyed great prestige and wealth and endowed charities. They cultivated Bharata Nātya. The kings honoured expert women dancers by presenting them with a staff adorned with precious stones and covered with gold. The eastern gōpuram of the Cidambaram temple built by Kōpperuñciṅgan, a chief of the thirteenth century, contains sculptures representing the poses described in Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra,* with explanations of these in the grantha script. Like the other earlier arts, dancing was patronised by Vijayanagar. Paes describes elaborately the place where women were given training in dancing.[329]

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[324] See Appendix.
[325] II, 11.18-32.
[326] Canto XXVIII, 11.67-77.
[327] *Travels* II, pp. 258-9.
[328] I. 92-4 (Woman-dancer), I. 130-7 (Male-dancer).

While the modern Bharata Nāṭya carries on this tradition, the Kerala area elaborated its own technique of dancing. The Sākkiyar kūttu became displaced in popularity in the seventeenth century by the Kathakaḷi. It is not really a dance, but, a dance drama and its theme is mostly Purāṇic. Nearly eight hundred mudras are used, which are only subdivisions of the twentyfour basic mudras of Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra.* The actor also tries to express in his face the nine emotions of Śriṅgāra, (love), Vīra (courage), Karuṇa (grief), Atbhuta (wonder), Hāsya (humour), Bhayānaka (fear), Bībhatsa (disgust), Roudra (rage) and Śānta (calm). Another type of dance—Tuḷḷal—was invented in the first half of the eighteenth century by Kunjan Nambiyār (1705-70). This is dance combined with the recitation of poems, while in Kathakali, the dancer does not himself speak. Stories of Krisṇa are featured in the Krisṇāṭṭam which also developed after Kathakaḷi.

Such dance plays also developed in the Tamil country. References to the three kinds of literary work—Iyal, Isai and Nāṭaka—in early works show that the dramatic art was practised from early times. The *Silappadhikāram* gives a description[330] of the stage and the actors. In Coḷa times, dramas were staged in temples. Dance plays called *paḷḷus* and *kuṛavañcis* also developed. Originally, they were of a religious character. But, later, some of the *kuṛavañcis* like the *Sarabhēndrabhūpāla kuṛavañci* tended to glorify the patrons of the composers of the works. While in the Kathakaḷi the actors simply danced, in the *kuṛavañci* the actors also took part in singing.

(*To be continued*)

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[329] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 288-89.

[330] *Araṅgeṛṛukkātai.*

Gangadhar Shastri Patwardhan

BY

PROF. MAKRAND J. MEHTA

Gangadhar Shastri's life, connected as it is, with the declining years of the Maratha cmpire, is of great historical significance. Some of the incidents of his life throw a search light into the political situation which had already deteriorated in the years preceding 1818. It shows the bitter rivalry among the chief Maratha Princes which ultimately caused the downfall of the Maratha Empire. Some of the original State Papers and documents, especially those published by Mr. G. S. Sardesai (Last days of the Maratha Empire, Sel. No. 41) and the State Records Department (Selections from Shastri's Daftar) give a very interesting account of some of the main incidents of his life.

Gangadhar Shastri Patwardhan, son of Krishna Patwardhan was born about 1775 at a village near Wai of Satara District. He was a clever student of Sanskrit and then got himself employed at Poona in the service of Haripant Phadke. During this period he was held in high esteem by the Peshwa, Bajirao II.[1]

After the death, on 18th July, 1803, of Raoji Appaji, the Minister of Baroda, Gangadhar Shastri helped his (Raoji Appaji) nephew Sitaram in his appointment as a Diwan of Baroda while he joined the service of Colonel Walker, the then Resident of Baroda, on a salary of Rs. 100 per month as a native assistant. During these years he proved himself a very useful and able servant and was highly respected by the English. He rendered valuable services both to Gaekwads and the English and thus secured the favour of the important officials like Colonel Walker and James Rivett Carnac. In June 1803, the village of Dendole in the Surat Atthavasi was granted to him, and on 12th January 1805, on his daughter's marriage, the Bombay Government presented him with Rs. 4,000 as a recognition of his valuable services.[2] His growing influence as a Mutalik, i.e. the Deputy to Fattasingrao II (1806-1816) in the court of Baroda, and his pro-British activities soon roused the jealousy of the "Anti-British" party headed by the intriguers like Rani Takhatabai, Sitaram, Bhagwantrao Gaekwad and Bhandhuji. Reasons are not far to seek why at this juncture Baroda became the centre of political intrigues and activities.

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[1] Wallace's History of the Gaekwars, p. 198.
[2] Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VII, p. 210.

To examine the root of the situation, we shall have to go as far back as 1802 when the Treaty of Bassein was concluded between the English and the Peshwa Bajirao II, as a result of the latter's defeat by Yashwantrao Holkar. This treaty revised the long-standing claims between the Poona and the Baroda Governments. By the Article XIV of the Treaty of 1802, certain unfinished transactions relating to the farms of Ahmedabad between the Peshwa and the Gaekwad were submitted to the arbitration of the East India Company. Moreover, there were claims and counter-claims on the part of both the Governments. On 29th Oct. 1813, Shastri was sent to Poona to settle this complicated issue and he set out for Bajirao's Court most unwillingly though he possessed the British "Safe Conduct". At this hour, Baroda was a scene of gross mismanagement and political conspiracies were played by the dissatisfied parties headed by Sitaram who aspired for the Ministership of Baroda. Gangadhar Shastri received a letter on 18-7-1814 from an unsuspected person who wrote that Sitaram Raoji was trying to secure his restoration to the Ministership with the help of his colleagues. He also gave a warning of the existing adverse situation and asked him to return immediately lest his life should be endangered.[3] While in Poona during 1814, Shastri's repeated efforts to settle the question did not satisfy either the Peshwa or the Gaekwad. He proposed to adjust the claims of Peshwa on Gaekwad by the cession of a territory yielding seven lakhs of rupees a year. At the same time he pleaded that Fattasing would never give such a vast territory.[4] By this action Shastri incurred the deep-concealed revenge of the Peshwa.

The carefully plotted murder of Shastri presents a unique example of murder without provoking the slightest suspicion. It is interesting to note, how the Peshwa, in order to take Shastri in his confidence proposed a marriage between his sister-in-law and Shastri's son; how he promised to make him his Minister, "an offer Shastri rejected at the desire of Mr. Elphinstone."[5]

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[3] Selections from Shastri's Dafter, Letter No. 50; p. 81.

[4] Fattasing had expressed his unwillingness to cede a territory worth seven lakhs (22nd April 1815).

Shastri agreed to this marriage proposal but he tried to postpone the marriage when he did not receive any reply from the Gaekwad regarding the proposed cession. "This gave the mortal offence to the Peshwa and was a slight which he seemed determined to avenge".[6] His refusal to permit his wife to visit the Peshwa's court which was a scene of gross debauchery gave one more fatal cause to Bajirao for his revenge.[7] The arrangements for the marriage were being made at Nasik. But against the advice of his faithful friend, Bapu Mairal, Shasti accompanied Bajirao to Pandharpur. He was entertained by the Peshwa on 14th July 1815, called back to the temple at the insistent entreaty of Trimbakji to join in the worship, and on his way home, meagrely attended, was murdered by the assassins hired for the purpose by Trimbakji Danglia.[8] "It was this cause" writes Mr. Sardesai, "which precipitated the fall of the Peshwa."

The character of Sastri's life can be better judged from his own writings and also from the account of his contemporaries. His diary and other writings reveal that he was not only the best statesman whose advice was often sought but also the ablest pen-man of his time. He gives a very vivid and picturesque account of his meeting with the Peshwa on 2-4-1815, which he considers as a golden day of his life.[9] Judged from the standard of his life, his ideas were liberal and enlightened. A man of quiet temperament, he kept himself at a distance from the dirty politics and intrigues which were the order of the day. At one place he says, "Since Politics is a game to be played with the greatest caution, the Judiciary should be practically the Highest Authority, in judicial and criminal matters".[10] As a shrewd statesman he advised young Fattasingrao to continue to be a teetotaler and always to keep promises to the state Bankers and to pay the Army regularly. He advised the Prince to be in constant touch with the high officials and manage the existing method of work skilfully. In this sense he resembles the famous Kautilya, who also used to give similar advice to his illustricus pupil, Chandragupta Maurya.

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[5] Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VII,

[6] Mohansing Mehta, Lord Hastings and Indian States, p. 75.

[7] Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VII, p. 222.

[8] Elphinstone to MOIRA, Despatch dated the 16th August, 1815.

[9] Historical selections from the Baroda State Records Vol. V, p. 653-667. (Note Dated 9-12-1813 contains political advice on topical matters by Gangadhar Shastri).

Elphinstone who was his contemporary and a better judge of men of his time, justly observes that Shastri was "a person of great shrewdness and talent, who keeps the whole state of Baroda, in the highest order".[11]

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[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 653-667.

[11] Elphinstone, (Edited by Colbrooke, Vol. I, p. 276).

Asvins in Sculptures from Rajasthan

BY

R. C. AGRAWALA

"The twin gods, the Aśvins, are the divine physicians born out of the union of Sūrya and Saṃjñā who had assumed temporarily the shapes of a horse and a mare; their Vedic counter-parts were the Nāsatyas, the Indo-Iranian deities who are mentioned along with Indra, Mitra and Varuṇa in the Boghāzküi inscriptions. Their images are rarely described in the texts. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* (*Brahma Parva,* chapter 124, verse 20), while describing the figures of various attendants of Sun god says that the Aśvins should be placed on either side of Sūrya and as they were born out of the union of the two assuming the form of horses, they are called *Aśvins.* They are seldom depicted separately in mediaeval Brahmanical art and are only infrequently placed in the Sūrya reliefs of Western and Central India. Some Moḍherā reliefs of Sūrya and Damon sculpture of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa contain figures of gods who are shown horsefaced".[1] It is to be observed that *extant Sun images of Gupta and earlier period have not depicted Aśvin figures as yet.* Future discoveries are eagerly awaited in this direction.

The presentation of horse-faced Aśvins in some of the rare early-mediaeval and mediaeval sculptures of Rajasthan is very important from iconographic point of view, even as regards the mode of their depiction and the weapons held in their hands. The Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa statue, of the 8-9th century in Jhalawar Museum, presents them as seated above, on both sides of the head of the main deity, (R. C. Agrawala, 'Some Early Mediaeval sculptures in Jhalawar Museum' in *Journal of Indian Museums,* Bombay XI, 1955, pl. VII, fig. 2); each carrying a citron fruit (*bījapūraka*) in the left hand, the other being raised up in *abhaya pose.* On the other hand, the figures of these horse-faced divinities in standing pose on both the sides of main deity below in Sūrya statue from Sīkar[2] and now in Ajmer Museum are equally interesting. Each of them carries a *kamaṇḍalu* in one hand, the other being placed on the waist in an identical manner [*Ancient India—Bulletin of Archaeological Survey of India,* VI, pl. III, fig. E]. Here Aśvins are two of the four attendant figures whereas in the colossal Sun-statue from Varmāṇa, (Sirohī) recently discovered by me, we notice standing Aśvins alone appearing below as attendants on both the sides of Sūrya. Each of them keeps one of his hands on the hip, the other hand being raised up in the *abhaya* pose. Further they have been shown with the *karaṇḍa-mukutas* on their heads (R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Madhya Pradeśa Itihāsa Parishad,* Bhopal II, plate V, B, pp. 33-34) as also in the Sīkar statue cited above. A somewhat identical image of Sun has recently been discovered by me at Īśwāl[3] (near Udaipur) as well.

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[1] J. N. Banerjea, *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art,* Calcutta, XVI, 1948, pp. 93-94.

The presence of horse-faced Aśvins, as attendant figures in an unpublished composite image on the exterior of a subsidiary shrine in the courtyard of Sachiyā Temple at Osian-Jodhpur, suggests the blending of Sun aspect in a vivid manner. Still more interesting is the carving of *two independent figures on the exterior niches of the 8-9th century Sun Temple (i.e., Kālikā Mātā Temple) at Chittor,* near Udaipur. This is quite unusual as much as they are independent figures of *sthānaka* and horse-faced Aśvins, carrying a sword in one hand, the other hand being raised up in the *abhaya* pose. The presence of a sword in both the statues is quite interesting in addition to their being separate statues[4] which are really unique in the realm of Ancient Indian Art.

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[2] Cf. also T. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Madras, I (2), pl. 90, fig. 3.

[3] A late-mediaeval image which is unpublished as yet.

[4] They have remained unnoticed and unpublished as yet.

The Social Influence of Abbe Dubois

BY

M. AROKIASWAMI, M.A., Ph.D.

Abbé J. A. Dubois was one of the French Missionaries who had left France for India in the eventful year of the French Revolution, 1792, to return there thirty-one years afterwards in 1823. The visitor to the Library of the Madras Literary Society is struck with the picture of an apparently oriental *sannyasi* with hood and staff and a long robe covering his body. This picture is one of the few rare portraits of this great man, who did much to the transfomation of South Indian society. It was said by many Englishmen then in India that the Abbé had escaped into India from the the fusillade in France during the Great Revolution. His own admirer, Mark Wilks, the historian of Mysore, who had known him personally described him to the authorities of Fort St. George as one who "escaped from one of the fusillades of the French Revolution and has since lived among the Hindus as one of themselves." This description, however, does scant justice to the good intentions of Dubois and he retorted Wilks in his own humble and polite way, "It is quite true that I fled from the horrors of the Revolution and had I remained I should in all probability have fallen a victim, as did so many of my friends who held the same religious and political opinions as myself; but the truth is I embarked for India some two years before the fusillades referred to took place."

Dubois reached Pondicherry in 1792 and stayed there for some time. He subsequently occupied several stations until his last years in India were spent at the invitation of the English East India Company in Seringapatam and Mysore. He had traversed, in the meanwhile, a large part of the intermediary land from Pondicherry to Mysore and studied the social conditions of the people with uncanny powers of observation. He committed what he saw into a book now well-known as *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies.* First published in 1900, it has undergone three editions and eight reprints, the last being dated in 1953.

This work of Dubois is one of the most outspoken documents ever written by human hand. Its mastery of detail and strict adherence to truth have lent special charm to this work down the period of half-a-century and more during which it has lived. In spite of many indictments on Indian manners and customs which it contains it has held its ground during all these years. Though it does not require gifts of prophesy to say that it will remain for ever one of the most cherished books on India we have the authority of so eminent a person as Prof. Max Muller of Germany who says that "it will always retain its value."

The value of this work is indeed in the service it has done to the re-construction of South Indian society and social life:

(1) It is among the earliest works on modern social life in South India and to the Westerner it is among the earliest of eye-openers.

(2) It laid its finger on many of the social ills of South India in such a sure and descriptive manner that it scarcely failed to cure the evil.

(3) It was not merely a fault finder, as many who have just heard of it are apt to think, but supported at least in a few cases what we attack as wrong.

It is necessary to go into a little more detail to understand these qualities of the book. On p. 61 of the work of Dubois we have an indictment on the drink evil. He speaks of a typical South Indian village where the poor and the lowly take to drink almost every night and writes in the following manner on what he has seen:

"Their orgies take place principally in the evening and their villages resound far into the night with the yells and quarrels which result from their intoxication. Nothing will persuade them to work as long as they have anything to drink; they only return to their labour when they have absolutely no further means of satisfying their ruling passion. Thus they spend their time in alternate bouts of work and drunkenness. The women of this wretched class do not allow their husbands to outstrip them in any vice and are quite as much addicted to drunkenness as the men. Their modesty and general behaviour may therefore be easily imagined."

Elsewhere coming out with a description of the poverty of India he concludes with the following passage:

"Oh if those who are blessed with this world's goods and who are so inclined to create imaginary troubles for themselves because they have no real ones...If they would only pause for a moment and contemplate this harrowing picture of want and misery how much more gratefully would they appreciate the lot that Providence has assigned to them." (pp. 59-60).

On page 465 of his book Dubois recounts a story pointing to the uncanny credulity of the Indian people. When we read it we laugh and, through that laughter, gain wisdom and change. He adds in a foot-note that "well-informed Hindus had told him that it was not a mere story but one based on historical fact." The story runs thus:

King Krishnadevaraya once told his Prime Minister, Appaji "Can you prove to me the truth of the proverb, 'Jātra marulā Jana marulā' (Are the customs ridiculous or the people who follow them?)" Appaji prayed fo time to give an answer to the royal question. Going home he asked his servant to disguise himself as a sannyasi and reside in a cave outside the town. Then Appaji approaching the Monarch with a serious air told him that a holy person had appeared in his kingdom and that his appearance was a manifest guarantee of the interest which the gods took in his kingdom. On hearing this the King proceeded in all solemnity and accompanied by his courtiers to pay homage to the illustrious man who had appeared in his kingdom. Then taking the advice of Appaji the king had a hair taken out from the saint's body and holding it to the people declared, "I will preserve this all my life. I will cause it to be enclosed in a golden locket which shall always hang about my neck." The story continues but the moral is obvious.

The whole book of Dubois is filled with such spicy accounts which never fail to instruct. He translated the *Panchatantra* into French and had it published in two volumes with the same purpose before him. Doubtless even if these accounts given by this honest Frenchman had not influenced the people at the time when they were written their influence has increased with time and still is increasing. In fact he is more influential to-day when change is heralded in every direction in our country than half-a-century ago when they were written. Far was it from him to make jokes at our follies. Max Muller himself wrote of this man, "he was a man remarkably free from theological prejudices" (Prefaratory note to the work of Dubois *Hindu Customs and Manners*).

It is thus we arrive at the third great value of the Abbé's work. He indeed stamps with his approval a few of our customs. One among these is the well-known caste system often undeservedly criticised both in the East and the West. On this vexed question Dubois had, strangely enough, very definite views. On that subject he wrote:

"After much careful thought I can discover no other reason except caste which accounts for the Hindus not having fallen into the same state of barbarism as their neighbours and as almost all nations inhabiting the torrid zone. Caste assigns to each individual his own profession or calling; and the handing down of this system from generation to generation makes it impossible for any person or his descendants to change the condition of life, which the law assigns to him for any other. Such an institution was probably the only means that the most clear sighted prudence could devise for maintaining a state of civilisation amongst a people endowed with the peculiar characteristics of the Hindus (p. 29 of Dubois' *Hindu Customs and Manners*).

It is strange that two of the great French writers of the last century Gobineau and Guenon completely endorse the view of Dubois. Count Gobineau sees in the caste system the superiority of the ancient social organisation in India over the present one. "The problem has found its ideal solution", he writes, "and nobody can refuse his approval to a social body ruled by reason and served by intelligence. The great difficulty is to put an abstract theory into practice. All the theoricians of the West have failed in it. The prohits found the true method of success" (Gobineau; *The Inequality of the human races*). The realism of Dubois is astonishing. On certain matters of social importance, on which others would tread as on a corn, he is decisive and bold.

Another example of this is the high compliment he pays for the intelligence of the South Indian, which, he says, would not take things for granted. He considers the conservatism of the average South Indian as quite reasonable and a fact to be considered in any scheme of social upliftment. He writes, "Let our theoretical philanthropists with their mistaken and superficial notion concerning the genius and character of the Hindus and the varied and the multitudinous social links that bind them together exclaim as much as they please in their unreflecting enthusiasm, that nothing has been done for the physical and spiritual improvement of the race. My reply is, 'Why do you expound your shallow theories in Europe. Come and study the question on the spot. Make personal enquiry into the manners and customs of the people, realize for yourselves.... And then, but not till then, make up your minds on the question". (Dubois; *Hindu Customs and Manners,* pp. 96-97).

Endorsing the view of Dubois we find Guenon going almost into polemics. He castigates the West for its scant respect for tradition. "Tradition" writes a critic of this French writer, "is the key-word for everything that Guenon has ever written and whatever is outside tradition is rejected with all the spiritual violence at his command". When we compare the French position with that of the Germans, who under their great poet Goethe reflect such utter contempt for the low born we can understand to some extent how thoroughly democratic the French were. They got into our society and its ideals as a dart gets into the green tree and became if not one with it at least its admirers. They thus acted like the leaven which gets into the dough and helped the growth of South Indian society along the traditional lines. All this and even more was true of Abbe Dubois, who traversed the whole country from Seringapattam to Salem touching many places like Satyamangalam, Karumathāmpatty, Canuvukkarai, and Dharmapuri. He purchased from the British Government the site of the Church at Karumathāmpatty and made arrangements to build the one that now stands in that place. He mixed with the people so freely and helped them so generously that he was known as the "Piraboo of Karumathampatty". He saw to the repair of numerous churches in Salem District as Velāndivalasu, Idappādy, Kākavēry and Dharmapuri. In Mysore he tried to console those who had suffered from the raids and captures effected by Tipu Sultan. We have reference to all this in General Wellesley's correspondence to Capt. Doveton. One of the remarkable ways in which the French translated their ideas of equality and love of Indian tradition was through religion, which they had brought with them to India and in this Dubois played not a small part.

Numerical Suffixes of Territorial Divisions in Mediaeval Karnatak

BY

DR. G. S. DIKSHIT

Figures in front of territorial divisions, like Banavāsi 12,000 have long been a puzzle to epigraphists and historians. For purposes of explanation we may classify these figures as smaller, namely, tens and hundreds up to a thousand, and bigger ones, namely, those which are in thousands and above.

There is sufficient evidence in support of Fleet's statement that the smaller numbers marked the number of cities, towns and villages in the particular groups.[1] This evidence is of two kinds—(i) Smritis like Manu[2] recommend the grouping of villages for purposes of administration. *Mānasōllāsa* by Sōmēśvara III, a work contemporary with the times from which the illustrations are given in this article, repeats Manu's statement.[3]

(ii) This theory, that the villages should be grouped according to the decimal system, was actually put into practice. In addition to the evidence given by Fleet, we may mention the following:

(1) In *circa* A.D. 1074 Dēvaḷige-*nāḍ* had 70 *prabhus* and it was Dēvaḷige 70,[4] which means that there was one *prabhu* or head in each of the 70 villages.

(2) A division known as Arabala 70 had actually 70 villages; for in A.D. 1307, when one Māragauḍa was appointed its head, it was decided that he should get as his fee one *paṇa* from each of the 40 villages and half a *paṇa* from each of the remaining 30 villages.[5]

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[1] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* for 1912, p. 708.

[2] *Manusmriti*, SBE XXV, VII, v. 115, p. 234.

[3] *Ibid*, II, v. 159.

[4] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VI, Cm. 15.

[5] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI, Hk 137.

(3) In A.D. 1048 there were two separate divisions of Raṭṭapaḷḷi 70 and Iṭṭage 30 under separate heads or chiefs.[6] By A.D. 1069 the two together coalesced and formed the division of hundred villages or *Nūruṁbāḍa* division.[7] Here we see, before our eyes as it were, how units of tens formed into a unit of one hundred.

(4) Beḷvola 300 and Purigere 300 had 300 villages each; and when the two divisions joined and formed one division, it was known as *Eraḍarunūram* or the two (containing) six-hundred (villages) division.[8]

(5) An inscription of A.D. 1160 refers to the (*sthira*) or the 'fixed' (number) of 1,000 villages of Tardavāḍi in which the village of Muttage was shining.[9] In A.D. 1054 there was in Tardavāḍi 1000, a division known as 600 villages (*ārunūrum-bāḍa*).[10] The other divisions of Tardavāḍi probably had between them about 400 villages, in order to make that district one of 'stable' 1000 villages.

All these establish the fact that the smaller numbers, the tens and the hundreds, represented villages and towns. The real controversy is with regard to the bigger numbers, the thousands and the lakhs. Even with regard to the thousands, there are exceptions. We have seen that Tardavāḍi 1000 had about one thousand villages. But what about Banavāsi 12,000, Palasige 12,000 Noḷaṁbavāḍi 32,000 and, above all, Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 and Raṭṭavāḍi 7½ lakh divisions?

Rice objected to the view that these figures represented villages. He said, "that they represent the number of villages is physically impossible, even supposing the whole areas were occupied by villages".[11] But we have seen that the smaller figures up to one thousand really represented or marked the number of villages.

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[6] *Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions*, 27 of 1934-35.

[7] *Ibid.*, 29 and 30 of 1934-35.

[8] *Ibid.*, 2 of 1935-36.

[9] *Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and the Kolhapur State*, ed. by K. G. Kundangar, No. 13, Kolhapur, 1939.
Tardavāḍi nāḍoḷagaṇa nischalita sahasragrāmam
gaḷolellaṁ susthavāgi muttage-yasegum.

[10] *BK*, 169 of 1933-34.

[11] Rice's article on Gaṅgavāḍi in *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 238-39, (Poona 1917).

Hence Rice's objection does not appear to be valid, so far as the smaller figures are concerned; but in regard to bigger figures, his objection seems to be correct.

In regard to the bigger figures, Fleet said that they were, no doubt, conventional or traditional and were greatly exaggerated.[12] Rice offered two explanations of these bigger numbers. One was that the thousands might refer to divisions called *nāḍs*, which were called thousands.[13] This explanation appears to be feasible, and if it were true, Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 would have had 96 *nāḍs*, and Banavāsi 12,000 would have had 12 *náds*, which is not impossible.

We have now to consider Rice's second explanation, namely, that these figures represented revenue. He says, "From an early period all the great provinces and their subdivisions commonly have the revenue value attached to the name,.... This system is still commemorated in the—*Yēḷusāvira* or seven-thousand country—the north of Coorg".[14] To the example of the seven thousand country, we may add the example of a six-thousand country in Chikmagalur *tāluka*.[15]

It is possible that the system based on revenue was an earlier one, but was more or less replaced by the one based on the number of villages. However, traces of the older system appear to have persisted, even after the adoption of the new system. Thus, Taḷige-*nāḍ* had 14 villages and the six thousand country within it.[16] Another similar example is the following: "'The territory of the Mahābala is described as seven and one-fourth lakh country containing 12,000 villages in the Āndhra-*Maṇḍala*".[17] Here seven and one fourth lakh might refer to revenue. Thus, we have the following result based upon the views of Fleet and Rice. The lakh in Rattavadi seven and a half lakh and *sapādalaksha*, would refer to revenue and so also the thousand in *yēḷusāvira* or 7000 and *ārusā-*

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[12] *JRAS*, 1912, p. 708.

[13] RGB *Com. Vol.* pp. 239-39. *Eḍadore nāḍu sāyirada taḷakkatipati*, EC, III, Ng 44 of A.D. 1133.

[14] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg Inscriptions*, p. 174.

[15] In this *tāluka* there was a *nād* called Taḷige-*nad*, which consisted of 9 *maṅde*, 14 villages and six-thousand land, *EC*, VI Cm. 89.

[16] EC, VI, Cm. 89.

[17] EC, X Mb 157.

vira or 6000 territories, when that refers to very small areas. The thousands in Banavāsi 12,000 etc. may efer to *nāḍus*. Figures up to a thousand would ordinarily refer to villages, towns and cities.

For this interpretation, the criticism that can be legitimately made, is that for the same numerical suffixes three kinds of explanations are offered—(i) for figures up to thousands (ii) for thousands as in Banavāsi 12,000, etc. and (iii) for lakhs as in Raṭṭavāḍi seven and a half lakhs, etc. The answer is that the evidence leaves us with no other alternatives. The only part of the evidence which is definite is that sub-divisions like Iṭṭage 30 and Raṭṭapaḷḷi 70 did have the number of villages mentioned against their names and when they coalesced they naturally formed a division with one hundred villages. Further when Tardavāḍi 1,000 had a six hundred village division and a number of other divisions, one can easily believe that it had nearly 1,000 villages in its jurisdiction.

Beyond this the evidence is uncertain. It is possible that Banavāsi had 12 *nāḍus*, each called a thousand and therefore it was Banavāsi 12,000. But to be foolproof, we must know what these 12 *nāḍus* were. Similarly, Raṭṭavādi may have had at some time an income of seven and a half lakhs. But we must know how this figure was arrived at, to believe that it indicated its revenue. Finally, it must be borne in mind that there was a mixing-up of different systems, all using the same numerical suffixes. In such a situation to ask for one kind of explanation for all these figures is to ask for something, which probably did not exist.

Cultural Synthesis in Mediaeval India

BY

PROF. H. K. SHERWANI

It is not an easy matter to deal with such a vast subject in the course of a single article. Though it may appear to a superficial observer that the period of the Indian Middle Ages, which covered nearly five centuries between about 1200 and about 1700, was one of perennial conflict, it is an incontestable fact that there was, all along, a bias towards the synthesis and sometimes even fusion of the different cultures which went to form the Indian society. Politically, no doubt, the country was divided into warring states. Attempts were made, now and again, to unite the whole land under one sceptre by powerful rulers like 'Alau'd-Dīn K̲hiljī, Muḥammad b. Tug͞hluq and Aurangzēb 'Ālamgīr, but there were always centrifugal forces at work, and either independent states were springing up or else governors were making themselves independent of the central authority. It is necessary to stress the political heterogeneity of the Middle Ages in order to indicate that the progress of cultural integration was multicentric and was partly swayed by the rulers. There were, of course, nonofficial tendencies at work, and they were also highly important. We are aware that persons with a vision sometimes tread new paths and are successful in reaching their targets in spite of their seemingly wayward ways. Thus in mediaeval Indian history, cultural synthesis was affected by two sets of people, the rulers, and those who had no share in the political configuration of the country but who were great enough to think and ponder and to have a following, which made their names shine in history.

In this way the synthetical movements in the mediaeval period arose out of the patronage extended by the courts of kings as well as sponsored by the thoughtful among the common people. It is hardly necessary to go in any detail into the attempt made in this direction by Akbar the Great and his immediate successors, as that is known to practically every one who takes an interest in the annals of the period. I would deal, instead, with the so-called provincial dynasties which were as independent as the Mughal empire itself to which they finally gave way. These states were spread over vast blocks of territory lying between Kashmir in the north and the tip of the peninsula in the south. In some of these, the movement was directly sponsored by the rulers such as Zainu'l-'Ābidīn of Kashmir (1420-1470), Fīroz Shāh Bahmanī of the Deccan (1397-1422), the 'Ādil-shāhīs of Bijapur and the Quṭbshāhīs of Tilang, as well by some of the Rayas of Vijayanagar.

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There were two aspects of the movement, one, which was related to the interaction of the Hindu and the Muslim cultures and the other which dealt with the inter-relation of the different castes which formed the Hindu society. The second aspect would be dealt with when we come to the popular movements such as those sponsored by the *bhaktī* and the *ṣūfi* schools as there is little indication to show that the courts of the princes ever encouraged any levelling movement especially concerning the twice-born and the Sūdras. The incursion of the Muslims into the country may be divided into two parts. The first foothold of the Arab Muslims on the western coast of India can be traced to the caliphate of 'Umar, but they have not left any visible marks on the Indian culture. The second and more definite invasion of the Arab Muslims took place in 711 when Muḥammad b. Qāsim invaded and annexed Sindh to the vast empire of the Umayyads. But this falls beyond the scope of this article

The permanent clash of the two civilizations resulting in their coexistence came in the reign of Maḥmūd of Ghazni. Maḥmūd had "a numerous body of Hindu troops" who were under the command of a general who is called "Tilak-i Hindu" in our chronicles, and he saw so much excellence in the art of the Indian mason that he took with him quite a number of them to Ghazni to beautify his capital. We can only touch here on the great name of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad abū Raiḥān al-Bērūnī whose monumental work, the *Kitabu'l-Hind* is a thesaurus of Indian systems of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, minerology, geography, chronology and other sciences. He thought it worth while not merely to make a thorough study of Sanskrit but to be perfectly at home with Hindu ways of life, not out of mere curiosity—for that could not have been the sole motive of such a deep study—but because he had a respect for the people of India. Although the G͟haznavī domination even of the Panjab was of comparatively short duration, it left an indelible mark on the life both of the Panjab and of Afg͟hanistan. Even in Al-Bērūnī's time there was a large population of Hindu pandits and vidwans in G͟hazni, and concurrently there was a substantial population of Muslims in the north-western parts of the country. When Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām established his hegemony in northern India he had his coins engraved both in Arabic and Sanskrit, and it looked as if the foreign armies which fought and subdued the Rajputs in the second battle of Tarāin 1192 were here not to plunder the country and go back to their homelands but to settle down as the citizens of the country.

The year 1206 is a milestone in the cultural history of northern India, for in that year Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibak declared his independence of the G͟horī monarchy and made Delhi the capital of the new Indian Empire. Aibak was the first Muslim monarch who decided that India was to be his home and the home of his people, and from that time onwards we see a definite movement of give-and-take between the two great cultures which began to exist side by side in the country. Sir John Marshall analyses this state of affairs thus:

> "Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar, as the Muhammadan and the Hindu, meeting and mingling together."[1]

It was not merely the most vivid example of coexistence and toleration the quotation seems to suggest; it was an instance of coalescence in everything save religion. Islam's influence on the Hindus, and conversely, the influence of a type of Hinduism on the Muslims, are so patent that, however unpalatable they might sound to the orthodox sections of both religions, they were being exerted in no small measure. Wars of aggression and defence might go on, still an underlying basis of co-operation among the people, the janata, which came to consist of the votaries of both religions, was continuously taking place. This was helped by the mason, the potter, the architect, the tailor, the barber, the Hindu wives of the Muslims and last but not the least, by the need for the evolution of a common tongue through which both sections of the population could make themselves understood to each other.

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[1] *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 568.

As early as Aibak's reign (1206-10) we find a distinct influence of the Hindu motifs in the Quwwatu'l-Islam mosque at Delhi and the mosque known as *Aṛhā'ī din kā Jhonpṛā* at Ajmer. Hindu temple architecture had reached a very high level, but it enshrined the complexity of religious forms which "tended to obscure the main structural feature."[2] On the other hand Islamic religious architecture was wedded to simplicity. The earliest mosque in which the Prophet prayed after he migrated to Medina had date-palm trunks as its pillars and date-palm leaves as its roof. The pulpit came with the contact of the Muslims with the Christians and the graceful arch followed later. Thus this "profusion of ornaments" could not be copied in early mosques. At the same time Hindu influence could not be kept away even from Muslim sacred buildings, for the mason and labourer could not but be led away by the fine Hindu forms especially when they were themselves Hindus.

In the south the Middle Ages came much later, more or less with the conquest of the Deccan by 'Alau'd-Din Khilji and by Maḥammad b. Tughluq about 1327, but it was only in 1343 that the Deccan was cut off from the north and got an opportunity to evolve a distinct culture of its own. In that year the *amirān-i-sadah* shook off the hegemony of Delhi and proclaimed their leader, Ismā'īl Mukh as the king of the Deccan. Two years later he resigned and Ẓafar Khān took his place as 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, the first of the Bahmani sultans.

From this time onward the architecture of the Deccan began to have a distinctive appearance, and quite early Hindu motifs began to creep even into the sacred edifices of the Muslims. Although an ideological wall had been erected between the north and the south by the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom and there was free flow of the Arabs and the Persians from over the seas, Hindu influence persisted, and the *sobriquet* by which the third of the line, Mujāhid (1373-78) was affectionately called by his subjects, was *Balavant* or the strong. The miḥrāb or the prayer niche in the western wall of the tomb of G͟hiyāṣu'd-Dīn Tahmatan (1397) at Gulbarga shows a distinct Hindu influence, which was to develop further in the tomb of Fīroz Shāh (1397-1422) and in Afẓal Khān's mosque. The tomb of the saint of Gulbarga, K͟hwājā Banda Nawāz (1321-1422), who was incidentally one of the first to have written in dakhni Urdu, may be said to be the acme of the Gulbarga-Bahmanī architecture.

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[2] Briggs, Muslim Architecture in India, *Legacy of India*, p. 227.

Simultaneously with the establishment of the Bahmanī kingdom, another important state was established at Vijayanagar by Harihara about 1346. While the war party at Gulbarga and the war party at Vijayanagar were fighting, the intermingling of the two cultures was being effected in the capital of the southern empire itself; for the Queen's Baths, the so-called Elephant Stables (which, incidentally, face the exact direction of Mecca), the Watch Tower in Danāik's enclosure and the Watch Towers in the zenana enclosure, as well as the Lotus Mahal typify the voluntary grafting of the graceful Bahmanī arch in surroundings sanctified by the Hazāra Rāma Temple, the Rāja Temple, the Krishna Temple and many other sacred buildings.

On the other hand, in western India we have a profusion of Hindu jambs, spandrils and other forms used freely for the ornamentation of mosques, and the Jāmi'Masjid at Cambay, the mosque of Hilāl K͟hān at Dholka, the Jāmi'Masjid of Aḥmadabad, the famous mosques of Rāni Sipāri and of Sīdi Syed are all typical of the fusion of Hindu and the so-called Muslim styles.

This eclecticism is seen at Bijapur, where, in spite of direct Persian influence we find the Ādilshāhī palaces with Hindu names such as Gagan Maḥal, Satya Maḥal, Jal Manzil, etc., the styles of which denote the coalescence of all that was best in Persian and the Hindu forms. At Golkonda this coalescence takes shape in the representation of purely Hindu motifs such as the emblems of the snake, the peacock, the elephant and the mythical yali, half lion and half dog, along with coyish swans with snakes hanging from their beaks, represented on a number of gates and arches. The pillar and the lintel are sometimes superimposed by arches, while at times they are seen practically at short distance from each other. The lotus emblem and the cusped arch are also finding their place in the Tilangana area of the Quṭbshāhī kingdom. Some of the gateways of the Golkonda fort and the Charminar as well as certain mosques are reminiscent of the eclectic style of the period. As time passed ornamentation increased, and its profusion is seen to the best advantage in the comparatively small mosque at Khairiatābād (now a part of greater Haidarābād) built about the middle of the seventeenth century.

Going to the eastern part of what is now the Uttar Pradesh, we find the beautiful Atālā Masjid and the mosque of Ibrāhīm (1377) at Jaunpur, both of which are typical of this style of architecture. The Sharqi architecture, as it is called after the dynasty which ruled there from 1399 to 1479, was marked by great arches flanked by square towers and ornamented by colonnades which show clear Hindu influence. At the capital of the mediaeval sultanate of Bengal, Gauṛ, we come across arches and domes built in bricks and mortar, and the exterior of the Sona Masjid there conforms both to the Persian and the Hindu patterns.

I would not deal in any length with the evolution of what is quite wrongly called the Indo-Saracenic style of the Mughals, as it is known to most of those who take an interest in architectural forms. This style may be said to have been symbolised in the fine mausoleum of Akbar the Great at Sikandra, five miles from Agra Cantonment station. It is a pity that very few visitors to Agra go to the resting place of the great Emperor who typified in himself the synthesis of the different cultures which went to make the India of his day, and his tomb in its turn typifies the whole culture which he represented. We have here the Arabic geometrical patterns intertwined with the Hindu swastika and the Christian cross, the chhatrīs which were to become part and parcel of the edifices constructed by Shah Jahan, and the dignified though domeless platform on the fourth floor contains the imitation sarcaphogus of the Emperor with God's ninety-nine names inscribed in beautiful naskh. If there is any monument which represents the essential unity in diversity of Indian culture, it is this monument. I would not tarry over numerous private and public buildings constructed by Shah Jahan, the builder of the Red Fort at Delhi and that embodiment of dignity coupled with magnificence, the mausoleum of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal, which has been corrupted to Taj Mahal, where he himself also lies buried. It may be of interest that he began to build a mausoleum for himself on black marble of exactly the same pattern as the Taj across the Jamuna, but could only have the foundations filled when he was imprisoned in a mosque in the Agra Fort by his son.

Politicians and power hunters may fight their battles in all ages, but it is that permanent embodiment of a nation's hopes and ambitions, the archiecture of the period, which is an index of the inner mind of the people. And during the Middle Ages of Indian history, wherever you go you would find the inner desire of the people to be of one mind petrified in their great buildings.

II

When the Turks, Arabs and Persians first came in contact with the Hindus they must have experienced some difficulty in communicating with the local people and must have adopted some kind of *patois* for the purpose. The synthetic process, so far as language was concerned, ran in two distinct channels, namely the grafting of Persian and Perso-Arabic words on to the local languages, and the direct encouragement given to the local languages by the rulers. Persian may have been the *official* language of administration as also of the chronicles and other literary works, but it never took root in the lives of the people. Instead, in the north and partly in the south, was evolved a new language, written in a distinct script of its own which was a modified form of the Persian script, called variously Hindawi, Dakhni, Rakhta, Hindustani and Urdu. Its basic territory was Delhi and the country round about, the territory where the first migrants from the north-west settled down and established an Indian kingdom of their own.

As has been said, one of the channels of cultural synthesis was the direct encouragement given to the local languages by the Muslim rulers practically all over India at the expense of the official language, Persian. This encouragement naturally acclimatized many Persian and Perso-Arabic words in those languages, and, on the other hand, made the newcomers so familiar with the local dialects that they actually became their mothertongues. In the north this evolution must have taken a basic shape as early as the late eleventh and the first years of the twelfth century, when the Panjab was annexed to the Ghaznavi empire and exchanges of population took place between India and Afghanistan. One of the first exponents of the new idiom was Amīr Khusrau (1255-1325), the disciple of Hazrat Khwājā Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aulia, who lies buried next to his preceptor's grave. Apart from a series of chronicles in verse which he composed in Persian, his importance in the linguistic synthesis of his time is considerable. He calls the language which was soon to become the language of thought and expression, Hindawi or Dehlavi. He was the exponent of a peculiar style of poetry in which either a hemistich or a part of a hemistich is in pure Persian, and the rest in "Hindawi", the earliest form of Urdu. Thus:

شبان ہجران دراز چون زلف و روز وصلت چون عمر کوتہ
سکھی پیا کو جو میں نہ دیکھوں تو کیسے کاٹوں اندھیری رتیاں

There are scores of riddles still on the lips of villagers of north India which are attributed to Khusrau and are in a language which sounds very modern. Thus:

ساون بھادوں بہت چلے اور کوار کاتک تھوڑی
امیر خسرو یوں کہیں کہ بتا پہیلی موری

and again,

بیسیوں کا سر کاٹ لیا — نا مارا نا خون کیا

There is little doubt that while the official language of the Mughals was Persian, and at least Babur and Humāyūn spoke Turkish as their mother-tongue, the tendency from Akbar downwards was to use the new idiom in the royal palaces. With Akbar started the fashion of marrying Rajput princesses whose language must have been Rajasthani, and this must have affected the language of their new relations as well. This tendency was intensified to the extent that quite a sizable number of Muslims began to write in Hindi, while nobles like Raja Todar Mal and Raja Birbal encouraged Hindus to become familiar with the official language, Persian. "The most skilled Hindi poet among Akbar's great ministers in state was 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm K̲h̲ān (1553-1627).[3] He was acquainted with Sanskrit and Hindi as well as with Arabic and Persian. No anthology of Hindi authors would be complete without reference to 'Abdu'r-Rahim's works. Another great name among Hindi poets of note is that of Malak Muhammad Jā'isī who flourished about 1540. His famous poem, the *Padmāvat*, and a religious composition, the *Akhrāvat*, are well known. Although historical names appear in the pages of Padmavat, the author says that the whole work is an allegory giving insight into the transient character of human life.

It was the same story of encouraging the local language and the simultaneous dissemination of the new composite language which we meet in other parts of India as well. In Gujaraṭ, side by side with the encouragement of the Sulṭāns to adopt Hindu motifs in architecture we find a direct encouragement not merely of Sanskrit but also of the Gujarati idiom which was slowly finding ground as a literary language in this part of the country. The founder of the kingdom, Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh (1407-10) was descended from a Rajput convert to Islam, and this fact must have given an impetus to the synthetic process. Even before the independence of Gujarat from the Delhi Sultans we come across this tendency. There is an inscription of 1323 in Sanskrit and Persian at Petlad commemorating the grant of a well and a piece of land for the upkeep of the tomb of Baba Arjun Shāh. The fortress at Mangrol built by Muẓaffar during his governorship of Gujarat, has a Persian inscription side by side with one in Sanskrit commemorating the fixing of an iron gateway there on April 23, 1396. The reign of Quṭbu'dDīn Aḥmad Shāh (1451-58) is remarkable as it saw the composition of the first lyrical poem in the Gujarati language called Vasanta Vilāsa. The colophon is dated August 19, 1452, and describes the "victorious reign of Badshāh Aḥmad Shāh Quṭbuddīn Mahāradhiraj of the happy soil of Gujarat".

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[3] Keay, *History of Hindi Literature*, p. 36.

In Bengal the same tendency of the Muslim Sultans to encourage and develop the local language is met with. Dinesh Chandra Sen, in his classic work, the *History of Bengali Literature* says:

> "If the Hindu kings had continued to enjoy independence, Bengali would scarcely have got an opportunity to find its way to the courts of kings".[4]

He continues:

> "The Pathan conquerors learnt Bengali and lived in close touch with the teeming Hindu population...The minarets and cupolas of their mosques rose to the sky adjoining the spires and tridents of the Hindu temples".[5]

It is remarkable that the first Bengali translation of the Mahabharata of which we are aware was undertaken under the orders of Nāsir Shāh of Gauṛ who ruled from 1285 to 1325, and it is this ruler to whom the famous Maiṭhilī poet, Vidyapati, dedicates one of his poems. In the same way Ḥusain Shāh ordered Maladhar Vāsu to translate the Gita into Bengali, as a reward for which he conferred on him the title of Gunarāj K͟han.

One of the most famous of Bengali writers was a Muslim whose name is mentioned as Alaol which probably stands for 'Alau'l-Ḥasan. Alaol is said to have "heralded a new age in Bengali literature". He was the son of the Nawab of Jalālpur in Farīdpūr district. He seems to have been a linguist of note, for he not only translated Jā'isī's Padmavat into Bengali but also rendered into that language the Persian romance *Saifu'l-Mulūk wa Badi'ul-Jamāl*. He also translated Niẓāmi's famous mat͟hnawi, the *Haft Paikar* and composed poems on the love theme of Radha and Krishna. "He has given descriptions of the religious ceremonies of the Hindus, their customs and manners with an accuracy and minuteness which strikes us as wonderful...He has, besides, shown

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4. Sen, *p.* 10.
5. *Ibid.*

a knowledge of the movements of the planets" such as would do credit to any astrologer.

In the Deccan, again, the process continued with great vigour in the courts of the Quṭbshāhī and the 'Adilshāhī kings, where the use of the composite language was more direct than in the north, and at the same time great encouragement was given to the local languages. The mixed language may be said to have taken its root as early as the establishment of Daulatābād as the second capital of the Empire by Muḥammad B. Tug͟hluq, but we have no evidence of the literary use of that language before K͟hwaja Banda Nawāz of Gulbarga. Among the Qutbshahi rulers Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh has created a niche for himself in the History of Urdu poetry. He was a prolific poet in Dakhni-Urdu, and his voluminous *Kulliyāt* or poetical works has been published by the Anjuman Dakhnī MaK͟hṭuṭāt both in the Urdu and devanagari script. Muḥammad-Qulī was to Tilang what Chaucer was to England, with this difference that his vision included almost all that existed round him. Being of an amorous nature we find poem after poem dedicated to his amours, while others are in the praise of God, the prophet, the twelve imams sacred to the Shī'ah, dirges in honour of Imam Husain, the martyr of Karbala, natural scenes, social ceremonies current in his time and many other themes. Thus while welcoming the first showers of the rainy season, when everything acquires a new life, he says:

گرجا ہے میگھ سر تھے ، تازہ ہوا ہے بستاں
پھولاں کی باس. پایا بلبل ہزار دستاں

His oft-quoted tilting song beginning with

پیا باج پیالہ پیا جائے نا — پیا باج یک تل جیا جائے نا

has a peculiar ring about it. His three successors, Sultan Muhammad (1611-26), 'Abdu'l-lāh (1626-72) and Abu'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shah (1672-87) were all poets of note and helped towards the cultural synthesis in their dominions.

There was another channel through which the patronage of certain Quṭbshāhī kings flowed, and that was in the realm of the patronage accorded to Telugu. The fourth of the line, Ibrāhīm (1550-80) had been an exile at the Vijayanagar court for seven long years and had imbibed a love for Telugu language and literature to a remarkable degree. When he ascended the throne he began to patronise Telugu such as no other Muslim monarch had done so far, and his name was Teluguised as Malkibhrāma or Malkibhārama. His court was thronged by Telugu poets such as Addanki Gangadhara, Kundikuri Rudra and Ponaganti Teleganarya, and he invited chieftains of the Telugu country to come to his court and bring their court poets with them. When he died a Telugu poet addressed Brahma thus:

> "O Brahma! If thou hadst considered it necessary to call back a potentate to thy bosom, thou shouldst have killed one of the many miserly kings; instead of this thou hast taken away Malkibhrama....And canst thou create a one like him ever after?'"[6]

Muhammad Quli was also a patron of Telugu. Not only did he appoint Pattumeta Somayaji Kavi to be the poet laureate of the State but nominated Ganesha as the Kutubshahi Samasthana Panditulu or the Chief Pandit of the Qutbshahi State.[7] Another kavi, Kami Reddi "was granted jewels, palanquin, morchal and chhatri" by the Sultan, probably as a reward for his work *Sivadharmotramu* and *Padmapuranamu*, worthy compositions in the Telugu language.[8]

The 'Adilshahis of Bijapur were also great patrons of literature. To the third of the line, Ibrāhīm I (1534-1558) goes the credit of making "Hindawi" the official language of the State and to have employed "Brahmans" freely in the state service. Ibrāhīm II (1580-1627) may be said to be an outstanding figure in the history of that language. He composed poems on a number of topics, but his great work, the *Kitāb-i Nauras,* may be said to be the acme of the Bijapur school of Dakhni poetry. "His accom-

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6. Sastri, *Chatupadyamanimanyari*, p. 46.
7. Lakshmiranjanam, *Andhra Sahitya Charitra Sangramu*, p. 145.
8. *Shatchakravartulu Charitram*, Intr., p. 4.4.

plishments in various branches of fine arts won him the title of 'Jagatguru' from his subjects...As a result of this title, which was a mark of recognition of his excellence in various aspects of his life, all persons—poets, writers, politicians, calligraphists, musicians—attached to the court were looked upon as his pupils.[9] The book is a collection of songs intended to be sung to musical tunes which are indicated for each set of lines, and it reveals the Sulṭān's profuse Hindi vocabulary, his deep knowledge of music together with his insight into Hindu mythology and traditions as well as of Sanskrit and other languages. There were a number of poets of Dakhni-Urdu like Janam, Mirānjī, Muqīmī and others during the life of the dynasty, and the patronage of the court lasted as long as the dynasty itself.

Going still further south, we find the same principle of mutual coexistence applied in Vijayanagar as well. In 1442 Dēva Rāya II was advised to enlist the services of Muslims in his army as that would ensure his superiority over the Brahmins. He issued orders that estates be allotted in the names of the Muslim officers and a mosque be constructed.[10] But the difficulty arose when the Muslim officers refused to bow before the royal throne, as that would deify the Raya which was abhorrent to their faith, the Unity of Godhead. Dēva Rāya therefore ordered that a chair be placed by the side of the royal throne and a copy of the Qur'ān be put on it so that the Muslim soldiers should have no *qualms* in making the required obeisance.

III

Side by side with the patronage exercised by the various courts to the process of cultural synthesis, we are faced by two great popular movements, the Bhaktī cult and Ṣūfism. Both of these tended to level the differences which existed in the Mediaeval period—differences not merely between the Muslims and the non-Muslims but also among the different castes which went to form the totality of the Indian society. The idea underlying the Bhaktī movement, the worship of one God in some form or other, is as old as human mind, though gradually the worship of God began to take the form of an intermediary idol or the forces of nature which were apotheosised to the extent that they came to be regarded as gods themselves. It is not within the compass of this article to go into the history of the conception of one God prior to 1000 A.C., but for the sake of an understanding of the background a brief excursion might well be made. As is well known the Bhagavat Gīta is essentially a non-ritualistic philosophical discourse leading to the adoration of one God in the person of Sri Krishna. This idea was strengthened by the clash of Hinduism with the Buddhist doctrine which was centred in salvation consequent on human actions rather than the worship of a god. It was the pivotal idea of Divine worship which finally defeated and in a way, exterminated, the agnostic if not atheistic forms of Buddhism from the country. The gospel of Bhakti can be gleaned from the Gīta itself, for there "devotion implies the dedication of all actions to Him...He extends His ineffable grace to His devotees, for even the sinful worshippers are promised that they will be accounted righteous provided they worship with undivided heart, and that they will never perish. In the sight of God all devotees are equal whether they are born in sin or not or to whatever caste and sect they belong."[11]

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[9] *Kitāb-i-Nauras*, edited by Naẓīr Aḥmad, Intr., p. 11.

[10] Perhaps the edifice which is now called the Elephant Stables at Hampi; Havell, *History of the Aryan Rule in India*, p. 206.

Here is found the germ of the levelling tendency which knows no caste and no creed and which seeks salvation only in the recognition of just one God and devotion to Him. Islam, which is essentially the cult of the unity of God and insists on عمل صالح or good deeds, claims that it existed aeons before Muḥammad, before Jesus, before Moses, and before all the known seers who preached that doctrine. The Gīta points to exactly the same direction, that is, that the key to success in this world and in the hereafter, whatever it might mean, is the devotion to God's will and the pursuance of the moral purpose of life. It may interest the readers that more Muslims than we can think of regard Sri Krishna as one of the numerous prophets of God and use the epithet "Peace be on him" after his name just as they would use after the name of any other prophet.

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[11] Quotations from the Gita; Tarachand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, pp. 24-25.

The Hindus had but a glimpse of the Muslims when they came as campaigners on the west coast early in the Islamic era and later as conquerors of Sindh in 711; it was only in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that the invaders were seen in broad daylight. The early clashes gave way to the settlement of the invaders in the land, making them familiar to the Hindus by extremely close contacts. It may be that the seers among both the Hindus and the Muslims saw the essential unity of the ideals of life running between the two peoples, and for this reason they tried consciously to understand each other. They began to feel that there was an essential similarity between the best among the Muslims and the best among the Hindus and agreed on the formula of devotion to God and beneficent actions. The Bhakti movement must have been greatly strengthened by this unconscious discovery. Among the Hindus it took the form of the exclusive worship of one of the gods of the Hindu pantheon, while among the Muslims it took the form of intensive worship of the one God. Ramananda (1400-70) preached that the external God should be worshipped in the person of Rāma who alone could free men from the evil of transmigration of life. He sought to remove the rigidity of the Hindu ritual, and although he believed in the superiority of the twice-born over the Sudra he was catholic enough to allow non-Hindus to attend his discourses.

One of Ramananda's most famous disciples was the Muslim weaver, Kabīr (1440-1518), who has, in a way, outshone even his guru in his devotion and his synthetic attitude, and has, in fact, founded a sect named after him, the Kabīrpanthīs. Many of his couplets form part and parcel of the sacred book of the Sikhs, the *Adi Granth* which was compiled in 1614, and his sayings have an honoured place in Hindi literature. He was a fervent worshipper of Allah, the one God, but he cut himself off from both the Hindus and the Muslims. The Hindus derided him for his low birth and his way of life, the Muslims for his heterodox views regarding what they considered to be the essentials of Islam. The Brahmin scolded him thus:

> "Thy mother was impure, thy father was impure, and impure
> is the fruit they have borne;
> The unlucky people came impure and died impure";

to which he puts the query:

> "Tell me, O Pandit, what place is pure where I may sit and
> take my food;
> Impure thy cow-dung, impure thy cooking square;
> Saith Kabīr only that man is pure who has obtained true
> knowledge."

When a Muslim advises him to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca he retorts:

> "Make thy mind thy Ka'ba, thy body its enclosing temple;
> Then O priest, call men to prayer to the mosque which hath
> ten gates.
> Sacrifice wealth, doubt and malice,
> Make patience thy utterance of the five prayers.
> The Hindus and Musalmans have the same Lord;
> What can the mulla, what can the shaik do for man?"[12]

He abhors caste system, and claims for the Sudras perfect equality with the other castes:

> "If thou art a Brahman, born of a Brahman, why art thou not born in a different fashion? If thou art a Turk, born of a Turkish woman, why wast thou not circumcised in a mother's womb? If thou milk a black cow and a white cow and then mix their milk wilt thou be able to distinguish the milk of one from the other?"

Again,

> "There is one earth and only one Potter, who is the Creator of all".

I am afraid I will have to leave out many important leaders of the Bhaktī movement such as Tulsidās, Dādū and that great devotee, Mīrābaī, whose songs still enthral modern audiences. But a passing reference must be made to another facet of the movement namely the Krishna cult, the chief exponent of which was Chaitania (1485-1533). He was born in Nadia in Bengal, and the remarkable thing is that not merely the Hindus but the Muslims followed him, partly for the reason that the "simple faith and the democratic ideals of Islam infringed upon this (Hindu) society and produced a ferment which was focussed by Caithanya".[13] He condemned religious rites and ceremonies and concentrated on the devotion to one God only. Although he was a Brahman he eschewed caste and considered all human beings to be equal before God.

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[12] Quotations from Topa, *Kabir's Life Story*, I.C., July, 1954 pp. 439 ff.

In the south the great Telugu poet and seer, Vēmana, may be cited as the representative of the levelling tendency. Here, as in the north, there was a marked tendency in favour of the recognition of the unity of God, anti-casteism and a universality of faith leading to one-ness of humanity. It is not known exactly when Vēmana lived, nor even whether he was a sudra or belonged to the ruling house of Koṇḍavīdu. He had a thorough disbelief in caste, for he says:

> "Why should we revile the pariar? Are not his flesh and blood the same as our own? And of what caste is He who pervades the pariar as well as all men?"

He is against all formal worship:

> "How should those who adore the living principle adore images made of stone?....A breviary, matted locks, a tiger skin, a staff, a reliquary, and so forth; he merely has the trouble of carrying these about; they can never affect his salvation".[14]

It is interesting to note that Vēmana's line of reform was taken up later by Veerabrahman of Potulur. He had many disciples belonging to both Hindu and Muslim faiths, but like Vēmana's school, his panth also did not last long.

In order to understand the implications of the Bhakti movement correctly it is necessary to know something about Ṣūfism in India as well. It is not germane to the topic under review to delve into the question of the origin of ṣūfīsm; here it would be enough to note that just as the leaders of the Bhaktī movement deviated from the current forms of Hinduism, so the ṣūfīs deviated from orthodox Islam to a certain extent. Islam knows of no monasticism, yet the ṣūfīs had their *k͟hānqāhs;* Muslim worship consisted of austere meditation in God and the recitation of sūrahs of the Qur'ān, yet some of the ṣūfī schools not merely allowed but insisted on music and hymnal offerings; orthodox Islam knew of no primogeniture, yet the ṣūfīs had their chains of heredity. But the ṣūfīs had a universal appeal not merely to the Muslims and Hindus but to all else, and this is seen vividly in the vast number of disciples of the Muslim saints from among non-Muslims. When the simple faith of Islam spread to all parts of the known world and came in contact with their climate, races and religions it was naturally influenced by the practices of other peoples; in the same way they were influenced by the Islamic insistence on the unqualified worship of God and the equality of man.

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[13] Tarachand, as above, p. 218.

[14] Brown, *Verses of Vemana*, reprinted in Madras, 1911, III; 227; 196.

One of the first Muslims to come to India in a peaceful manner was K͟hwāja Maẓharu'd-Dīn entitled Naṭ-har Walī who arrived in South India early in the eleventh century and died at Tiruchirapalli in 1039. One of his brothers settled down at Nagore near Negapatanam, and the shrines of these brothers are held in veneration both by the Hindus and Muslims of South India. In the north one of the earliest ṣūfīs who made India their home was K͟hwāja Mu'inu'd-Dīn Chishti (1141-1236). When he arrived at Ajmer it was the centre of the power of the Chauhan Rajpputs and was ruled by Prithvi Raj. As in the case of Naṭ-har Wali at Tiruchirapalli there was not a Muslim at Ajmer when the saint settled down there. The tradition goes that when Prithvi Rāj sent an emissary to the Shaik͟h ordering him to quit his kingdom forthwith, the emissary was so much impressed by his personality that he became his disciple and remained such to the end of his life. Those who shared the company of the saint were followers of Islam and Hinduism alike, and even today his 'urs is the rallying ground of all castes, creeds and religions of the sub-continent.

Some of the tenets of the Chishtī order are worth noting, if only to show how much they come near some of the Hindu ideals. The Chishtīs believed in the doctrine of *Waḥdatu'l-wujūd* or the negation of all existence besides God, in the negation of private property, non-violence of every kind, in shunning retaliation and revenge, and in keeping aloof from worldliness including government and politics. They did not insist on formal conversion to Islam as a pre-requisite to the acceptance of the ṣūfī doctrines.

The *silsila* or chain of successors of the K͟hwāja of Ajmer contains such eminent names as those of K͟hwāja Quṭbu'd-Dīn Bak͟htiyār Kāki and of Hazrat Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Auliya whose tomb is venerated by all sections of the population to this day. He was born in 1336 and lived a very long life. His disciples were scattered in all parts of the country. He was a recluse, and although he lived through the reigns of seven sulṭāns he did not allow himself to have any contact with them whatsoever. It is related that when 'Alau'd-Dīn K͟hiljī sent word to him that he wanted to see him and would come to him he retorted that the cubicle in which he lived had two doors, and if the sulṭān were to enter it by one he would immediately leave it by the other.

The simple life which the ṣūfī saints lived, their belief in the good of humanity at large, their vast spiritual power, their *tapasya*—all this elevated them to a higher plane and endeared them to Hindus and Muslims alike. Their teachings were like a salve applied to the wounds caused by the storm and stress which always marks the birth of a new epoch.

We have already mentioned the name of Hazrat Gēsu Darāz of Gulbarga who is venerated by the Hindus and Muslims alike and whose 'urs is celebrated by thousands of South Indians of all castes and creeds. There is a tomb of another Muslim saint at Gulbarga who willed that those who wanted to come and offer prayers at his tomb should not partake of any meat at least twenty-four hours prior to such a visit, and even today every visitor, whether Hindu or Muslim, has to give his word of honour that he has not taken any meat for one day and one night.

A link in the chain of the great ṣūfīs was Shaik͟h Farīdu'-Dīn Ganjshakar, who was a disciple of K͟hwāja Bak͟htiyār Kākī. One of the Shaik͟h's successors was Shaik͟h Ibrāhīm who was himself a ṣūfī of a high order. Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, (1469-1539) was greatly impressed by the teachings of the Baba Farīd as well as those of Kabīr. He had long discourses with Shaik͟h Ibrāhīm at Pāk Pattan and with another ṣūfī, Shaik͟h Sharaf at Panipat, and he became convinced that there was no universality left either in Hinduism or in Islam as they were being practised. He took as his boon companions a Hindu farmer and a Muslim musician and began his tour from village to village singing his gospel of love and devotion. The following lines of Guru Nanak have a ring of saint Vēmana of the south:

"Religion lieth not in the patched coat the yogi wears,
Nor in the staff he bears,
Nor in the ashes on his body.
Religion lieth not in the rings in the ears,
Nor in the shaven head,
Nor in the blowing of the conch shell.
If thou must the path of religion see
Among the world's impurities, be of impurities free.[15]

"His life was mostly spent in bringing the Hindus and the Mussalmans together ... He combined a gentle disposition with a stern and uncompromising attachment to principle; humility with a conviction of the greatness of his mission".[16]

Not merely the sayings of Guru Nanak but those of many Hindu and Muslim saints were collected in the *Adi Granth* by the fifth guru, Arjun (1563-1606). Constantly keeping what was the best in Islam and Hinduism he finally broke away from both religions. He says:

I do not keep the Hindu fast, nor the Muslim Ramadan.
I serve him alone who is my refuge.
I serve the one master who is Allah.
I have broken with the Hindu and the Muslim,
I do not worship with the Hindu, nor like the Muslim go
to Mecca.
I do not pray to idols nor say the Muslim prayer.
I shall put my heart at the feet of the Supreme Being,
For we are neither Hindus nor Mussalmans."[17]

We are not concerned with the later developments of the Sikh panth as a political and military organization which made it virtually an exclusive religion, but only with its message of the worship of the one God, equality of man and love of humanity which its great founder laid before the people and which was continued by his immediate successors.

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[15] Khushwant Singh, *the Sikhs*, p. 25.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

These are some of the lines on which the path of cultural synthesis lay in mediaeval India. It is necessary to stress this as we were quite wrongly led by some of our chroniclers to think that the Middle Ages were nothing but centuries of wars, murders and bloodshed. We forget that many of these chronicles were compiled to glorify the individuals and did not even touch the fringe of the hopes and aspirations of the common people. It was the people who formed the backbone of society and who continued to exist in spite of constant changes in the political atmosphere of the country. The harm done by a superficial reading of these chronicles is further accentuated by their English translators and commentators. One of the best known of these, Sir Henry Elliot quite candidly regards them as

> "revealing the ineffable superiority of the British rule....They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule....If they would dive into any of the volumes mentioned herein it would take these young Brutuses and Phocians very short time to learn that in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not with silence or contempt but with the severe discipline of molten lead or impalement".[18]

One seems to suspect whether many of the pieces which have been chosen for translation have not been handpicked in order to prove this thesis.

We must remember that when two great cultures begin to exist side by side there is bound to be a give and take in all walks of life. It is this eclecticism born out of our natural catholicism not the fratricidal wars, which was the distinctive mark of the composite culture, the glory of the Middle Ages and it was this sentiment which has made possible the co-existence of so many religions and schools of thought in modern secular India.

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[18] Elliot and Dowson: *History of India as told by its own Historians;* Introduction.

Religious Tolerance of the Sangama Rulers of Vijayanagara

BY

K. SAROJINI DEVI, M.A.

Religion in India has never been a dogmatic belief, but a progressive rational synthesis absorbing into its fold the ever-rising currents of new conceptions. It was the sublime philosophy behind Hindu religion based on the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Puranas, that enabled it to survive external invasions and internal dissensions. The essence of Hinduism unlike other world creeds was an eternal quest for the ultimate truth. It does not ordain any particular creed to be followed in the realisation of this ultimate reality. The Mahābhārata says "There is no Muni, who has not an opinion of his own".[1] The Indian mind has been traditionally trained to adopt a catholic outlook and a spirit of religious toleration. The Hindu Emperors of Vijayanagara, who acted as the custodians of Dharma, not in the pragmatistic but the larger sense of the term, lived upto this Hindu ideal.

The liberal religious spirit of the Sangama rulers has generally been attributed to the influence of the eminent Advaita philosopher, Mādhavācārya Vidyāraṇya. According to one writer—"As a true Advaitin he had the breadth of vision to comprehend that all religions were so many ways leading ultimately to the supreme reality, the Brahman".[2] Another Scholar believes on the other hand that this catholic policy was a necessity demanded by the exigencies of the time.[3] But, the former view has more truth than the latter, for the Muslim rulers, though faced by similar circumstances, followed quite a different policy. Muslim history of the period abounds in examples of wars on account of religious

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1. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 27.
2. N. V. Ramanayya, *Studies in History of Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 315.
3. *Vig. Sex. Cen. Commemoration Volume*, p. 33.

differences.[4] "In the eyes of Mohomedans"—"they (the rulers of Vijayanagara) were the champions of Hinduism, but in reality they were custodians of the Karnata Tradition",[5] which in reality was Hindu religion, Traditions and Dharma. This was indeed the object of the very foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Though the Sangama rulers were followers of the orthodox school of Saivism known as Pāsupata, and considered the Pāsupata teacher Kriyasakti as their Guru and regarded Virūpāksha as their tutelary Deity,[6] they showed respect also to the other Darsanas by making benefactions to temples and other religious teachers. The fact that Kriyasakti Guru himself granted some lands to the local Viṣṇu Temple speaks of the catholicism of the preceptors, who guided these rulers.[7] We can cite a few other instances of the spirit of tolerance that prevailed in the whole empire. It is reflected in a record dated 1397 A.D. belonging to the reign of Harihara, which begins with the words "The Śāsana of Kēśava, the lord of Vēlāpura", and quotes the well known verse meaning "He whom the Śaivas worship as Śiva, the Vedantins as Brahma, the Bauddhas as Buddha, the Naiyayikas skilled in proof as Karta, the followers of the Jaina Sasna as Arhat. May that God, Kēśava, ever grant your desires. From all calamities may the God, Kēśava, ever grant your desires. From all calamities may the God Kēśava, dwelling in Velagrama, preserve you.[8]" In a record dated A.D. 1471 Mēlukōṭe, a prominent Vaiṣṇava Centre, is called the Vardhamānakṣētra.[9] This can mean that the Vaiṣṇavas continued to call it the Kṣetra of Vardhamāna on account of their tolerant spirit. A Jaina epigraph paid homage to the Panchaparamēshtins as well as Sambhu.[10] The general spirit of not permitting sectarian jealousies to embitter people's lives can be seen also from a record of the reign of Mallikārjuna which speaks of the residents of the two streets known as Paḍuvakēri and Mūḍakēri in Basarūr and fixes the boundary and the paths through which the settis of each locality had to take sheep and areca-nut trees to the temple of Dēvi on occasion of festivals.[11]

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[4] Muhamad Shah II formed a league against the Bijapur prince, the ostensible ground of action being that the latter, had not only revolted against his sovereign but had also introduced Shiatenets into the country. The confederation failed to secure their object, and by their defeat Yusuf Adil Khan was able to establish his kingdom on a secure basis. *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 640.

[5] *Sex. Cen. Volume*, p. 69.

[6] "As the Greeks looked to Zeus and Athens in their days of conquest and expansion, the early Vijayanagariyas always cast their eyes on the feet of Virupaksha for the blessings of success and prosperity". *The Indian Antiquary*, XLIV, pp. 219, 225.

[7] E. VIX, *HK*. 129, E. CXMbll.

[8] E. CV, Part I, Bl. 3, pp. 43-44.

[9] E. CIV, Introduction, p. 24, Ng. 78, p. 133.

Vaiṣṇavism: Regarding the religious sects of the time, we find that Vaisnavism was popular enough in the dominions of Vijayanagar even though it might not have been very influential at the capital itself in A.D. 1408.[12] We know also that the Vaiṣṇava temples, Vaisnava religious preceptors and followers of the Vaisnava Darsana were patronised by the Sangama rulers. The leanings of Deva Raya II towards Vaisnavism are more known than those of other monarchs. During his hunt in Māchanahalli, he visited the temple of Rama and granted a village with an income of 20 varaha and also land in Hāneyanād.[13] A copperplate dated A.D. 1427 records the grant of the village of Paṇḍamaṅgalam together with the sub-village of Tirunalūr, Sēranaibaṇḍaperumānallūr, and Sunepuha-nalūr, for the merit of his mother to the god Raṅganātha of Srirangam.[14] Again, in A.D. 1434, on the occasion of the Hēmāsvarathamahādāna, Deva Raya II granted five villages situated in Chōḷa-maṇḍala to Valiyadimainilayiṭṭa—Perumāḷ Uttamanambi, Sthanapati of the Śrīraṅgam Temple and son of Uttamanambi. These villages were evidently granted for conducting the daily worship of the God Śrīraṅganātha.[15] In this connection, the influence of the two Vaisnava leaders, Uttamanambi and Cakrarāya, at the court of Vijayanagara deserves notice.[16] Uttamanambi received, on behalf of the temple from Dēva Rāya II, a pearl umbrella, a pair of Kahalas (musical instruments) dīpikas (lamp-stands), a golden vessel and an ivory shield.[17]

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[10] E. CVIII, Sa 60, p. 103.

[11] *South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, Part II, p. 467.

[12] D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, pp. 183-195.

[13] E.C., XI, MK. 32, p. 95.

[14] E. *Indica*, XVII, p. 110.

[15] E. *Indica*, XVIII, p. 138.

[16] The two brothers Uttamanambi and Cakraraya, who are believed to have migrated to Srirangam along with the Vaishnava Saints lived in the time of Deva Raya II, were instrumental in influencing Deva Raya to extend his patronage to the Ranganatha Temple. It is said that Uttamanambi defeated the Raya in a game of chess and obtained the title Cakraraya for his

The king is said to have granted the revenue of as many as 52 villages to the Ranganatha temple during this trusteeship of these brothers.[18] Dēva Rāja Voḍeyār, by the orders of Dēva Rāya, made a grant of various dues paid by the Sri-Vaishnava Brahmanas and others of Srirangapura amounting to 30 honnu, for the spring festival of the God Śrīraṅganātha.[19]

Some of the generals of Vijayanagara were followers of Vaiṣṇavism. Prominent among them were Gōpaṇa and Sāḷuva Mangu, who had taken a leading part during Kampaṇa Udaiyar's invasion of Madura.[20] The Āchāryasūktimuktāvaḷi, relating the sack of Srirangam and the plight of Sri Ranganatha, describes how the images of Sriranganatha were sheltered by Gōpaṇa in a cave temple at Cinjee and their final consecration in the sanctum Sanctuary.[21] Another distinguished general of the age was Sāḷuva Mangu, who aided Kampaṇa in his mission of destroying the Madura Sultanate. He is said to have established the God of Srirangam in his temple and presented 6000 Madas of Gold.[22] As a mark of his devotion, he further gave 1000 sāḷagramas and eight

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brother in addition to innumerable presents (Kōil Oḷugu, p. 146). The Uttamanambis were very influential, and there is still a current proverb, Ūrpādi Uttamanambipādi, "the town is one half and Uttamanambi the other half", meaning that the members of the family were as good as the whole town put together. *E.I.*, XVI, 222.

[17] *MER.* 85 of 1937-38.

[18] *MER.* Introduction, p. 102 of 1937-38.

[19] *Ep. C.*, III, Sp. 7, p. 8.

[20] *Madhuravijayam*, Introduction, p. 57.

[21] Cenjī puramu chenta Singarāyapurākhya =
magrahāramjēsi yandu pasiḍi
kōvela gattinchi Gōpanāyadu Rango-
patini pratiṣṭimche bhaktinachaṭa —

Sources, p. 43.

[22] Śrīrangavibhu pratiṣṭimchi yarvadivēla
māḍala dēvu nummadikinosage
Mathura Sūratrānu maḍiyinchi parapakṣi
Sāḷuva birudambu jagatinerape —

Jaimini Bhāratam.

villages representing the eight Bījākṣara.[23] Mangu extended his munificence to the Srī Venkatēśwara Temple at Tirupati also.[24] We have some epigraphs recording grants to the God Dāmōdara of Bannūrugatta by certain *Mahamandalesvaras* of the Sangama rulers.[25] Some of the ministers of the time were also devotees of Viṣṇu.[26]

One phase of Vaiṣṇavism, which found favour in Vijayanagara during the 14th century was the cult of Viṭhṭhala or Viṭhobā. The earliest literary reference of the cult of Viṭhobā is in Nāmadev gāthas belonging to the later half of thirteenth century. They relate how Puṇḍalīk's infinite devotion towards his old parents attracted Lord Kṛṣṇa to Pandharpur in order to witness the extraordinary devotion of Puṇḍalīk. The Lord of Dwāraka, who came with his flock and five hundred companions could not get back to his original abode since he was made to stand on a brick by Puṇḍalīk, who was immersed in serving his old parents.[27] The Lilā Caritra of Cakradhar, one of the oldest compositions in Marāthi literature gives a different version of the origin of Viṭhobā.[28] Cakradhar portrays Viṭhṭhala as a cattle thief, whose Virakal was deified in course of time and developed into the cult of Viṭhobā or Viṣṇu. The first inscriptional evidence to a God called Viṭhṭhalesa worshipped on the Tuṅgabhadrā is dated in 1216 A.D.[29] Biṭṭaleśvara or Biṭṭeśvara, as Viṭhobā is called in Kannaḍa means "the God of the Hill".

On the basis of a Telugu work known as Narasimha Purānam of Haribhatta[30] assigned to 1580 A.D., it seems that the temple of Viṭhṭhala was constructed during the reign of Praudha Raya or Deva Raya II (1419-1446 A.D.).[31] The prevalence of Viṭhṭhala worship in Karnataka in 14th century is proved by Copperplate grant dated A.D. 1408, belonging to the reign of Dēva Rāya I, which refers to the temple of Viṭhṭhala on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra. "This inscription, proves not only that there was the God Viṭhṭhala in the great capital in A.D. 1408, but that the famous temple in that God's name existed also in the first quarter of the fifteenth century."[32] But, a record of king Harihara II of Vijayanagara dated Saka 1318 corresponding to A.D. 1396 states that Annappa was responsible for the construction of the pavement to the 1000 pillared mandapa in the Sriranganatha temple, and the consecration of God Viṭhṭhala therein.[33] This Annappa or Annappa Udaiyar was the son of Vittharasa, general of Harihara II. We have the evidence of coins also regarding the liberal outlook of the rulers.[34]

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[23] Rāmābhyudaya, *Sources*, p. 32.
[24] *T.T.D.E. Report*, Vol. I, p. 168.
[25] E.C. IX, *AK*. 82, p. 118; *E.C.*, IX, *AK*. 87, p. 119.
[26] E.C., IX, *AK*. 85, p. 119, *AK*. 86, p. 119.
[27] *Nāmadevācā Gātha.*
[28] Cakradhar, *Līlā Caritra*, 2. 246.
[29] *The Cult of Viṭhoba*, published by the Deccan College, Poona, p. 197.
[30] Published by the Andhra Sahitya Parishat, No. 18.
[31] Q.J.M.S., Vol. XXX, pp. 148-149.

Jainism: Another prominent religion of the empire, which received state aid and protection was Jainism. It had suffered much at the hands of the Virasaivas.[35] The Sangama rulers took the helpless Jaina Community into their liberal fold and offered much needed protection. Like their Hoysala predecessors, who favoured Jainism even after the conversion of the House to Vaisnavism in the reign of Visnuvardhana,[36] the first dynasty of Vijayanagara gave unstinted patronage to Jainism and its institutions. The earliest instance belongs to the reign of Harihara I. In the Tadatala Parsvadeva basti dispute between the temple acharyas and the Jaina Suris, judgment was given in favour of the latter after due consideration of the problem.[37] Five years later, a graver problem confronted Bukka I in A.D. 1368.[38] It was a dispute between the Jainas and Vaisnavas in regard to the Civil rights. Bukkarāya, placing the hands of the Jainas in the hands of the Srivaisnavas entrusted the former to the protection of the latter and declared that there was no difference between the Vaisnava darsana and the Jaina darsana. He also confirmed the right of the Jainas to enjoy the pancamahasabda or the five great musical instruments and the Holy Water pot or Kalasa on all ceremonial occasions. The appeal made to the Vaisnavas that they should regard "loss or advancement of the Jaina Darsana as their own loss or advancement" and "as long as the sun and moon endure the Vaisnavas will continue to protect the Jaina darsana" leads one to think that Bukkaraya suspected mischief on the part of the Srivaisnavas. This was not a baseless assumption. We have an epigraph belonging to the same monarch which states that "dispute having arisen between the Jains and the Bhaktas (or the faithful) the Jains of all the nads within Aneyagondi, Hosapattana, Penugonda, and Kalyana have made petition to Bukkarāya that the Bhaktas were unjustly killing them". In answer to this petition, the Maharaya declared, "We will not be a screen for your Vaisnava Darsana—In the five bastis, the Kalasa, Jagale, Jagate and others the five big drums are allowed. To others, they are not permitted. They belong to the Jaina Samaya (or Congregation). The Srivaisnava Samaya, which has increased..." (most of the rest is illegible)[39] It is but natural that Bukka should show partiality to the Jainas in view of the

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[32] *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume.*

[33] *M.E.R.*, No. 72 of 1938-39.

[34] *Vij. Sex. Cen. Vol.*, p. 108, J.A., Vol. XX, p. 301.

[35] Most of the commercial and agricultural classes were converted into Virasaivism and Saiva idols were instituted in the place of the Jaina images. It is commonly assumed that the Jainas were persecuted by the followers of Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism in South India which extinguished the dying members of the Jina Dharma. In the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts we find vestiges of the old persecutions of the Samanal in the form of Kuluvettal or impaling. "The model of a human head is stuck on a pike and carried in a procession some sit as if impaled on a stake; others appear to be hanging from the gibbets, etc. The idea of the performance is to suggest mutilation, and there can be little doubt that it is intended to commemorate the savage treatment, which the Jainas of old received at the hands of their Saiva persecutors". (*Tinnevelly Gazetteer*, I, pp. 100-101, *Madura Gazetteer*, I, pp. 74, 297; *Mysore Archaeological Report*; 1925. p. 15). Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar does not attach any importance to these stories of persecution and regards them as mere concoctions by the later hagiologists. (*Cultural Contributions*, Krishnaswami Aiyangar, p. 239). "The fact", says Mr. S. K. Sharma, "that Jainism continued to flourish even long after the "alleged persecutions" cannot be considered as proof of the falsity of the allegations any more than we can say that there was no persecution of Christianity in Europe, or of Hinduism under the Muhommadan Rulers, since these religions have survived to our own days and continue to flourish if at all with greater vigour." (Jainism and Karnataka Culture p. 172).

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[36] *The Hoysala Vamsa*, William Coelho, p. 285.
[37] E.C. VIII TI 197, p. 206-207.
[38] E.C. II 334, pp. 146-147.
[39] E.C. VIII Magadi Taluq 18, p. 53.

Vaisnavas' malignant activities.[40] "By restoring to the Jainas their ancient privileges", as pointed out by Dr. Saletore, King Bukka Raya removed a source of discontent in a community, which although politically shorn of its ancient power, yet could have turned itself into a seditious section, especially in the precarious period of the fourteenth century A.D."[41] This charter of liberties has laid down the fundamental principles of religious policy, which was liberally interpreted by the later monarchs.[42]

This spirit of toleration which has distinguished the Sangama rulers inspired their subjects to adopt a cosmopolitan outlook, which proved true the saying "Yathā Rājā tathā Prajā". The Jodi Kempanapuram inscription dated A.D. 1400, which declared that those who violated the grant were traitors even to the Jaina religion,[43] is sufficient proof of the amicable relations existing between the Virasaivas and the Jainas.

The Queens of the Royal House were no less worthy of praise than their lords in patronising Jainism. Bukkavve, the queen of Vira Harihara Rāya II gave a gift to the Basadi built by general Irugappa in the cyclic year Isvara corresponding to 1397 A.D.[44] Bhīma Dēvī, queen of Dēva Rāya Maharāya appears to have been a follower of the Jaina teacher Panditā Cārya, in an inscription dated about 1410 A.D. She installed the image of Sāntinātha in the Mangāyi Basti at Belgola.[45] Queen Bhīma Dēvi may have been responsible for the generous attitude of king Dēvarāya I towards the Jaina gurus.[46] It is to be noted, that while Bhīma Dēvi considered Panditā-Cārya as her spiritual guru, Dharmabhūshana guru seems to have wielded more influence over the mind of the Emperor. This is to be gleaned from the Padmāvati Basti inscription of Humcca, which says that Dharmabhūsana "had his two feet illumined by the crown of the Rājadhirājaparamēsvara the king

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[40] Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, p. 539.
[41] Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, 292.
[42] *Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Venkata Ramanayya, p. 316.
[43] *MER* for 1917, p. 61.
[44] 501 of 1907; Rangacharya, *Top. List.* I, p. 313; Swamikannu Op. Cit, IV, p. 396.
[45] *Ep. Car* II, p. 144.
[46] Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, p. 299.

Dēva Rāya.[47] In 1420, Dēva Rāya I made a gift of the village Bēḷame in the Mepinad as a vritti for the worship of Gummatasvami of Belgola.[48] Dēva Rāya II ordered the building of a Caityālaya dedicated to Parśvanātha in the capital itself in the year A.D. 1426.[49] obviously meant to satisfy the religious needs of the time, and especially to demonstrate once again the validity of one of the birudas borne by the Emperors of Vijayanagara, viz., that they were the Protectors of Sakalavarnāsrama Dharma.[50]

While tracing the history of Jainism during the period of Sangama rule, the remarkable role of General Irugappa, a Jaina general, requires special attention. Baica Dandesa, the grandfather of Irugappa, and his son, General Mangappa, distinguished themselves with their meritorious services to the state as well as to Jaina Dharma. It is but natural that the son of Mangappa, "a supporting tree to (the creeper dharma) and an adherent of the Jainagama", General Irugappa proved his loyalty to the state and devotion to his faith. The Sravana Belgola inscription says "Abundance of food, protection from danger, medicine, and learning became his daily gifts; injury to others, falsehood, passion for the wives of others, theft and greed kept away at a distance from him". "His liberality (was directed) towards the path of Dharma, his ears towards listening to the fame of Jinendra; his tongue towards praising His virtues; his bodily health towards bowing to Him: his nose towards the excessive fragrance of His feet; and his everything to His Service".[51]

General Irugappa's devotion to Jaina dharma is expressed through his liberal benefactions for the promotion of the religion in the Capital. He made a gift of land to the Trailōkyanātha basadi at Tirupparuttikunru during the reign of King Harihara Raya II.[52] Another record found in the same temple dated 1387-8 A.D. says that at the instance of his preceptor Pushpasēna, general Irugappa built a mantapa in front of the same basadi.[53] During

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47. E.C. VIII, NR. 46, p. 148.
48. E.C.V. Mj. 58, p. 273.
49. 32 of 1889; S.I.I.I., 153, pp. 160-167; Rangacharya, *Ibid*, IP. 212.
50. Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, p. 303.
51. E.C. II, 253, pp. 106-108.
52. 41 of 1890, Rangacharya, *Top. List* I, p. 373.
53. 42 of 1890, Rangacharya, *Top. List* I, p. 375.

his office of Mahapradhāni in the reign of Harihara II, he built the Caityalaya of Kunthu or Kundu Jinanatha which saw completion in A.D. 1386.[54] This is known as Canigitti temple.[55] Irugappa distinguished himself not only as an almighty warrior but also as a scholar. He was the author of the Sanskrit work called Nānārtha Rathnamāla.[56] Like general Irugappa his elder brother, general Baicappa, was ardently devoted to Jaina Dharma. The Sravana Belgola inscription calls him Bhavyāgrani (leader of the Bhavyas).[57] In 1420 A.D. Devaraya II induced Baica Dannayaka, his Mahāpradhāna, to provide a Vṛitti for the worship of Gummaṭasvāmi of Belgoḷa granting the village of Beḷame.[58] Another distinguished Jaina official, contemporaneous with general Irugappa, was the Mahāpradhāna Gōpa Camūpa, who was described as "a full moon in raising the tide of the ocean of the Jaina Sanga."[59] Gōpa Camūpa constructed a Jinalaya in Kuppaṭūr and endowed it lavishly for its maintenance. Like a true Jaina discarding the worldly pleasures and chanting the name of Jinendra he went to heaven with great joy.[60]

The liberal attitude of the Sangama rulers had tremendous influence on the policies of the provincial Governments. The recognition of provincial autonomy by the Emperors enabled the viceroys to adopt a benevolent attitude and support the Doctrine of Syād-Vāda. Some of the feudatories like Kongaḷvas and Cangāḷvas, notwithstanding their devotion to Vira Saivism, continued to extend their patronage to Jainism.[61] The Rulers of Sangitapura were prominent among the Chief provincial rulers in western Karnataka. An inscription, dated A.D. 1488,[62] describes the Mahamandalesvara Saluvendra, king of Sangitapura, as "devoted to the pair of feet of Candra—Praba Jina" with "his mind a casket for the three jewels". His Minister Padma or

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54. Hultzsch, S.I.I., p. 156.
55. *Jainism and Karnataka Culture.*
56. *E.C.* II, Intro. p. 64; *MER* for 1919, pp. 13, 33.
57. *E.C.* II, 273, p. 108.
58. *E.C.* V. 17 J. 58, Op Cit.
59. *E.C.* XI Hr. 28, pp. 107-108.
60. *E.C.* VIII Sb 261, pp. 107-109.
61. *E.C.* IX Cg 39, p. 174.
62. *E.C.* VIII Sa 163, p. 334-337.

Padmana was no less devoted to Jina. In A.D. 1488, Minister Padmana donated the village Ogeyakere for the cause of Jainism which was granted to him by king Caluvendra. In 1498 A.D. he built a Caityalaya in a Village called Padmakarapura and installed in it Parsvanatha.[63]

In the middle of the fourteenth century the prominent centres of Jainism were Belgola, Kalleha, Hosapattana, Harave, Maleyur, Hunsur, Avali, Sohrab, Hirecauti, Kuppatur, Uddhare, Huligere, Rayadurga and Danavulapadu. Sravana Belgola was a celebrated centre of pilgrimage and had attracted innumerable pilgrims from all over the empire.[64] Maleyur in the Chamarajanagara Taluka was another stronghold of Jainism, which contained the basadis of Vijayanatha and Candraprabha. Bāhubali Paṇḍita a learned Jaina guru, hailed from Maleyur.[65] Prince Harihara Raya granted the Maleyur village itself for the offerings, decorations and processions of the God Vijayanatha of Kanakagiri in 1422 A.D. This event is recorded in two inscriptions. The gift was made in the presence of the God Tryambaka. This has misled Rice to assume that "This village (of Maleyur) would therefore seem to have been no longer exclusively Jaina.[66]

Āvaḷināḍ in the Sohrab Tauka was a more popular centre of Jainism and contains a number of memorial stones, living examples of the creed of the people. For instance on the death of Kāma Gauḍa, the disciple of Rāma Candra Maladhārideva in A.D. 1353, the people set up a stone in his memory.[67] In the year A.D. 1354, Māla Gauḍa died in the orthodox Jaina manner after doing the five salutations, but his wife Cennakka however performed Sahagamanam.[68] This orthodox manner of renouncing life or Sallekhana seems to have been in vogue in the middle of the fourteenth century.[69] Bēci Gauḍa, the son of the Mahāprabhu of Avalinaḍ Canda Gauḍa, a disciple of Rāma Candra Maladhārideva, expired in A.D. 1376. On the death of her husband, Muḍḍi Gauṇḍi com-

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63. E.C. VIII Sa 123, p. 124.
64. E.C. II, 311, p. 130, 254, p. 109.
65. E.C. IV, Ch. 157, p. 21.
66. E.C. IV Intro. p. 24; Ch. 144, p. 19, 159, p. 21.
67. E.C. VIII Sb. 110, Text p. 42.
68. E.C. VIII, Sb. 104, p. 40.
69. Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, p. 332.

mitted Sahagamanam. The Avali prabhu cherished the memory of these devotees of Jina by setting up a monument for them.[70]

It is to be noted here that according to the Jains women cannot have salvation through self-immolation.[71] Samantabhadra, a great Jaina teacher of Karnataka, says that Sallekhana was to be performed, "when overtaken by calamity, by famine, by old age; or by incurable disease".[72] The performance of sati or the practice of burning of the Hindu widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands obviously was not permitted to the Jaina women by their preceptors.[73] The Kingdom of Vijayanagar had come into existence to save Hindu dharma and religion from the onslaughts of Islam but this did not prevent the monarchs from giving protection to their Muslim subjects. An epigraph dated 416 A.D., found in Dod-Ballapur speaks of Ōba, Grandson of Harihara Raya having constructed the Tirumale dipakamba at the mosque on the hill.[74] Devaraya II enlisted Muhammadans in state service. Jagirs were allotted to them and a mosque was also built for them in the capital by Dēvarāya. He was careful also not to offend the feelings of his Mussalman subjects. He ordered a Koran to be placed on a rich desk before his throne so that they could perform obeisance before him "without sinning against their laws".[75] The entertainment of Mussalmans in Hindu Service is supported by inscriptional evidence also. A record dated 1430 A.D. belonging to the reign of Devaraya II states that he had 10,000 Turuska horsemen in his Service.[76] An epigraph of 1440-41 A.D. records

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70. *E.C.* VIII, Sb. 106, p. 41.

71. Tasmātriparyāyam pratītya jīvasya prakṛti dōśēna =
jātah abhavyakālah tasmāttāsām na nirvāṇam —
Bhava-Saingraha, Devasena, M.D. J.G. XX, pp. 26-7, vv. 92-8.

72. *Ratnakaranḍaka-Śrāvakācāra*, M.D. J.G.I.P. 89 VI; C & *Ep Car.* Introduction, p. 69.

73. It is reasonable to suppose that this practice might have come also as a substitute for Sati among Jaina women, in view of the fact that the Jainas condemn every form of suicide excepting Sallēkhana, and Buchanan records (on the strength of Pandita Carya's statement) that "widows ought not to burn themselves on the bodies of their husbands". *Jainism and Karnataka culture*, p. 164.

74. *E.C.* VIII, Db. 16, p. 64.

75. Scott, *Ferishta I*, p. 118.

76. *E.C.* III, Sr. 15, p. 11.

the construction of a well by Ahmad Khan, a servant of the King Vira Pratapa Dēva Rāya II.[77] The Muhammadans were even permitted to run slaughter houses. Dēvarāya appointed the Brahman viceroy of Madura to organise them.[78]

The Vijayanagar Empire thus "stood for all that was worth preserving in Hindu religion and culture". It was a national movement,—"a nationalism which was infused through and through with the sentiment of religion". Any thing like a particular form of religion was impossible to it. The one object was to preserve Hindu independence in South India. The whole organisation of the forces of Vijayanagar had this object in view". "It may be safely said that, for good or evil, the present day Hinduism of South India retains the form it received under Vijayanagar, which ought to be given credit for having preserved Hinduism such as it is....Cataclysmal irruptions of foreigners causing revolutionary changes in doctrine and practice there were none.... The spirit of compromise and insistence upon peaceful living by the various sects was adopted as the religious policy of the civil authorities by the sovereigns of Vijayanagar, each of whom had his own particular persuasion."[79]

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[77] 18 of 1904.

[78] *The Indian Antiquary* L III, p. 31.

[79] *The Indian Antiquary* L III, p. 32. From the lectures of Rao Sahib Krishnaswami Aiyangar, by Sir Richard C. Temple.

Feudal Elements in Pala and Pratihara Polity (750-1000)

BY

R. S. SHARMA

The process of land grants which began on a large scale under the Guptas and Harṣa was continued by their successors. There are very few instances of grants made by the Gupta kings directly, most grants being endowments made by their feudatories or subordinate chiefs in Central India. But under the Pālas grants were generally made by the kings themselves. The earliest example is that of Dharmapāla, who granted four villages in North Bengal to the temple of Nunna Nārāyaṇa, founded by his vassal Nārāyaṇavarman at Śubhasthalī.[1] The real beneficiaries of the grant were the Lāṭa brāhmaṇas, priests and other attendants who waited upon the deity, and are also mentioned as grantees.[2] The villages were made over as a perpetual grant, together with low land (*talapāṭaka*) and occasional markets (*haṭṭikā*), with all their localities, with the fines for the ten offences, and exempt from royal molestation.[3] Dharmapāla again made over a village, presumably in the Nālandā area, to some local Buddhist religious leader, free from taxes and the entry of royal agents, together with rights to punish the thieves.[4] The last twelve lines of the grant are not legible, but it is a reasonable guess that the inhabitants were instructed to carry out the orders of the grantee and pay him all proper dues.[5] A village named (Mesika)[6] was granted on similar terms by Devapāla to a brāhmaṇa in the district of Monghyr.[7] Here the cultivators (*kṣetrakaras*) and not the inhabitants (*prati-*

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1. *EI*, iv, No. 34, ll. 30-52.
2. *Ibid.*, ll. 50-1.
3. *Ibid.*, ll. 52-53.
4. *Ibid.*, xxiii, No. 47, ll. 17-24.
5. *Ibid.*, Second side ll. 1-2.
6. This may possibly refer to Mehus in the Lakhisarai area in south Monghyr.
7. *EI*, xviii, pp. 304 ff., ll. 38-44.

vāsins), as in the earlier grant, were expressly ordered to obey the grantee.[8] The same king granted five villages on similar terms to the Nālandā monastery at the instance of Bālaputradeva of Sumātrā.[9] The endowment included not only the boundaries and pasture ground of the villages as in earlier grants, but also mango and *mahuā* trees as well as the various reservoirs of water (*sajalasthalaḥ*).[10] There was no point in specifying the trees and water rights of the villages, unless the idea was to withdraw these from the use of the villagers and transfer them to the grantee, thus giving him rights of practical ownership over these. The scope of grants was further widened under Nārāyaṇapāla, who conferred a village on the worshippers of Śiva with the additional right to use its wet and barren areas,[11] again possibly with the object of authorising the grantee to fully enjoy the rights to barren lands at the cost of the cultivators, who may have been in the habit of reclaiming such land without having to pay anything to their ruler. Again, in about 993 three villages together with a certain measure of land formerly enjoyed by the Kaivarttas were given in North Bengal (Puṇḍrabhukti) by Mahīpāla for Buddhist worship on similar terms.[11a] Four years later the same king granted a village to a brāhmaṇa for the same purpose in the same division with the usual fiscal and administrative rights.[12] There may have been more religious grants under the Pālas, but the available ones show that in Bengal and Bihar brāhmaṇas, Buddhist monasteries, and Śaiva temples emerged as landed intermediaries, enjoying not only economic privileges at the cost of the king and cultivators but also administrative rights at the expense of the king.

During the same period the Pratīhāra rulers made several land grants to brāhmaṇas in northern India. In 836 an old *agrahāra* grant was renewed by Bhojadeva I in the Kālañjara *maṇḍala* of the Kānyakubjabhukti. The grant had been made by a feudatory with the approval of Nāgabhaṭa, but had fallen into desuetude on account of the incapacity of the local legal officer in the reign of

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[8] *Ibid.*, l. 45.

[9] *EI*, xvii, No. 17, ll. 33-40.

[10] *Ibid.*, ll. 34-5.

[11] *IA*, xlvii, pp. 304 ff., ll. 39-46.

[11a] *EI*, xxix, No. 1, B. ll. 26-44.

[12] *Ibid.*, xiv, No. 23, ll. 30-49.

Rāmabhadra. So the village in question was regranted by Bhoja to the old brāhmaṇa family, who were to enjoy it with all the income excepting the gifts already made to gods and brāhmaṇas.[13] A second grant of a village as *agrahāra* was renewed by the same king in Gurjjarattarābhūmi. The grant had become ineffective under his great grandfather, but was issued by Bhoja to the grandson of the donee.[14] The two cases show that once made the grants became hereditary in theory and practice, and the successors of the original benefactor king were obliged to observe the grant, even when they were made by feudatories. Mahendrapāla, the son and successor of Bhoja, granted a village with all its income to a brāhmaṇa in the district of Chapra, which at that time was included in the division (*bhukti*) of Śrāvastī.[15] A village in the Banaras area was made over to a brāhmaṇa on similar conditions by Mahīpāla in 931.[16] Mahendrapāla II granted a village to a temple in Gwalior on practically the same terms, with the difference that it was bestowed along with its pasture grounds.[17]

Strikingly enough the grants of villages made directly by Pratīhāra kings do not specify the various agrarian and administrative rights which are made over in Pāla charters to the donees. They merely transfer all the income of the village; and, like their Pāla counterparts, enjoin the villagers to obey the grantees and pay them all dues. The Pratīhāra kings made the above grants on religious grounds, but whatever be their intentions there is no doubt that they gave rise to landed aristocracy between the king and the cultivators.

The process seems to have been still stronger in the kingdoms of the feudatories of the Pratīhāras. In 893, Balavarman, son of Avanivarman I, the Cālukya vassal in Kāthiāwāḍ, granted a village to the temple of Taruṇādityadeva along with the fines to be realised from persons convicted of ten faults, not to be entered by royal agents, along with taxes and trees, and some other privilege which are not clear.[18] Another Cālukya feudatory of the same line

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[13] *Ibid.*, xix, No. 2, ll. 1-16.
[14] *Ibid.*, V, No. 24, ll. 6-9.
[15] *IA*, xv, pp. 112-3, ll. 1-12.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 138 ff., ll. 9-17.
[17] *EI*, xiv, No. 13, ll. 9-13.
[18] *Ibid.*, ix, No. 1, A, ll. 1-20.

Avanivarman II, with the approval of the royal official Dhiika, bestowed another village on the same god on the same terms.[19] In 914 Dharaṇīvarāha, a Cāpa vassal in Eastern Kāthiāwāḍ, granted a village to a teacher as reward for learning on the same conditions as the Cālukya vassal had done.[20] In 946 at the request of a Cāhamāna vassal a village was granted to a sun-temple by Mādhava, the governor of Ujjain.[21] The conditions of grant were somewhat different, for it carried with it the additional right to the enjoyment of timber, reservoirs of water, and certain new taxes *skandhaka*, *mārggaṇaka*, etc.,[22] the significance of which is not clear. Finally, we may take note of the grant of a village in 959 made by a Gurjara vassal of the Pratīhāras in the Alwar area to the guru of a *maṭh* and his successive disciples.[23] The above instances show that the practice of religious grants was more widespread in the kingdom of the feudatories of the Pratīhāras. The grantees were not only charged with the duty of maintaining law and order in the villages but also of realising various revenues, which could not have been possible without engaging subordinate staff for the purpose. Thus in parts of Gujarāt and Rājasthān religious grantees emerged as landed intermediaries in charge of police and fiscal administration.

We have no data to work out the proportion of religious grantees under the Pālas and Pratīhāras, but their number was considerable enough to influence the thinking of Hindu lawgivers. Although Manu does not allow agriculture to a brāhmaṇa, the new situation is reflected and sanctified by the law of Parāśara, a lawgiver of about the eighth-ninth century, who permits brāhmaṇas to practise agriculture.[24]

The grant of villages to priests may be compared to the practice of benefices given to the Church in mediaeval Europe, with the difference that brāhmaṇas and temples were not an organised group in India. The secular counterpart of benefices was, however, weak in early mediaeval India. Examples of officials and vassals paid by land grants are very few. The first Pāla grant (802) refers in North Bengal to an official called *daśagrāmika*,[25] who, according to Manu, was paid one *kula* of land.[26] But the later Pāla records do not mention this official; probably his post was a survival of the past which was fast disappearing. In 993 Mahīpāla resumed the grant of 200 standard measure of land once allotted to the Kaivarttas for maintenance in return for certain services which are not specified.[27] This seems to have been a secular grant. Very probably *rājas, rājaputras, rāṇakas, rājarājanakas, mahāsāmantas, mahāsāmantādhipatis*, etc., mentioned in Pāla land charters were mostly vassals connected with land. Some were vanquished and reinstated in their territories; others were probably granted land for their military service, which both classes had to furnish to their overlord.

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[19] *Ibid.*, B, ll. 32-58.

[20] *IA*, xii, p. 195, Plate II, ll. 1-24.

[21] *EI*, xiv, No. 13, ll. 19-25.

[22] *Ibid.*, ll. 24-5.

[23] *Ibid.*, iii, No. 36, ll. 3-15.

[24] *Ṣaṭkarma-sahito viprah-kṛṣi-vṛttiṃ samāśrayet. Bṛhat-Parāśara Saṃhitā* (Bombay, 1911), V. 3.

The Pratīhāra records also do not know of many secular grants. In 890 Bhoja I granted land in Gorakhpur to a Kalacuri chief called Guṇāmbhodhi or Guṇasāgara I, who had rendered valuable military service to his lord by snatching away the fortune of Gauḍa.[28] Under Mahendrapāla II Vidagdha, a high official who signed two land grants,[29] seems to have been in the enjoyment of a village,[30] possibly assigned to him by the Pratīhāra king. A case of secular fief can be inferred from the grant made by a Gurjara feudatory of the Pratīhāras, who describes the area in his possession as *svabhog=āvāpta Vaṃśapotaka-bhoga*.[31] This suggests that as a scion of the ruling clan[32] he was assigned by the Pratīhāra overlord the district of Vaṃśapotaka for his personal benefit. His grant makes it clear that the assignee was responsible for the administration of that area, which lay in the Gurjjaratrābhūmī.[33]

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[25] EI, iv, No. 34, l. 47.

[26] VII. 118-9.

[27] EI, xxix, No. 1, B, ll. 28-9.

[28] *Bhojadeva=āpta-bhūmiḥ .... śrī-Guṇāmbhodidevaḥ yena ... āhṛtā Gauḍā-lakṣmī*, CII, iv, No. 74; verse 9.

[29] EI, xiv, No. 13, ll. 14, 27.

[30] *śrī-Vidagdha-bhog=āvāpatye Dhārāpadrakagrāme*. *Ibid.*, l. 21.

[31] EI, iii, No. 36, l. 4.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 266-7.

What distinguished the Pratīhāra system from the Pāla was the practice of subinfeudation. The period under review provides no clear case of subinfeudation under the Pālas. Nārāyaṇavarman, the *mahāsāmantādhipatī* of Dharmapāla, was instrumental in securing a grant of four villages from his overlord to a temple he had built,[34] but he himself was not in a position to make such an endowment. The brāhmaṇas, Buddhist monasteries and temples, which received villages from the Pāla kings, may have assigned a part of their revenues or land to subvassals for management, but we have no means to prove this. On the other hand we have several instances of subinfeudation under the Pratīhāras. Under Vatsarāja a donee transferred a sixth part of the donated village by a deed of endowment to Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu in Gurjjarattrābhūmi,[35] somewhere in the Jodhpur area where the inscription has been discovered. This would imply that for religious purposes religious grantees could freely dispose of the villages under their possession. As regards feudatories, some made grants with the sanction of the king, others did on their own. The Cālukya feudatory Balavarmā granted a village to the temple of Taruṇāditya in Kāthiāwāḍ in his own right but another feudatory of the same line, Avanivarmamā II (898), had to secure the approval of an official of the Pratīhāra king, for granting a village to the same temple.[36] In both cases the grantee was given the right of enjoying the benefice or getting it enjoyed, cultivating it or getting it cultivated.[37] This left scope for further subinfeudation, leading to four stages of tenant in the feudatory dominions. Another case of similar subinfeudation took place in 959 under a Gurjara feudatory in the Alwar area. The vassal Mathanadeva, a kinsman of the ruling clan, disposed of the part of his benefice freely, by granting a village to the guru of the *maṭh* and his successive disciples.[38] The important clause with regard to the management of property was *kuvataḥ kārayato vā*,[39] which implied absolute rights and left clear room for subinfeudation. Under this category also comes the grant of a village by a

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[34] *EI*, iv, No. 34, ll. 30-52.
[35] *Ibid.*, v. N. 24, ll. 6-9.
[36] *Ibid.*, ix, No. 1, Plates A & B.
[37] *Ibid.*, Plate A, l. 19.
[38] *Ibid.*, No. 36, ll. 3-6, ll. 10-15, ll. 21-23.
[39] *EI*, iii, l. 16, l. 17; cf. p. 264, fn. 6.

Cāpa vassal in 914 in Eastern Kāthiāwāḍ to a teacher, without the permission of the overlord, but with the right of subgranting to the donee.[40] The feudatory had secured his territory through the favour of the feet of his Pratīhāra suzerain.[41] Of a different nature was the grant made by a high official Mādhava, the governor of Ujjain, at the instance of a Cāhamāna vassal Indrarāja, to a temple built by the latter.[42] The land charter was jointly signed by Mādhava and another royal official Vidagdha,[43] which shows that even high Pratīhāra officers were not free to make grant without royal approval. This reminds us of the grant made by Dharmapāla at the request of his great vassal Nārāyaṇavarman in North Bengal. The above examples would show that subinfeudation was practised not only in the dominions of their feudatories but also in the area directly governed by the Pratīhāras; only it was stronger in the territory held by vassals.

The Pāla land charters mention nearly more than two dozen grades of officials who had to be notified of the land grant.[44] Perhaps they were connected with the fiscal system in some way or the other. The total number of the various categories of officials in the Pāla kingdom cannot be calculated, but the term *aśeṣarājapuruṣān*[45] used for them indicates a fairly large number. It seems that the greater part of the Pāla kingdom in Bengal and Bihar was administered by regular officers, who made central authority felt in the different parts of the kingdom. The position was radically different in the Pratīhāra kingdom; the only officials mentioned in the grants made by the Pratīhāra kings are *niyuktas*.[46] Since they had few officials, probably their government rested in the hands of vassals who were kept under effective control. On several occasions their high feudatories and *mahāsāmantas* had to obtain royal permission for making land grants. Curiously enough we notice more officials in the dominions of their feudatories than in the area directly administered by the Pratīhāra kings. But even here they numbered about half a dozen in contrast to nearly more than two dozen kinds of officials mentioned in Pāla land grants. This might suggest that the Pratīhāra feudatories relied for administration on their sub-feudatories. So neither the Pratīhāra kings nor their feudatories could develop any elaborate administrative machinery, and the greater part of the Pratīhāra empire was probably governed by vassals.

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[40] *IA*, xii, p. 195, Plate II, ll. 1-24.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] *EI*, xiv, No. 13, ll. 20-29.

[43] *Ibid.*, l. 27.

[44] "The Bhagalpur Plate of Nārāyaṇapāla", *IA*, xlvii, p. 304 ff., ll. 30-6.

[45] *Ibid.*, l. 30.

[46] *IA*, xv, p. 138 ff., l. 11.

The titles and designations of Pāla and Pratīhāra kings and officials betray feudal relationships. The epithets *paramabhaṭṭāraka, parameśvara,* and *mahārājādhirāja* adopted by later Gupta rulers and then by Pāla and Pratīhāra kings do not indicate any real increase in royal power but merely suggest that the king was supreme among lords, chiefs and princes owing allegiance to him. The term *mahā* (great or chief) found in the designations of Pāla officials *mahā-daussādhasādhamnika, mahā-kārtakṛtika, mahā-sāndhivigrahika,*[47] etc., shows that they were being brought in line with feudal vassals such as *mahā-sāmanta* and *mahā-rāja.* The expressions *pāda-padmopajīvin,*[48] *rājapādopajīvin,*[49] etc., applied to them were similar to those given to vassals in Orissa and Gujarāt in subsequent times, and indicate that officers subsisted on the favour of their master, and were thus being feudalised.

The tendency to feudalise officers was stronger under the Pratīhāras. We learn that in one case Kokaṭṭa, the commander-in-chief (*balādhikṛta*) of Mahendrapāla II, was known as *parameśvarapādopajīvī.*[50] His contemporary, Mādhava, who held the title of governor (*tantrapāla*) and chief commander (*mahādaṇḍanāyaka*), was known as *mahāsāmanta,*[51] probably a title conferred on him by his Pratīhāra overlord. Furthermore Undabhaṭa, the governor of a town, was a *mahāpratīhāra* but he held the title of *mahāsāmantādhipati,*[52] head of the vassals. Apparently these titles carried certain privileges and obligations, of which we have no clear idea. Nevertheless, the *mahāsāmanta* was an important figure, and in erecting religious pillars his subjects made reference to his reign and to that of his overlord.[53] A measure of the high feudal status enjoyed by some vassals was their investiture with the *pañcamahāśabda* by the Pratīhāra kings.[54] Its precise meaning is not clear, but there is no doubt that it was a great distinction conferred on vassals. The privilege, however, was not known under the Pālas.

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[47] *EI*, xvii, No. 17, ll. 26-33; xxix, No. 1; B; ll. 31-4.

[48] *EI*, xxiii, No. 47, l. 15.

[49] "The Bhagalpur Plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, *IA*, xlvii, pp. 304 ff., l. 37. This title is frequently used.

[50] *EI*, xiv, No. 13, ll. 19-20.

[51] *Ibid.*, l. 20.

[52] *Ibid.*, i, p. 173, l. 5.

The chief obligation of the vassals was to pay homage and render military aid to their overlords. They paid homage by mentioning the name of their overlords in their grants, as was done by the vassals of the Pratīhāras. Similarly on several occasions the Cāhamāna,[55] Cālukya,[56] Guhilot[57] and Kalacuri vassals gave military help to their Pratīhāra overlords. The grants issued by Pāla kings, from Devapāla onwards, invariably describe their victory camps as being attended by numerous tributary princes from Northern India accompanied by their contingents.[58] This may be an exaggeration, but might refer to small local chiefs who assembled at the temporary capitals to wait on other Pāla overlords. At any rate there is no doubt that in order to suppress the Kaivartta revolt in about 1070 the Pālas mobilised the military support of their vassals on a massive scale.

The Pālas had no fixed capital. Pāṭaliputra,[59] Mudgagiri,[60] Rāmāvatī[61] (near modern Gaura in the Malda District), Vaṭaparvataka (modern Vaṭeśvara-parvata near Pathargha ṭā in the Bhagalpur District), Vilāsapura or Haradhāma (unidentified),[62] Sāhasagaṇḍa[63] (unidentified), Kāñcanapura,[64] and Kapilāvāsaska[65] are mentioned as their *jayaskandhāvāras*. If we include in this list Kanauj where Dharmapāla held his court, the total number of capitals would be nine. All these capitals were situated on the Gaṅgā, which served as a great unifying factor in the Pāla dominions. But constant shift in seats of power was certainly a disintegrating factor in the kingdom, and indicates administrative decentralisation typical of feudal polity. In this respect the Pratīhāras enjoyed more stability, for only Ujjayinī, and Mahodaya, identical with Kanauj, are known to be their capitals.[66] They did not feel the necessity of impressing their power on the feudal lords by moving their capital from place to place.

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[53] *Ibid.*, iv. No. 44, ll. 1-10.
[54] *Ibid.*, *EI*, ix, No. 1, l. 3.
[55] *HCIP*, iv, pp. 22-23, 27.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Udīcīnāneka narapati prabhṛti* ... *Parameśvara-sevāsamāyāta* = aśeṣa -*Jambūdvīpa-bhūpāla* ... *EI*, xvii, No. 17, ll. 22-23.
[59] EI, iv, No. 34.
[60] "The Bhagalpur Plate of Nārāyaṇpāla" *IA*, xlvii, p. 304 ff., ll. 27-8.
[61] "The Manhali copper-pate etc.," *JBAS*, lxix, Pt. 1, p. 66 ff., l. 30.
[62] *IA*, xiv, pp. 166-8; xxi, pp. 97-101; *EI*, xiv, No. 23, l. 28; cf. *ibid.*, xxix; p. 4; fn. 3.
[63] EI, xxix, No. 1, B, l. 26.
[64] *Ibid.*, No. 7, l. 24.
[65] *Ibid.*, xxiii, No. 47, l. 2.

What distinguished the Rājput polity was the imposition of clan aristocracies on old, settled villages. The Gurjaras came in the wake of the Hūṇas from Central Asia. It is thought that the Gurjaras were the Indian equivalents of a Central Asian people Wusun, who came to be known as Gusur in the fourth century, and this gave rise to the term Gujar which was sanskritised into the term Gūrjara.[67] Coming from outside, they imposed themselves as dominant clans on settled villages. The tribal practice that the spoils should be distributed among the members of the tribe led to the apportionment of villagers among the conquering chiefs, some of whom received them in units of eighty-four. This unit first occurs in a ninth century inscription of a Cālukya feudatory of the Pratīhāra,[68] but units of twelve and its multiples are found in the records of the Cāhamānas, Paramāras, and Cālukyas.[69] This was on account of the fact that all these three tribes were ethnically allied to the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, which can be inferred from bardic traditions ascribing the origin of all these peoples to their emanation from a common sacrificial pit (*agnikuṇḍa*) on Mount Abu. Whether earlier tribal organisation in Central Asia knew of the practice of sharing settlements in certain numerical units is a point worth investigation. The Pāla fiscal units of one and sometimes ten villages, placed under their officials, the *grāmapati* and the *daśagrāmika*,[70] were as old as Manu. But the Rājput village units were mainly duo-decimal and prevalent in the north,[71] and were managed by vassals rather than regular officials. In course of time such assignees came to look upon themselves as the enjoyers of these units of villages, which they called their personal estate (*svabhoga*). In the Deccan, where the new peoples could not penetrate in any considerable number there prevailed from the eighth century the decimal system of villages, as recommended by the Dharmaśāstras.[72]

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[66] An early capital of the Pratīhāras was Merta, 60 miles north-east of Maṇḍor. The term *rājadhānī* in the sense of capital is used in the mediaeval Deccan (*The Early History of the Deccan*, I-VI, ed. G. Yazdani, *OUP*, 1960, p. 51).

[67] P. C. Bagchi, pp. 138-9.

[68] *EI*, ix, No. *IA*, l. 10.

[69] R. S. Sharma, "Land grants to Vassals and Officials in Northern India (1000-1200)", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, iv, 88; 90-1, 94.

It could be wrong to think that all the members of the Gurjara clan held a privileged position in regard to the conquered. As time passed Gurjara cultivators were also absorbed in the feudal set-up. They were made to pay all the dues which the local peasants had to pay. This is evident from a religious grant made by a feudatory, who belonged to the Gujarat Pratīhāra line.[73] The village, which was endowed out of his personal estate Vaṃśapotakabhoga, was inhabited by a considerable number of Gurjara cultivators.[74] Since the grantee, in this case a guru (and his successive disciples) was empowered to collect from the villagers half a dozen taxes such as a share of the produce (*bhāga*), imposition on the threshing floor (*khala-bhikṣā*), officer's dues (*prasthaka*), *skandhaka*, *marggaṇaka*, resumption of property on failure of issues (*apoutrikādhana*, *naṣṭibhartā*), fees on deposits (*nidhi-nidhāna*), along with all the other miscellaneous dues, proper and improper (*ueiṅtānucita*)[75] these must have been imposed on the Gurjaras, first by their kinsman overlord, and then by the guru. The present grant shows clearly that the vassals treated his fellow tribesmen as tools meant for his personal enjoyment, and as tillers attached to the soil, capable of being transferred along with it. Further, the grantee could burden the peasants with fair and unfair taxes, which reduced them to the position of serfs. Thus feudal relationships developed not only between the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the conquered population but also within the fold of the conquering tribe itself, for the conquerors regarded their kith and kin not as their equals entitled to equal share in their spoils but as semi-serfs working for the benefit of their erstwhile tribal leaders.

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[70] *EI*, iv, No. 34, l. 47. The *daśagrāmī* first appears in Kauṭilya's *AŚ*,

[71] H. C. Raychaudhuri, *The Early History of the Deccan*, Pts. I-VI, ed. G. Yazdani, p. 51.

[72] Such units became more prevalent only after A.D. 1000.

[73] *EI*, iii, No. 36, l. 4.

[74] *Śrī-Gurjara-vāhita-samasta-kṣetra-sametaśca*. *Ibid.*, l. 12. It is not clear whether all the inhabitants were Gurjaras.

[75] *Ibid.*, ll. 11-12.

The increase of reilgious intermediaries in land, payment of vassals and officials by land grants, feudalisation of the titles of kings and officials, shifting of capitals, imposition of clan chiefs on old villages, and disintegration of the ruling tribe into landowners and tax-paying peasants, all these may be taken as feudal elements in the early mediaeval polity of Northern India. But on the whole most of them are more typical of the Prātīhāra polity than of the Pāla.

An Interregnum in Pallava History*

BY

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM

There are two interesting inscriptions, one in Sanskrit written in Pallava Grantha script, and the other in the Tamil language and script incised on the tier of the base of the central shrine in the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple at Kāñcīpuram. They were copied more than seventy years ago in 1888 and their texts made available more than thirty eight years ago, having been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions* (*Texts*), Volume IV (Nos. 130 and 131). But they have not received due attention from scholars all these years.

Both the records are damaged having gaps at the most crucial points; but still their contents may be understood from the available portions. Both of them seem to be related to each other, probably referring to the same transaction *viz.*, the gift of some gold to the temple by a Pallava named Abhimāna Siddhi. The texts of the two as published are as follows:—

No. 130

1. Svasti Śrīḥ[II] ... takaḥ ... yutārbhuddam pratito
Guṇa būṣaṇa ityadhipa [ḥ] Paramēsvara
Viṣṇu grahe hā
2. rati, dayaḥ tasya ... pramade [na]
dadau Manodhirasyāya [o] śloka[ḥ]

No. 131

āyuḷ śīrppa [ra] meśvara viṇṇagarattavark-
korāyiram poṉ palittālam padimamukuḍuttāṉeṉṟa mimingaḷe I
āyiram śempoṉ...yirappatterumāṉap poṉ Abimānasiddhiyāyi
[ṉa]
Pallavaṉṟā [ne] II.

From the Sanskrit record which is in verse it is learnt that a ruler (*adhipaḥ*), whose name cannot be made out, gave or presented something, the nature of which is not clear, to the Paramēśvara Viṣṇugṛha and that the verse was composed by a poet, a certain Manodhīra, which name, as is evident, he probably got from his patron.

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The Tamil record also seems to be in verse. But its exact form cannot be made out. Very likely, the beginning of both the lines in it has been lost. It states that a certain Abhimāna Siddhi who was a Pallava gave one thousand *pon* for a golden plate for offering *bali* and also for an image. The wording of the record would suggest that the donor Abhimāna Siddhi was a ruling king and that he was also a Pallava. His name is not known otherwise and it does not find a place in Pallava history.

There is a third inscription written on the same ṭier by the side of the two records and dated in the seventeenth regnal year of the Pallava king, Dantivarman, registering the gift of some gold to the temple, by Avanicandra, presumably the son of Udayacandra, the chief of Villivalam and the famous general of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.[1] All these three records are incised in the same script,[2] probably by the same hand. Thus all the three would belong to the same period and may be taken to be more or less contemporary.

The Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple, known as Parameśvara Viṇṇagaram in olden days, owes its origin to Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, whose personal name was Paramēśvara Varman. The events leading to his coronation are portrayed in sculptures with explanatory labels on the walls of the central shrine in this temple. There are a number of sculptured panels both before and after the above and they are without explanatory labels. They trace the history of the dynasty from Viṣṇu and portray some of the leading events of Nandivarman II's reign and round off with recording the construction of the temple by him. But they cannot be satisfactorily explained since the political activities of the king in this period are not fully known.

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[1] Avanicandra was the *Yuvarāja* in the thirty-third regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla when the Pullūr plates were issued. The interval between these two records, i.e., the Pullūr grant and the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple inscription would be 49 years.

[2] The position on stone of the two related records of Abhimāna Siddhi to that of the time of Dantivarman would indicate that the first two are earlier in time than the third. Then Abhimāna Siddhi has to be assigned to the period after the construction of the temple and before the seventeenth regnal year of Dantivarman.

Nandivarman II was crowned as the Pallava king in c. 733 A.D. when he was twelve years old. The first fifteen or twenty years of his reign witnessed several reverses for him and his position in the kingdom was stabilised only with the downfall of the Western Chāḷukyās of Vātāpi and the emergence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭās in their place, which events must be placed in the period c. 750-760 A.D. Nandivarman could have constructed the temple only after that and the date of its construction might be taken as c. 750 A.D. This date furnishes the earlier limit for the inscriptions of Abhimāna Siddhi. Nandivarman II ruled for sixty-five years i.e., till c. 798 A.D.; when he was succeeded by his son Dantivarman. The seventeenth regnal years of the latter, when his record in the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple was issued, would be c. 815 A.D. Then Abhimāna Siddhi would have to be assigned to some date after 760 A.D., probably in the beginning of the ninth century. The palaeography of the records also supports this date. As such he cannot be placed towards the end of the Pallava rule, when the country was overrun by the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line.

The name Abhimāna Siddhi is not known to Pallava history and is not found in any Pallava inscription. But the two component parts, *Abhimāna* and *Siddhi,* of which the name is made up, are found used by some other kings.

The Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha III, the donor of the Larger Śinnamanūr plates is known to have borne the surname *Abhimāna mēru.*[3] Rajēndra Cōḷa I also appears to have had that name.[4] A record of Vikrama Cōḷa mentions a donor named Abhimāna mēru Pallavaraiyan.[5] It is also known that one of the early kings of the Telugu Cōḷas of Rēnāḍu had borne the name Abhimāna Cōḷa.

The names Tammu Siddhi, Nalla Siddhi, Manma Siddhi, Erasiddhi and the like borne by members of the Telugu Cōḷas of Nellore in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are well-known.

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[3] *South Indian Inscriptions,* Volume III, pp. 443 and 459; also *Epigraphia Indica,* Volume XXI, pp. 241 and 250 where another chief is mentioned with the title.

[4] *S.I.I.,* III, p. 428.

[5] *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy,* 1933, No. 33; pt. ii, para 24.

The names are sometimes written with the suffix in the form of *Siddha*, but *siddhi* seems to be the correct form. The kings are generally referred to in inscriptions as the Siddhiyaraiyar of Nellūru[6] and also as Madurāntaka Pottapi-Cōḷa *alias* Siddhi.[7] The Eastern Cāḷukyās of Vengi are also known to have borne titles ending in *Siddhi*. Of the eight kings who ruled over Vengi prior to the downfall of the Western Chāḷukyās of Vātāpi, with the exception of Indra Bhaṭṭāraka who ruled only for a period of seven days, all the other seven are known to have borne such names. Each of the three Viṣṇuvardhanas had the title Viṣamasiddhi and the two Jayasimhas had each the title Sarvasiddhi, while Mangili and his son Kokkilli had the surname Vijayasiddhi. With the downfall of the Western Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi and emergence of the Rāṣṭrakūtās in their stead, the eastern Cāḷukyās of Vengi dropped off their *Siddhi* surnames and began to assume imperial titles like Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Bhaṭṭāraka which were conspicuous by their absence in the case of the earlier members of the dynasty. The first king to bear such high-sounding titles was Vijayāditya I whose date of accession is placed in 753 A.D. His predecessor Viṣṇuvardhana III, who had the surname Viṣamasiddhi was known according to the Udayendiram grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla to have been conquered by the Pallava general Udayacandra and the Vengi kingdom annexed to that of the Pallavas. This completely deprived them of their hold on the Telugu Cōḷa dominion which they held previously and therefore the Eastern Cāḷukyās had to confine their rule to the coastal regions of the Sircars.

Earlier still we know of a Śiva temple called Siddīśvaram. The temple at Tirumaraiyūr in the Tanjore district is referred to by that name even in the *Dēvāram* of Sambandha. It is one of the seventy temples of the type of *Māḍakkōyil,* i.e. temple at the top of artificial hillocks, constructed by the Cōḷa king Śeṅkaṇṇān (he with the beautiful eye) or Kōccengaṇṇān. It would thus appear that the term *Siddhi* was borne as a title by the Cōḷas, more particularly by the Telugu Cōḷa branch.

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[6] 105 of 1922.

[7] Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty, *Nellore Inscriptions*, Part II, No. 40 of Nellore Taluk, pp. 807-8.

From the above it will be evident that the name Abhimāna Siddhi borne by the donor of the above records sounds very much like that of Cōḷa. But from the Tamil record it is clearly seen that he was a Pallava. From this it may be surmised that he was a Pallava ruling over Kāñcī with the help of or under the aegis of the Cōḷas in the early ninth century.

From the recently discovered Daḷavāypuram copper-plate grant of the Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa, the younger brother of Varaguṉa II and the son of Śrimāra Śrī Vallabha, issued in the forty-fifth year of his reign, it is seen that his mother was Akkalanimmati, the daughter of Śri Kaṇṭha, the Cōḷa ruler of the Pottapi line. The actual passage is as follows:—

> Aravaraiśaṉ paltuḷi āyiramā yiruttalaiyāl
> peritaritiṉ poṟukkiṉṟa perum poṟai maṇ magaḷai ttaṉ
> todittōḷil iṉṟutāngiya toṇḍiyaṟkōṉ tuḷakkiḷḷi
> vaḍippaḍai māṉābharaṇan tirumagaṉ mayilaiyar kōṉ
> Pottappi kulacōḻaṉ pugaḻtaruśirī Kaṇḍarājaṉ
> mattamā malai vālāḷ maṇimagaḷakkḷanimmiḍi
> tiruvayiru karuvuyirtta Śrī Parāntakamagārājan

From this we learn that Śri Kaṇṭha Cōḷa of the Pottappi line who gave his daughter Akkalanimmiti in marriage to Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha was himself a nephew (sister's son) of the Pāṇḍya Mānābharaṇa and that he was also a ruler of the Toṇḍaināḍu (*Toṇḍaiyar kōṉ*). The titles *Toṇḍaiyarkōṉ* and *Mayilaiyar kōṉ*, which are characteristic ones of the Pallava kings would indicate that he was occupying the place of the Pallavas or was ruling the country as their deputy.

The passage mentions that he bore lightly on his (bejewelled) shoulders adorned with bracelets the goddess of earth whose heavy burden had been borne on the thousand heads of the king of serpents i.e. Ādiśeṣa. He is also described as *Mattamāmalaivaḷavan*, the leader of great elephants. These point to the fact that Śrī Kaṇṭha Cōḷa of the Pottapi line was ruling over Toṇḍai country or the Pallava territory as an independent king. The use of the word *tāngiya* in the past tense clearly points out that Śrī Kaṇṭha was not then living, but dead. The tenor of the whole passage occurring incidentally not in Cōḷa grant, but in Pāṇḍya grant, while describing the donor who was the daughter of this Śrī Kaṇṭha, leaves the impression that he was an important king. The very fact that the

Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa, himself a great king, takes pride in describing himself as the daughter's son of this Śrī Kaṇṭha only confirms this surmise.

The only ruler of the Telugu Cōḍa branch with the name of Śrī Kaṇṭha known to us so far is the donor of the Madras Museum plates.[8] That grant, however, does not specifically mention the achievements of the donor, particularly his conquest of or rule over Toṇḍaināḍu. It is only helpful in tracing the genealogy of the donor to Simhaviṣṇu, one of the three sons of Cōḷa Nandivarman. It has to be noted also that the Madras Museum plates describe the donor Śrī Kaṇṭha as the Cōḷādhirāja (the *adhirāja* of the Cōḷas), which position he is credited to have obtained with the strength of his arm.

The Anbil plates of Sundara Cōḷa, the earliest of the available copper plate grants of the Cōḷas of Tanjore giving the genealogy of the family, mentions Śrī Kaṇṭha among the predecessors of Vijayālaya, the founder of the line. In that record Śrī Kaṇṭha is said to have been the great-great-grandfather of the donor. After mentioning Śenkaṇṇān (Ko-chchengaṇṇān) and his son Nallaḍikkōn the grant has the following verse:—

> *Śrīkaṇṭha-graha* [*na*]*rudha kumkumāmka-bhujantaraḥ* [1]*
> *Śrīkaṇṭha iti-rājendras tat-kuli sam-ājayata* //[9]

In his family was born the chief of kings called Śrī Kaṇṭha on whose chest were impressed marks of saffron from Lakṣmī (Śrī)'s embracing his neck.

It will be evident from this that Śrī Kaṇṭha was not the immediate successor of Nallaḍikkōn, but was a descendant of his, born in the family long after. The next verse introduces Vijāyālaya, the founder of the Tanjore line. But the relationship he bore to Śrī Kaṇṭha mentioned in the immediately preceding verse is not clearly stated. It will be tempting from the wording of the record to treat Vijayālaya as the son and successor of Śrī Kaṇṭha. But all the subsequent grants of the family and the historical poems as well like the *Kalingattupparaṇi*, *Vikramacōḷan ulā*, *Kulōttunga Cōḷan ulā* and *Rājarājacōḷan ulā* trace the genealogy only from Vijayālaya, and do not mention Śrī Kaṇṭha; probably this was due to the fact that Śrī kaṇṭha was not a direct ancestor of Vijayālaya, and the first ruler of the line of the Tanjore Cōḷas was Vijayālaya. Also there was some interval between the periods of the two. However the fact that Śrī Kaṇṭha is mentioned in the Anbil plates referred to above would show that he was a great ruler.[10]

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[8] *Journal of Indian History*,

[9] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, p. 60, v. 15.

As the reign of Vijayālaya is usually placed in the period between 850 and 870 A.D., the reign of Śrī Kaṇṭha has to be placed earlier, say in the first half of the ninth century, when Dantivarman, the son and successor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla was ruling over the Pallava dominion. Pallavamalla who became king in *circa* 733 A.D. is known to have reigned for at least sixty-five years i.e. till 797 or 798 A.D. after which his son Dantivarman became king. In the early part of his reign Dantivarman had to face an encounter with the Rāṣṭrakūṭā king, Govinda III. The British Museum plates of his, dated Thursday the fifth *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Vaiśākha of the year Subhānu Śaka 726 expired, corresponding to 4th April 804 A.D. registering a grant by the king to a Śaiva priest when the king was staying at the Rāmēśvara Tirtha on the banks of the River Tungabhadrā, mention that Govinda had conquered Dantiga, the ruler of Kāñcī and levied tribute from him. Evidently he was then returning from his victorious campaign in the south. Then the date of his victory over the Pallava may be taken as 803 A.D. It appears that this was the reprisal for the help given by Dantivarman to Sthambha or Kamba, the elder brother of Govinda III in his bid for gaining the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne.[11] An inscription on a pillar set up at Hulivīdu in the Alur taluk of the former Bellary district (now in the Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh) dated in the fourth year records the death of a hero, Siriguppa when he opposed the army of Danti which attacked the village of Cikurambrāvi.[12] The region at the time was under the Raṭṭas, the subordinates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭās. It will be tempting to identify this Danti with the Pallava Dantivarman whose fourth regnal year would be 801 or 802 A.D. This well supports the view that the conflict between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pallavas was raging at that time.

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[10] The possibility that Vijayālaya also belonged to the Pottappi line of Cōḷas may be surmised from another source. A fragmentary Tamil inscription from Kūḍalūr in the Bangalore District (Mysore State) consisting of a single line, without either the beginning or the end, mentions a Cōḷa king Vijayālaya. It is learnt from the inscription that "he had long arms and sword worthy of (?) Pattinipparanādan and resided in the city" of Kūḍal. Though it is more than half a century since this inscription was discovered neither its text nor its impression has been published so far. It has however, been ascribed by R. Narasimhachar to Vijayālaya of Tanjore. (*Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1909, p. 17, para 68; also T. N. Subrahmanyan, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* Vol. III, pt. i, *Historical Survey*, P. LXII.) Probably he based his conclusion on the support of the palaeography of the record. The epithet *Pattinappara-nādan* ascribed to Vijayālaya in the record has been given with a question mark. Probably the reading was doubtful Very likely, it may be *Pottappinādān*. In that case Vijayālaya also must belong to the Pottappi line. Then the mention of Śrī Kaṇṭha in the Anbil plates as a predecessor of his is significant and it can refer only to Śrīkaṇṭha, the maternal grandfather of the Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṛa of the Daḷavāypuram plates and also the same as the donor of the Madras Museum plates.

According to the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa, the son and successor of Govinda III, it appears that Govinda III had again to lead an expedition on the Pallava dominion in the latter part of his reign. This was directed against the Drāviḍa kings who had formed themselves into a confederation... "He terrified the Kerala, Pāṇḍya and Chaulikya kings; caused the sprouting Pallava to wither; was the afflictor who caused the Kalinga and the Magadha to sit and fast themselves to death". He is also said to have made his camp ground free of dirt through the lords *maṇḍalas* by compensating them, if they were friendly and by sujecting them to forced labour if they were otherwise.[13] This will imply that his victory over the Pallavas was complete and that the Pallava dominion was, for sometime at least, a part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire. This is confirmed in a way by other evidences.

The Manne plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III[14] dated the full moon *tithi* of the month of Pauṣa in Śaka 732 which was his eighteenth regnal year (810 A.D.) show that the king granted, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse under the asterism puṣya at the request of Dantivarman along with Cakirāja, the village of Sangami as a *brahmadeya* to one Dāmodara who was proficient in the Vedas and Vedāngas and who was an ornament of the Padangili Bhāravi family. The petitioner Dantivarman is introduced in the grant as *Svasti Samadhigata Pañcamahāśabda mahāsāmatādhipati Śrimad Dantivarman,* i.e. the obtainer of the band of five great musical instruments and *mahāsāmantādhipati*. He is also said to have had another name *Kandarppagidiga* (*Kandarppagidig āparanamadhiyenal*) while Cakiraja is introduced as the possessor of liberality, self respect, truth, purity, good conduct and character, the renowned Cakirāja (*tyāgābhimāna satya sañcāraśīla sampanna, mahāvikhyātā kīrttigaṇḍa sampūrṇṇa śrimat cikirājendra sahitena*). It is known from the Kadaba plates[15] that this Cakirāja was the ruler of the entire Ganga territory in 812 A.D., when at his request king Govinda III made a grant to a Jaina temple. It may be surmised that he was the Viceroy under Govinda ruling over the Ganga province in A.D. 810. Prior to that we know that Sthambha was ruling over the area even during the days of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrīvallabha i.e. his father Dhruva.[16] He seems to have continued in that position even after the accession of Govinda III. A copper plate grant from the Nelamangala taluk, Mysore dated in 802 A.D.,[17] mentions Raṇāvaloka Sanca Kambadeva as the elder brother of Pṛthvīvallabha Prabhūtaraṣa Govindarājadeva and registers a grant made by Sthambha with the permission of his brother, Govinda. Still later we find him in 807 A.D. encamped at Talakad and making a grant to a Jaina temple at the place at the request of his son, Śaṅkaragaṇṇa.[18] Then Cakirāja must have been made Governor over Gangavadi, replacing Sthambha either on his death or removal otherwise sometime between 807 A.D. and 810, exactly the period of the second expedition of Govinda against the Pallava and the Dravida kings.

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[11] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, pp. 125 ff.

[12] *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1915, No. 562.

[13] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

[14] *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 81. Also *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1924.

Judging from the titles attributed to both Dantivarman and Cakirāja in the plates, it will be seen that the former should have occupied a higher status and position and that he was also a member of a royal family. This can be no other than Dantivarman, the Pallava king. This may be surmised in a way from the details about the donee given in the grant. He was Dāmodara of the Padangili Bhāravi family, a student of the Ṛg Veda and of the Bhāradvaja gōtra, and a son of Śvamikuara and grandson of Dāmodara.

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[15] *Epigraphia Indica*, IV; pp. 332 ff; also *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XII, Gh. 61.

[16] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IV, Hg. 93.

[17] *Ibid.*, IX, Nl. 61.

[18] *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1920, p. 31.

Dāmōdara iti khyāto Dāmōdara samdyutiḥ dvijeśvādhipaḥ
Śrīmān Bhāravi vamsatō abhavat
Vedamūrttis dvijarḥ sevyāḥ saptimān Sivasambhavaḥ

From the names, Dāmōdara and Bhāravi, one may even conclude Bhāravi, the author of the *Kirātārjunīya.*[19] Probably it was this association that made the Pallava king Dantivarman make the grant to Dāmōdara. His being described as a *mahāsāmantādhipati* clearly indicates that he was a subordinate, a lord of *maṇḍala* under Govinda III.

The plates mention that the request for the gift was made by Dantivarman along with Cakirāja which implies that the latter was in a privileged position and perhaps acted as the intermediary between Dantivarman and Govinda. This might have become necessary as the gift village was situated in the Ganga territory over which Cakirāja was ruling and thus stood more or less in the position of *ājñapti* or executor. But it looks more likely that he stood in the position of a peace maker introducing an erstwhile adversary since turned subordinate to the permanent ruler. Anyway the record indicates that the annexation of the Pallava kingdom to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire was complete and that Dantivarman had in a way reconciled himself to that position.

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[19] R. Narasimhacharya took the name Dāmōdara and another name of Bharavi basing himself on the publication of M. Ramakrishna Kavi and thought that the fact that Bhāravi was of the *Kauśika* gotra and the donee of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* militates against this conclusion. But the printed texts of the prose work *Avantisundari Katha* in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and of the poetical summary *Avantisundari Kathā sāra* published in the *Journal of Oriental Research* clearly mention Dāmōdara as a friend of Bhāravi and it was Dāmodara who belonged to the *Kauśika* gotra. We do not know the gotra of Bhāravi. As such it does not militate. Most probably Bhāravi was of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra.*

But this state of affairs did not continue for a long time. Soon after the death of Govinda sometime early in 814 A.D. his son Amoghavarṣa who was a mere boy succeeded to the throne. This was the signal for all the recalcitrant elements to revolt and break away from the central administration. Many parts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire which had been previously subjugated forcibly threw off the yoke and declared their independence. It appears that Amoghavarṣa even lost his crown for a short time. The setting of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sun (Amoghavarṣa) and then his subsequent rise are well described in the Sanjan plates.[20] The Surat plates of Karka of the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who appears to have acted as the guardian and regent of the boy king dated in 821 A.D. describe the restoration of Amoghavarṣa to the throne. The rebellion should have occurred sometime between 816 A.D. and 821 and lasted probably for three or four years since the description given thereof by the Sañjan record makes it clear that it was a very serious and prolonged affair.[21] The Pallavas also should have obtained their release during that period; but this is nowhere mentioned.

All these are obtained from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa side. Let us see what evidence is available on the Pallava side. Inscriptions of Dantivarman have been recorded so far as follows:

2nd year—Vayalaikkavur near Uttiramerur.[22]
5th year—Tiruvellarai near Tiruchirapalli.[23]
5th year—Kunnāndar Koyil (Pudukkottai).[24]
6th year—Tondur near Gingee.[25]
7th year—Uttiramerur.[26]
9th year—Uttiramerur.[27]
10th year—Uttiramerur.[28]
12th year—Triplicane.[29]

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20. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 254-55; vv. 40 and 41.
21. A. S. Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p. 74.
22. 256 of 1922.
23. *Ep. In.*, Vol. XI, pp. 154-8.
24. 348 of 1914; *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 17.
25. 283 of 1916.
26. 80 of 1898; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 365.
27. 74 of 1898; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 359.
28. 51 of 1898; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 334.
29. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 290 ff.

12th year—Kuram.[30]
16th year—Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi (Pudukkottai)[31] (Muttaraiyar).
17th year—Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, Kāñcīpuram.[32]
21st year—Uttiramerur.[33]
49th year—Gudimallam.[34]
51st year—Tiruccanur.[35]

As G. Jouveau Dubreuil has pointed out "it is in fact very remarkable that there is no inscription dated between the 21st and the 49th years of the reign".[36] From the fact that the inscriptions of Dantivarman from the sixteenth year to the very end of his reign do not occur in any of the monuments in the Kaveri region while a dozen inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya king Māran Śaḍaiyan are found in the same region, he concludes that Dantivarman had lost a portion of his kingdom in the south owing to the incursions of the Pāṇḍyas.[37] According to him the Pāṇḍya was Varaguna Mahārāja. But he does not explain the absence of Pāṇḍya inscriptions in the entire Pallava kingdom for a period of about 27 or 28 years from the 21st to the 49th year of Dantivarman's reign. Even the two inscriptions of the 49th and 51st year recovered are on the borders of the kingdom. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman III, his son and successor, issued in the sixth year of his reign mention that the donor had to obtain his kingdom with the prowess of his arms killing many enemies in the battle field. In the picturesque words of the record, "This (Nandivarman) puffed up with the prowess of his arms acquired the prosperity of the (Pallava) kingdom not easy for others to obtain by killing (his) enemies on the battle field which was laughing (as it were) with the pearls dropping from the frontal globes of elephants slain by (his) unsheathed sword".[38] It will thus be clear that the Pallava kingdom was in alien hands at least for sometime immediately before the accession of Nandivarman III who had to wrest his ancestral kingdom from them by waging war and killing the enemies in the battlefield. Very likely, this took place in the closing years of the reign of Dantivarman who was very old then and that his son Nandivarman was the principal figure in the bid for recovery. This alien occupation of the Pallava kingdom in this period was perhaps the reason for the absence of the inscriptions of Dantivarman. This foreign occupation of the Pallava kingdom in this period was perhaps none other than that of Śrīkaṇṭha Cōḷa of the Pottapi line.

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[30] 35 of 1900; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 36.
[31] *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 18.
[32] 34 of 1888; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 132.
[33] 61 of 1898; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 344.
[34] 226 of 1903; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 225.
[35] 262 of 1904.
[36] *The Pallavas*, p. 76.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[38] *S.I.I.*, II, p. 511.

This occupation could not have been that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It has been seen earlier that during the latter part of the reign of Govinda III, he had won a victory over Dantivarman and annexed the Pallava kingdom to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. But the Pallava was allowed to rule as before. This is well borne out by the inscriptions of Danti in the Toṇḍai country during that period. But the absence of his records in the Tamil country during the 27 years between his 21st and 49th regnal years would suggest that he was away from his kingdom then. If the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had been in the occupation of the Pallava territory during this period, we should have found at least a few of their inscriptions in the region. The absence of Danti could not have been similar to that of the western Ganga ruler Śivamāra from his kingdom. The latter's absence was due to his imprisonment. If Dantivarman had also been imprisoned, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas would have mentioned the same; but no such mention is made by them. Under the circumstance, the occupation of the Pallava kingdom should have been by some body else. Very likely it was by Śrī Kaṇṭha Cōḷa of the Pottapi line. This is supported by a record from Tillaisthānam in the Tanjore District.[39] It registers the gift of one hundred sheep for burning perpetual lamp in front of the God Tiruneyttānamuḍaiya Mahādeva by Kadambamādēvi, wife of Vikki-Aṇṇan, on whom was bestowed the hereditary title Śembiyan *Tamiḷavēl* with other marks of dignity by the Cōḷa. This is described in the inscription as "*Toṇḍaināḍu pāviṉa* (*paravina*)? *Śōḷan Palyāṉaik-ko-kaṉdaṉ āyiṉa Rājakēsari varman.* This Cōḷa king Rājakēsari varman is usually identified with Āditya I. Here the Cōḷa is called Kaṇḍan or Kaṇṭha i.e. Śri Kaṇṭha. It is not known if Āditya I ever bore the name of Kaṇṭha or Śrī Kaṇṭha. At least there is no specific evidence to show that. As such the word Kaṇḍan of this record has been taken as the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *Gaṇḍa* meaning a warrior and the expression *palyāṉai-k-ko-kaṇḍāṉ* translated as "the warrior who conquered many kings possessing elephants". The language of the record clearly shows that the name of the king was Kaṇḍan *alias* Rājakēsarivarman having the attributes *Toṇḍaināḍu pāviṉa* (who spread or stabilised the *Toṇḍaināḍu*) and palyāṉaikkō (possessor of many elephants). These very attributes are given to Śrī Kaṇṭha (the illustrious Kaṇṭha) in the Dalavāypuram plates mentioned earlier. That a certain Śrī Kaṇṭha had ruled in the Kāvēri delta is clearly borne by some of the records of Rājakēsarivarman found at Tiruverumbūr in the Tiruchirapalli District wherein the place is referred to as Śrī Kaṇṭha caturvēdimangalam.[40] This shows that the village was named after Śrī Kaṇṭha who could have been only this monarch.

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[39] *Ibid.*

The daughter of Śrī Kaṇṭha of the Pottapi line who was married to the Paṇḍya king Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha was named Aggaḷanimmati. This name is very peculiar. It is Kannada in form. Such names ending with *nimmati* were in use in the Karnāṭakā region in those days, e.g. the daughter of Amōghavarṣa III and elder sister of Kṛṣṇa III who was married to the Western Cāḷukya ruler Bhūtuga II had the name Revakanimmati. It might be that Aggaḷanimmati, the daughter of Śrī Kaṇṭha, was named after her grandmother, paternal or maternal thus indicating that either the wife or mother of Śrī Kaṇṭha Cōḷa should have hailed from the Karnāṭakā country. It is known that the queen of Pallava Danti bore the same name. Verse eighteen of the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates states that she was the daughter of the Kaḍamba king, the crest jewel of the Kadamba family, whose name, however, is not given. In the Tillaisthānam record, the wife of Vikkiaṇṇan, who was the recipient of honours from the Cōḷa and Cēra kings is referred to as Kadambamādēvi. From this it may be surmised that she was a Kadamba queen and that Vikkiaṇṇan was a Kadamba.

It will be rather tempting to suggest that Aggalanimmati, the daughter of Śrī Kaṇṭa, got her name from the queen of Pallava

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[40] See Nos. 103, 114, 123, 127, 130 and 131 of 1914; also *S.I.I.*; Vol. IV; No. 549.

Danti and thus was her grand-daughter. It cannot be said that this is impossible; but the conditions of the times and the course of events would make us hesitate in accepting the suggestion. Therefore it would be better to leave the question open for the present. But one thing is clear. She had connections in the Karnāṭaka country and particularly with the Kadambas. Then it is likely that the Vikkiaṇṇan, the Kadamba chief on whom was bestowed the hereditary title *Śembiyan Tamiḻavēl* was related to Śrī Kaṇṭha apparently as brother-in-law. Probably he was placed by the Cōḷa to be in charge of the Cōḷa country as the title would indicate. From the above discussion it will be seen that Śrī Kaṇṭha had also the epithet Rājakēsari Varman and that his sway extended not only over the Toṇḍaināḍu but also over the Kāvēri delta, the traditional home of the Cōḷas. Then it is very likely that some of the inscriptions of Rājakēsari Varman in the archaic script found in the areas really belong to Śrī Kaṇṭha.

In the temple of Bhaktavatsala at Tirukkaḻukunṟam there is an inscription of Rājakēsarivarman dated in the 27th year of his reign. It states that on being petitioned by Puttan, son of Kunavan, the king renewed a gift of land to Tirukkaḻukkunṟam Śrī Mūlasthānattu perumānaḍigaḷ, originally made by Skandasiṣya and continued by Vātāvikoṇḍa Narasinga Pōttaraiyar.[41] This record is usually assigned to the Cōḷa king Āditya I, as he was the earliest of the Cōḷa kings, then known to have had the title Rājakēsari and nothing was then known of Śrī Kaṇṭha. Venkayya who edited this record pointed out that its script was older than that of the inscriptions of Kannaradeva, but later than that of the Kaśākkuḍi plates. The plate of the record given along with the article shows that the script closely resembles that of the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. It is possible that Rājakēsarivarman of this record is this Śrīkaṇṭha Cōḷa.

This record is taken as an illustration of a conqueror reissuing the grants of the former rulers. Such instances became necessary only where the grant lands had been expropriated previously. The conquest of Toṇḍai Nāḍu by Āditya from the Pallavas had been rather smooth. There would not have been any occasion for any expropriation by the State, especially of the lands given to a Śiva temple. As such, there would not have been any need for Āditya to reissue the grant. In the case of Śrī Kaṇṭha the situation was quite different. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas in whose empire the Pallava kingdom was included for a short period were ardent Jains. Amoghavarṣa was a zealous follower of that faith and his court was also filled with persons of the same faith. It is possible that during the short period of their control over the Pallava country some lands of the Hindu temples might have been taken away by them; and thus probably arose the necessity for the conquering Hindu king to reissue the same.

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[41] 167 of 1894; *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 279.

According to ancient Hindu tradition kings in ancient times embarked on extensive conquests more as a *dig-vijaya* in the course of which the rulers of the conquered countries were reinstated in their original position on the acceptance of the over-lordship of the conqueror and promise of tribute. In medieval times too this tradition generally continued; and even when the conqueror appointed his own viceroy over the conquered country, he exercised only general supervision, the actual administration being left in the hands of the local chiefs as before. In some cases, even if the local ruler was dislodged for some reason or other, some other member of the family, more submissive and dependable was made to take his place. The intervention of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Dhruva and Govinda III in the affairs of the Western Ganga kingdom, the imprisonment of Śivamāra II and his removal for the Ganga territory when Vijayāditya, brother of the deposed ruler, ruled over the kingdom may be cited as an example.

From the inscription in the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple mentioned above it is seen that a Pallava hitherto unknown, whose position in the family is not clear and whose name indicates close association with the Cōḷas probably of the Telugu country was ruling in the area during the period. It may be that he assumed the name to express his subordination to the Cōḷas. This may have been due to the subordinate bearing the name of his suzerian. It is not known whether he belonged to the line of Simhaviṣṇu which had been displaced nearly a century earlier or to the line of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, of whose sons we know only the name of Danti. We have also an inscription containing two Tamil verses in the *veṇba* metre at Taṇḍalam near Arkonam dated in the

10th year of a Pallava Satti. There are indications that the two verses may belong to this period.[42] From the Śrī pūṇḍi plates of the Eastern Cāḷukya Tāla II in the middle of the 10th century it is seen that some of the descendants of Pallavamalla (*Pallavamalla ānvaya*) had by that time sought service under the neighbouring kings, and that one of them Kuppanayya, the son of Mahāsmātāmātya Makariyarāja and grandson of Kalivarma, received a grant of a village.[43] It is possible that Abhimāna Siddhi was one such member.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, the course of events relating to the occupation of Toṇḍaināḍu by Śrī Kaṇṭha Cōḷa may be reconstructed as follows: On the accession of the boy king Amoghavarṣa to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne, several of his feudatories, taking advantage of his tender age rebelled against his authority and asserted their independence. In the south the Eastern Cāḷukyās of Vengi and the Western Gangas acted likewise. Nothing is known of the Pallavas. Probably Dantivarman was involved in the palace intrigues at Malkhed, trying to get an upper hand against Marka of the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and probably even assisted Amōghavarṣa in firmly establishing his authority. This was resented in the Pallava country. Śrī Kaṇṭha Cōḷa of the Pottappi line thought it best to intervene and establish the glory and independence of Toṇḍaināḍu. He assumed the government of the country, setting aside Dantivarman and appointing his own nominee Abhimāna Siddhi, probably a junior member of the Pallava family on the throne at Kāñcī. Danti who could not brook this came with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army to re-establish his authority. But the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army was defeated by Śrī Kaṇṭha with the help of his grandson, the Pāṇḍya king Vīra Nārāyaṇa. Pallava Danti did not take this meekly. He gathered his forces and with the help of his son Nandivarman III came against the Toṇḍaināḍu at the suitable time, probably after the death of Śrī Kaṇṭha and occupied it once more. This should have taken place during the closing years of the reign of Dantivarman.

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[42] *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 25.

[43] N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Cālukyas, of Vengi;* p. 189; *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 148.

Obituary

We record, with deep grief, the demise of Prof. D. B. Diskalkar at Bombay on 2nd November 1962.

He was doing his research work till the evening of 1st November when he suddenly complained of pain in the heart which he could not survive.

Born at Satara on 20th November, 1892, he took M.A. Degree of Banaras University, served as Curator of Watson Museum, Rajkot; Historical Museum, Satara; Victoria Museum, Mathura and the Museums at Indore and Gwalior and retired as Assistant Director of Archaeology, Madhya Bharat.

He possessed sound knowledge of Epigraphy and Palaeography and was proficient in Hindi, Gujarati and Marathi languages. He delivered the 'Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji' Lectures on Indian Epigraphy at Bombay University in 1953 and the 'Narasinha Chintaman Kelkar' Lectures on Ancient History and Culture of Maharashtra at Poona University in October, 1962. Besides a number of articles of historical interest, he has been responsible for the two original publications, Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, Parts 1 and 2 and Historical Papers of the Sindias of Gwalior, Vol. I.

He was connected with the *Journal of Indian History* as member of the Consulting Editorial Board and with *Epigraphia Indica, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, The Journals of Andhra Historical Society, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, U.P. Historical Society and Mythic Society: Indian Historical Quarterly and others.*

In his demise, we have lost a ripe scholar and ardent Researcher who has contributed much to Indology and Epigraphy.

May his soul rest in eternal peace!

Reviews

ESSENTIALS OF INDIAN STATECRAFT, Kautilya's Arthasastra for contemporary readers, by T. N. Ramaswamy, Professor of Economics, National Academy of Administration, Mussorie, India. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962. Pages xii and 152. Rs. 12.50.

Prof. Ramaswamy is a distinguished student of Economics and writer of books on the subject which are well known. He has now presented to the general reader a book that may be described as 'Kautilya made easy'. The book comprises 62 titles grouped in four books: (1) Discipline and environment (20); (2) Administration (21-40); (3) Interstate policy and Administration (41-57); and lastly (4) state in crisis (58-62). He has used the latest edition of Kautilya's text edited by Prof. Kangle and published by the Bombay University. He has chosen sections of general interest and excluded those on 'civil and criminal law, elements of sovereignty; war strategy, operations connected with defensive and offensive, magical and diplomatic warfare'. He does not offer a regular translation of the text though he adheres closely to it, and the reader who compares the rendering with the original sometimes gets the feeling that omissions blur the context and render it difficult to follow the thought of Kautilya. Again, some terms which were better left untranslated have been rendered in a manner that fails to correspond to the impact of the original; for instance 'the chant, the hymn and the sacrifice' (p. 47, ch. 2 first para) hardly convey the same impression as Sama, Rig and Yajus for which they stand in order.

There is an introduction of thirty-six pages well documented by references to the original calculated to explain the political thought of Kautilya to the contemporary reader, and here we come across several forced attempts to assimilate Kautilya to modern thought under the influence, particularly of Nicholson's book on *Diplomacy* in the H.U.L. The text of Kautilya is largely reporduced in the 'notes' to the Introduction in a highly unsatisfactory manner; not only are diacritical marks omitted as stated in a footnote on p. 37 but the transliteration is often faulty and does little credit to whoever was responsible for it. But these observations are not meant by any means to underestimate the distinct service that Prof. Ramaswami has rendered to all non-Sanskritic students of politics and economics by his valuable analysis of the essentials of Kautilya's thought system.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

SAMUDRA GUPTA, LIFE AND TIMES by B. G. Gokhale, Professor of History, Wake college, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, U.S.A., Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962. Pages x and 120. Rs. 12.00.

'Primary material on Samudra Gupta is indeed very scanty and would not exceed more than some fifty lines of Sanskrit composition in inscriptions and on coins' says Mr. Gokhale in his preface to the booklet before us. It is a readable account of the life, work and personality of the great Gupta emperor and the background against which they must be viewed. Though the author says 'that anything that is not directly connected with him has been, by and large, studiously avoided', we are glad that he has not in fact adhered closely to this rule.

The book comprises five chapters, a short epliogue and an equally short Appendix on Rāma Gupta. The first chapter 'The Inter-imperium' is a twenty-page survey of the interval between the fall of the Maurya Empire and the rise of the Guptas. The second gives the history of the Guptas to the accession of Samudra. On the Kācha problem, the author follows his *guru*, Father Heras, and treats him as an elder brother of Samudra who contested the succession and failed, but the argument is neither convincing nor conclusive. The implication (p. 39) that the change from Chakra standard to the Garuḍa standard of coins may have involved conversion of the king to Vaishṇavism is obviously misconceived; they are both Vaishṇava symbols. Chapters III-V are the core dealing, in order, with the conquests, social and economic conditions, and the religious set up of Samudra's time. It is highly doubtful if 'the order in which the events are recorded (in the Allahabad pillar inscription) indicates that there were three distinct campaigns' (p. 45); only the wars and their results are grouped in three categories. Likewise there is no warant for the view that the Southern campaign 'was in the nature of an *Aswamedha* campaign' (p. 48). Few will agree with the author's view regarding the 'deification of the institution of kingship' (p. 61) which is not supported by the evidence cited. While we may agree that all is not clear about Rāma Gupta and that we must suspend judgement till new evidence comes, there is no reason to doubt that the characters of the *Devīchandraguptam* belonged to the Gupta dynasty. There is a good bibliography, and an Index. There are also misprints and some errors of language. But the book is well produced.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

PROBLEMS AND POLICIES OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA (1885-1898) by Hira Lal Singh. Published by the Asia Publishing House. Price Rs. 25/-.

This book, dealing with some of the problems and policies of the British at the height of their power in India, is largely based on the author's thesis approved for the Doctorate in Philosophy by the University of London. It is the product of systematic research on the voluminous correspondence and the official and non-official papers of the persons concerned. In particular, the author has consulted the original sources of information like the Ripon papers and the Kimberly Papers as well as the Wood, Lawrence, Lytton, Landsdowne and Northcote Papers.

The period chosen by the author for his study covers only 14 years, 1884 to 1898, during which, Dufferin, Landsdowne and Elgin were the successive Governors-General. It is not known why he has restricted the range of his study to these 14 years, especially since, he himself admits that 'the span of the period actually covered by the study is much longer than that indicated on the title page'. In fact he could have chosen with advantage the second half of the 19th century, and more particularly the period from 1858 to 1898, because that constitutes a connected unit in the history of the relations of the British with India.

No doubt, Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty (1880-84) is remarkable for attempting to open a new chapter in respect of the British attitude to India. Lord Ripon stressed that the British should not content themselves with providing the people of India with "the good administration of a benevolent despotism", but should also endeavour to raise them politically and socially. Some of Ripon's measures such as the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act and the Ilbert Bill sought to remove certain grievances, while his Local Self-Government reform and his policy of admitting Indians to a larger share in the administration were intended to give them political training. But it is important to remember that the officials of the Civil Service viewed the question quite differently. Little wonder that the pious and noble intentions were hardly fulfilled in actual practice.

In fact, during the latter half of the 19th century the British policy was largely dominated by the permanent Civil Service. Ripon's successors, Dufferin, Landsdowne and Elgin were strikingly under the influence of the I.C.S. men. These Viceroys were keen on the perpetual continuance of the British power in India, while in the pre-Mutiny period, men like Munro, Elphinstone and Henry Lawrence had envisaged the withdrawal of British power, though no doubt at a distant date.

In the post-Mutiny era the emphasis was generally on peace and order. For achieving this object naturally much importance came to be attached to the strengthening of the army and the civil service. The European element in the army was two-fifths in the latter part of the century. Even more pronounced was this tendency in respect of the civil service, for, even by 1909, the Indianisation of the Civil Service resulted in only 65 Indians entering it, while its total strength was 1,244.

There was no doubt some measure of improvement in the means of transport and communication, as well as in commercial development. It was to a certain extent an age of paternalism and of 'benevolent despotism'. But the most important sphere in which progress was attained was in the direction of education. This, together with the growth of the Press and rise of the middle class, brought about a change in the outlook of the educated people.

The author has, however, discounted the impact of the West on Indian social and religious development of the latter half of the 19th century. He states that the national movement was not connected with the religious and social movements of the 14th century (p. 214). On the other hand, others rightly think that these created an atmosphere of national consciousness from which the Congress derived much inspiration.

On the whole, the book is a valuable addition to treatises on British relations with India at the height of their power. The Bibliography and Index are good. The book is well produced.

K. K. PILLAY.

A NEW OUTLINE OF WORLD HISTORY, by John Bowle. Published by George Allen and Unwin Limited.

There is an imperative need of writing and re-writing the history of the world from time to time in order to keep abreast of the newly discovered sources of information as well as the new interpretations of the known data. The world is becoming a more and more compact unit, and 'today we are provincials unless we grasp the rudiments of the history of mankind: it is no mere hobby to master the essentials of world history'.

John Bowle, the distinguished author of the book under review, has projected his outline of world history in two volumes. The first volume traces the development of the world down to the eve of the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century. There are two well-known patterns of undertaking the difficult task of writing a world history. Either there can be a coordination of the work of specialists, each contributing chapters pertaining to particular countries or epochs, or better still, a single writer can master the fundamentals of the histories of all countries and present a coordinated whole. Both of these methods have their own merits and defects.

The method adopted by John Bowle is the familiar pattern of studying the history of the various countries and presenting a consolidated account. The consequence is that, while there is unity in the treatment of the entire subject, there occur some inaccuracies as well as inadequate appreciation of details. In respect of India, for example, certain statements occur which are open to question. "In the Indus Valley, by the 6th millenium, villagers were making mud bricks, houses and painted pottery" p. 29. The chronology provided here is startling indeed! "At Mohenjo Daro a large cloistered temple is built round a well-made tank" p. 38. The evidence for this statement is not clear. Nor is it possible to concur with his dogmatic assertion that 'the Buddha died three years before the

Greeks routed the Persian fleet at Salamis' (p. 70). "Vijayanagar, which was to reach its climax under Krishna Deva Raya in the early 15th century" (p. 218), is clearly a chronological mistake.

The book contains several typographical errors, besides those indicated in the Errata. For example, see p. 45 line 8, p. 72, line 7 p. 76 line 12; p. 88 line 20 and p. 103 line 38.

The style adopted by the writer is, on the whole, lively and vigorous. The contribution of the Hellenes to civilisation is admirably summed up in pp. 90-91.

A remarkable feature of the book is that the author is fair and balanced in his conclusions. He provides an impartial view of the different religions and civilisations. The indebtedness of Arabs to Hindus and that of Europeans to Arabs is judiciously acknowledged. The illustrations provided are excellent. A Bibliography is a desideratum.

K. K. PILLAY.

VISHVESHVARANAND INDOLOGICAL JOURNAL VOLUME I, No. I, March 1963. (Research Organ of the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur Pb. India).

For nearly sixty years the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, has been doing good work in the field of Sanskrit and Indology. Now the Institute has launched upon the publication of a half-yearly research journal. The first issue of the journal now before us is of a high standard.

There are contributions from outstanding scholars like P. V. Kane and Louis Renou. Though articles bearing on early Sanskrit literature preponderate, there are some relating to political, social and religious history. While 'Sino-Indian relations' by S. L. Malhotra treats of the connection between the two countries from the earliest times down to the 15th century, the "Muslim conquest of Northern India" by Buddha Prakash provides a new appraisal of the political history of North India in the 12th and 13th centuries. He shows clearly how the fall of Hindu India was 'one of suicide rather than of murder'.

The "role of gambling in ancient Indian Society", "Sociological importance of Prāyaścitta", "Brahma Kṣatriya" and "Devi cult nucleus at Jagat, Rajasthan" are contributions which deal with socio-religious questions of history. Generally the articles are characterised by deep learning, critical perspective and sobriety of judgment. Differences of opinions in the matter of interpretations and conclusions are bound to appear; but broadly speaking, the authors have refrained from dogmatic assertions.

The Journal contains reviews of several prominent publications, and there is also a new critical edition of Śankarṣa Kāṇḍa Sūtras of Jaimini, provided by K. V. Sarma. It is hoped that the high level of the first number would be maintained in the succeeding issues.

K. K. Pillay.

THE ALIGNMENT OF POLITICAL GROUPS IN CANADA 1841-1867 by Paul G. Cornell. (1962. University of Toronto Press, Pp. xii, 119).

This is the third of a series of small but thorough studies in Canadian History and Government sponsored by the Social Science Research Council of Canada and financed by the Canada Council. The book is beautifully produced having been printed in the Netherlands to which country most publishers now seem to turn for their printing. As a model of painstaking research on a specific problem this book is truly outstanding. The divisions in the Legislative Assembly of the province of Canada between 1841 and 1867 have been completely analysed. The author has omitted the upper house for "on no occasion did (its) actions impinge decisively upon the course of political conflict". He has also put aside 'party' and 'group' notions in the Legislative Assembly and treated the members as 'autonomous' individuals voting 'yes' or 'no' in the numerous divisions documented here. The first chapter beginning with the first election of United Canada in 1841 takes the story to 1847. How the French and English politicians of the two provinces operated the Canadian Assembly is viewed from the statistics of general elections and of divisions in the assembly. The second chapter covers the period 1848 to 1854 and exhibits the interplay of leaders and parties in the assembly and the parliamentary fights between government and the opposition. The next three years are called "the watershed" and the interest is in the enlarged assembly (130 instead of the previous 80) where the party structure begins to take shape. The administration thereafter becomes more and more sensitive to party pressure and "public opinion". The important issues on which administrations lost support and were replaced are described in detail. A very interesting chapter is the one entitled "Deadlock" which deals with the nearly equal strength of the Liberals and the Liberal-Conservatives which resulted in a coalition designed to change the Canadian Constitution from a legislative union to some kind of federation. The coalition broke the deadlock which had come about on account of the growing rigidity of party. Later when the new constitution began to operate the party system evolved on new lines. Within the crucial period chosen for study Professor Cornell has demonstrated the special characteristics of French and English Canadian politics in their formative stages. There are 19 tables, 3 maps showing distribution of political power constituency-wise during three periods, and 6 compilations showing composition of cabinets and legislatures. There has been systematic tracking of party affiliation of all members and their voting records when they were members. Though the mass of data so carefully campiled is of interest only to that small band of scholars who are concerned with early Canadian history, the method of study and presentation adopted in the work will be of immense help to students of legislatures anywhere and especially in India where serious histories of our state legislatures are yet to be attempted. Professor Cornell shows here what can be done with the files of Proceedings of an Assembly as almost the sole material for constructing its history. Such a history built out of how people got elected and how they voted in parliament rather than out of their speeches and the manifestoes of their parties can be really enlightening as his concluding chapter amply demonstrates. Having concentrated "upon the identification of the personnel who composed political groups in the period 1841-67" and the alignment of these groups, he has been able to prove the nature and persistence of party, the scope and force of conventions, the evolution of attitudes to constitutional change and growth of cabinet government, the absence of deep irreconcilable division between the political parties, the aptitude for compromise, the perennial strength of the French-Canadian element, regional differences in political philosophy and the steady growth of cohesion and discipline within parties and political groups. Evidently studies of the legislative conduct of hundreds of obscure legislators are more rewarding than one would ordinarily suspect. Scholars in our country will profit by perusing this book which illuminates the political history of a young country not by celebrating its great leaders but by simply recording the votes of the humble representatives of the people. There is an excellent index and the entire scholarly apparatus is beyond cavil.

R. BHASKARAN.

THE DEOBAND SCHOOL AND THE DEMAND FOR PAKISTAN

by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi. Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 148 × xxii. Price Rs. 14/. 1963.

This small book, originally submitted as an M.A. thesis at the McGill University, Montreal, describes the history and activities of a school of traditional Muslim theology established in 1867 at Deoband, a small town in the Saharanpur district of modern Uttar Pradesh. It is divided into four chapters and has, besides, the conclusion, a bibliography, a glossary of oriental terms and personalities and an index. It discusses the anti-British outlook of the institution and explains why, though a school of orthodox Islamic studies, it did not support the All India Muslim League's propaganda and movement for a separate homeland for the Muslims of India, which ultimately led to the partition of the country and the establishment of Pakistan in 1947.

The first chapter entitled 'Muslim India (1800-1857)' and the Role of the Ulama' is intended to serve as a background of the main theme. The first part of this chapter's title suffers from inexactitude, for even at the time of the partition of the country in 1947 the number of Muslims did not exceed one-fourth of the total Indian population. Consequently there never was a Muslim India. But the author's meaning is more or less clear. The last flicker of Muslim dominance in this country was extinguished in 1803, when Delhi was occupied by the English East India Company's forces and the nominal emperor, Shah Alam II, was taken under British protection. In fact the Muslim supremacy was seriously challenged in the spring of 1737, when Peshwa Baji Rao I (1720-1740) made a swoop on Delhi, and it came to an end when Mahadaji Sindhia took Shah Alam II under his protection in 1784. But the Maratha diplomacy concealed Mahadaji's naked power by his willing acceptance of the position of a servant to the Mughal crown—the title of *Wakil-i-Multaq*. But the British showed no such servility, and it was therefore in 1803 that Muslims felt that the Muslim rule and Islamic supremacy had come to an end. Consequently a Muslim theologian, Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1824) issued a *fatwa* (ruling), declaring India to be a land of war or infidelity (*Dar-ul-Harb*) and enjoining upon Muslims to fight and drive away the hated foreigners. He sent one of his disciples, Sayyid Ahmad of Bareilly to Rajputana to enlist the support of Amir Ali Khan, a Pindari freebooter, in organising a holy war against the British. But the move failed, as Amir Ali Khan made his peace with the British in 1817 and became Nawab of Tonk. Sayyid Ahmad was a fanatic, and W. W. Hunter is not far wrong in calling him a bandit. His object, namely, the reestablishment of Muslim rule in India failed disastrously; but being equally inimical to the Hindus and the Sikhs, he declared a holy war against the latter in 1824 and was killed in the battle of Bālākot in 1831. Our author calls him a "great *mujahid*" (fighter against non-Muslims), which might be true according to the Muslim standards. His followers continued raiding the Sikh territory and carrying fire and sword to the Hindu and Sikh villages of the Punjab, but were eventually put down by the British when the latter became masters of that province. However, the discontentment of the Muslims, who had suffered greatly from the effect of the impact of a dynamic civilization during the first half of the 19th century, found expression in the mutiny of 1857-1858. In this connection the author makes some interesting observations. The Hindus who had taken eagerly to English education had forged ahead in government service and economic and social development, but the Muslims had remained relatively much behind. "To a great extent," writes Mr. Faruqi, "the future political and economic developments that were to take place in Indian sub-continent, were due to this uneven and unbalanced development of its two major communities, and certainly, herein lies the complex socio-economic ground where the seeds of communalism were sprinkled—which subsequently inflicted (?) bleeding wounds on the unity of India and finally divided it into two parts". (p. 16). One should have expected a word from the author as to how the Hindus were responsible for this uneven development. Should they have refused to take to English education and social and economic reform and waited indefinitely until the Muslim community was reconciled to the study of a foreign language and Western Sciences? It is equally surprising that the learned author has forgotten the abject condition of the Hindus during the Muslim rule from 1206-1803. The author does not stop here. He warns "his readers not to overlook or simplify this very important strand in the constantly strained relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans and in the events that ultimately *forced the Musalmans of India to demand a separate home-land for themselves.*" (p. 16, F.N.). Next the author shows how Muslim theologians were at the back of every mutiny that occurred in the Indian troops of the British armies from 1806 to 1857, and how their *fatwas* influenced the Muslim masses to fight a holy war against the British. How different this conclusion is from Sir Sayyid Ahmad's account of the causes of the rebellion of 1857 will be noted by all serious students of Indian history.

The second chapter gives an account of the foundation of the school at Deoband and its history. Originally it was started as a small *maktab* in the principal mosque of the place (1857). It was raised to the status of a *Darul-Ulm* in 1867 by one Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nānawtawi, who had participated in the rebellion of 1857. This school was established, says our author, to produce men "in order to secure political independence and freedom for religion and culture," of course, for Musalmans, and therefore, the only subjects taught were those relating to orthodox Hanafi School of Muslim theology with great stress on Arabic language and literature. No subject of Indian importance was included in the curriculum. India's geography and history, Indian philosophy and literature, Indian thought and culture, even Hindi, the language of the people of the province in which the school was situated had no place in it. The medium of instruction was a highly Persianised and Arabicised Urdu. This was but natural, because the school did not aim at any rapprochement with the Hindus and help evolve a composite Indian culture. It is strange that our learned author has not a word to say about the antiquated curriculum in a modern age.

When the Indian National Congress was established in 1885 Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the founder of the M.A.O. College at Aligarh, took up a vigorous stand against its aims and objects, and in 1888 set up an organisation entitled 'The United India Patriotic Association' to counteract its activities. But Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, the principal of Deoband School, issued a *fatwa* "declaring that in worldly matters co-operation with the Hindus was permissible provided it did not violate any basic principle of Islam." (P. 43). This was the beginning of the school's interest in political matters. On Maulana Gangohi's death in 1905 Maulana Hasan Deobandi, who later became known as Shaikh-ul-Hind, became the principal of the school. He held progressive political views and was opposed to the role that Aligarh was playing—opposition to the Congress and loyalty to the British in India. He launched a programme to drive the British out of India and in this he sought the assistance of Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey and incited the remnant of the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi, who had taken shelter in the North-Western Province after the failure of their rebellion. In 1915 he left India for Mecca in order to avoid being arrested by the Government of India, but his policy of enlisting the support of foreign Muslim countries came to naught. During his absence the leaders of the Deoband Movement had established an organisation of Muslim theologians, called the Jamiayat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind which co-operated with the non-co-operation-cum-Khilafat Movement started under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The Jamiat-ul-Ulama issued a *fatwa* signed by 925 eminent Muslim divines accepting the programme of the non-violent non-co-operation movement. In 1920 Shaikh-ul-Hind who had been arrested was brought to Bombay by the British government and was released on the condition that he would not take part in politics. But he ignored the official pressure, and joined Gandhiji's movement. He laid the foundation of another Muslim organisation, called Jāmiah Milliyah Islāmiyah at Aligarh, and died in December 1920.

Chapter III deals with the birth, history and activities of Jamait-ul-Ulama-i-Hind. Among the aims and objects of this organisation one was to guide Muslims in their political and non-political matters from a religious point of view. Its main aim was to defend Islam, centres of Islam, Islamic rituals and customs and Islamic nationalism. It also decided to establish friendly relations with the non-Muslims in the country to the extent permitted by the Muslim *Shariat*. Another basic object was to propagate Islam by peaceful missionary activities in India and in foreign lands, and to maintain and strengthen the bonds of unity and fraternal relations with Muslims of other countries. The Jamaiat took an active part in the freedom movement. The author also gives an account of what he calls Hindu fanaticism and of the Suddhi and Sangathan Movement. He is critical of Gandhiji's leadership, and says that "the Indian National Congress under Gandhiji's leadership never became an exclusively secular-nationalist organisation in the real sense of the term." He thinks that it was wrong for Gandhiji to have "made the Congress a hotch-potch organisation of all sorts of interests—capitalists, socialists, reactionaries, progressives, communalists and so on and so forth. Patel and Nehru both were acceptable to him. Azad and Tandon both could be accomodated in the Congress. This amalgam of variety of trends was bound to create problems as it did, not only before 1946, but even after." (Pp. 74-75).

We get a good account of the differences between the Jamaiat and the English-educated Muhammadans of the Aligarh School of thought. The English-educated Muslims were, according to the Jamaiat, hardly different from the Hindus of the same class. Their culture was hardly Islamic. Moreover, they were friendly to the British. For these reasons, the Jamaiat did not accept the leadership of the Aligarh School. The English educated Muslims too were distrustful of the Ulama and considered them unfit for giving a correct lead in politics. When the Muslim league took up the leadership of the Musalmans, Jinnah boasted that he had freed the Musalmans "from the undesirable element of Maulvies and Maulānās." The rift between these two sections of the Muslim leadership continued till 1940 when the League passed the Pakistan resolution at Lahore.

The author discusses the reasons why the Muslims lost faith in the Congress and why they came completely under the influence of All India Muslim League. He says that the Congress was dominated by Hindu communal elements, who influenced the organisation and prevented it from adopting a just attitude towards the Muslims.

The separatist feelings of the Muslims were inspired by and provided with an emotional vigour and intellectual content by Muhammad Iqbal (1876-1938). He had once been a nationalist, but on his return from England in 1908, he became an advocate of

Muslim revivalism and pan-Islamism. The author gives a very good estimate of Iqbal, and analyses the causes of his turning into an orthodox Musalman. At the annual session of All India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930, Iqbal placed a political ideal before the Musalmans. This ideal was not to separate Muslim polity from Muslim ethics, but to look upon Islam as a destiny. In suggesting the carving of an independent homeland for Musalmans, he said: "yet that which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical tradition. These are the things which, in my eyes, are worth living for and dying for."

The author does not ignore Mr. Nehru's responsibility for the final rift between the Hindus and the Musalmans. After the general elections of 1937, Jawahar Lal Nehru "quite undiplomatically ignored the demand of the Muslim League to have the Muslim ministers from among its own elected members. It gave the League sufficient ground for resentment. A further insult was added to injury when Jawahar Lal Nehru made an unrealistic claim declaring that 'there were only two parties in the country—the British and the Congress.' This approach of the Congress towards the communal problem, even as late as 1937, was interpreted by the League High Command as a challenge to the Muslim community." (P. 89). One might add that Mr. Nehru's declaration of the policy of Muslim-mass-contact, as if the Muslim masses were more secular-minded and more eager to listen to the Congress than to their own leaders, constituted in the eyes of the League another offence.

The last chapter discusses the League demand for Pakistan which he says was really the demand of the Muslim middle class who were afraid of a free competition with the Hindus in an independent India. The demand, therefore, was the product of a mixed feeling of fear and pride—"fear of all sorts and the pride of being once the unquestioned rulers of the great sub-continent." Historically speaking, the latter part of this statement is untrue; but whether true or untrue, it was seriously believed by the Musalmans of India that their ancestors had ruled this country for several hundred years. The Muslim masses joined in demanding Pakistan, because they were promised religious and cultural freedom by the League leaders and because they were told that in India Islam was in danger. The Deoband School did not believe in the two-nation theory which the League preached, and opposed the League's demand for the partition of the country. It became the centre of opposition to Aligarh which was the spearhead of the movement for Pakistan. The Deoband leadership was suspicious of Aligarh's loyalty to Britain; but another reason why it was opposed to the partition of the country was that it felt that the creation of Pakistan would restrict the field of Muslim religious activities and proselytisation. It said that there were only twentyfive million Muslims in the country at the termination of Muslim rule in 1857, but during less than a century their number had risen to one hundred milions. This was due to the missionary activities of the Muslims. These arguments cut no ice, and Aligarh won and Deoband failed.

In the conclusion the author discusses the shortcomings of the Aligarh and Deoband Movements and why none of the two represented a harmonious synthesis of Muslim aspirations and ideals. "Pakistan was, however, achieved and in its achievement one can read the triumph of Aligarh." With regard to the fate of Deoband he writes: "Is it not an irony of history that those who till yesterday were struggling for the establishment of an Islamic state (at least the general masses understood it so), have been left behind to reconcile themselves to a secular idea of government." (P. 125). If Pakistan succeeds in evolving "a balanced modern Islam worthy of a glorious past and capable of meeting the challenges of the 20th century" then the stand of the Muslim League will have been justified. He ends with a rejoinder to Dr. I. H. Quereshi's gloomy prophecy that 'in 100 years, perhaps in a shorter time, the Muslim people may cease to exist' (in India), by saying that there will be Islam and Muslims in India, and "let us hope, it will be an Indian Islam and they will be Indian Musalmans."

The book is well-written in a vigorous style, and is eminently readable. The printing and get-up are what one would expect of a reputed publishing concern like the Asia Publishing House. Mr. Faruqi deserves congratulations for publishing this book, which should be read by all those who want to understand correctly the attitude and feelings, hopes and fears, of the Musalmans of India.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

THE RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE MUGHAL EMPEROR, 2nd. ed. by Sri Ram Sharma. Published by the Asia Publishing House, Bombay, Pp. 206, XII, 1962. Price Rs. 14/-.

Professor Sri Ram Sharma needs no introduction to the scholarly circles in this country. He has had a number of research publications to his credit, the most important among which, besides the present work, are Maharana Pratap, Mughal Government and Administration, Studies in Medieval Indian History and A Bibliography of Mughal India. Although during the last fifteen years or more Political Science has been his first love, yet his interest in historical research has not diminished altogether. We welcome the second edition of his Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors. The first edition of this work was published in 1940, and the fact that a new and revised edition has been called for, shows the value and popularity of the book.

In this new edition he has revised and rearranged the text, and brought the bibliography upto-date. He has also added a list of Sanskrit writers of the Mughal period, and reproduced a *farman* of Aurangzeb on *Jizya*. He has made use of Marathi material for the first time, and incorporated in the book a contemporary account in that language of the *Jizya* as it was levied in a village in Maharashtra. The book was originally divided into six chapters. These have now been increased to twelve, though there is hardly any fresh addition to the matter. In the original edition the first chapter entitled, Babur and Humayun, contained also an account of the government of the Sultanate Period (1206-1526). The author has now bifurcated it, and the first chapter is now entitled Indian Government during the Sultanate. Aurangzeb's reign is now divided into three chapters, instead of one of the original edition. Chapter VII called Aurangzeb (II) gives a list of Mansabdars, and Chapter VIII on Aurangzeb (III) consists of an appendix on the Sikhs and the Mughal Emperors. Chapter IX deals with the imposition and collection of Jizya under Aurangzeb, in the form of two appendices. Chapter X is an appendix on Hindu converts to Islam during the reign of Aurangzeb. Chapter XI discusses the causes of Aurangzeb's failure. The last chapter is an essay on the nature of the State in Mughal India. This edition gives a fuller, though not descriptive, bibliography and a classified index.

The work is based on a careful and critical examination of all available contemporary material in various languages, particularly Persian, and does credit to Prof. Sharma's scholarship. One might not agree with all the views expressed by the learned author, yet one has to admit that this book will remain a standard authority on the subject for many years to come.

The last chapter smacks of affectation and has a tinge of sarcasm about it. The style is rather argumentative and too many comparisons and contrasts with conditions in Britain and Europe minimise the readability of the book. The bibliography is not arranged on any methodical system, chronological or alphabetical. Very often no information regarding the publishers and the date of publication of modern works is given. Nor we are told any thing about the volumes into which some of the modern works have appeared or which of the volumes have been used by the author. As regards Arabic and Persian, and Sanskrit and Hindi works, it might be said that Prof. Sharma had already described them in his 'A Bibliography of Mughal India', and that it was not, therefore, necessary to provide any information about their availability. But this is an independent work, and a minimum information about contemporary works was essential.

Although the first edition was published by a European firm and printed at the Oxford University Press, yet the paper, printing and get-up of the second edition are not in any way inferior to the first. Both the author and the publishers deserve congratulations on the publication of the second edition of this important work on Mughal history.

A. L. Srivastava

IRAN AND INDIA THROUGH THE AGES by Firoze Cowasji Davar; Asia Publishing House, Bombay, Price Rs. 15/.

Cultural contacts constitute indeed a fascinating chapter in the story of the growth of civilisation. Indian and Iranian cultures have met at several points down the ages. Prof. F. C. Davar's neatly printed book is a fine study of the origins and development of the cultural contacts between Iran and India.

In language, religion and customs, similarities can be observed between the Zarathushtrians and the Hindus. The author takes us to the dim past when the original Indo-Iranian Stock lived together on the eastern side of Iran until the great schism split them into two groups who worked out their destinies in the different atmospheres of India and Iran respectively. Not only was the sense of fraternity lost but, for a time, satisfacton was derived by one in denouncing the deities of the opposite religion!

Further points of contact are traced through the realm of the great epics, classical Sanskrit literature as well as the facts of History like the Persian invasion of India, the rule of the Satraps and the great influence of Iran on Mauryan Court and Culture. The Mag Brahmins, worshipping the Sun, continued the chain in the first century B.C. or A.D. and in the Parthian period, foreign tribes associated with Persia, settled down in India to be fused ultimately with the population and social system.

The Arab conquest of Iran led to the migration of Iranian Pilgrim Fathers to India. It is inferred that they set sail by sea route and settled in Western India. They continued as an indepedent Zarathushtrian community without being absorbed in the Hindu fold on account of their deep faith, aversion to inter-communal marriages and refusal to convert, as a measure of self-defence, the non—Parsis to their own faith. They were thus destined to continue as a "hopeless minority with a glorious past".

India's cultural treasures, opened up by the Arabs, whetted Iranian intellectual curiosity. Persian exercised much influence on Urdu which, in course of time replaced it as the official and court language. The advent of the Mughals marked the golden age of the Iranian Renaissance in India which expressed itself through Architecture, Painting, Calligraphy, Music, Poetry and Gardening. Sufi mysticism which is considered the supreme manifestation of the Iranian mind in the spiritual sphere got a favourable atmosphere for growth in India.

Several works have been consulted in the preparation of this book which affords very pleasant reading. Prof. Davar has travelled extensively in Iran and familiarised himself with her culture. On a huge canvas he has, on the whole, done a beautiful painting without however spoiling its charm by too many lines or excessive colour scheme. In a world separated by political barriers, such books are bridges of understanding. This publication is particularly welcome as Indians have closely moved with Iranians throughout the ages more than with any other people and as this is the first time perhaps that the interplay of their cultures has been comprehensively brought out.

P. K. K. MENON.

HISTORY OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA, Vol. I., R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Published by Firma K. L. Makhopadhyay, 6/1A, Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta, 12, 1962. Price Rs. 15/-.

It is extremely difficult for a historian of the present generation to give an objective account of the Freedom struggle. He has lived in and through the great age and might have been caught in the vortex of passions and prejudices, failures and achievements, callousness and sacrifices.

In this book, Dr. R. C. Majumdar has attempted to indicate "the process by which India threw off the yoke of the British" and to trace the first two phases of the struggle characterised by impotent rage against the British authority and the growth of the national sentiment. The Second Volume, to be published, would deal with the transformation of Indian political ideas by the impact of nationalism and the third, with the age of Gandhi that saw a new technique of struggle.

The book opens with an account of the general conditions in India following Aurangazeb's death and the factors leading to the British ascendancy in the Carnatic and Bengal where it was effected by an internal revolution in politics. At that time ".....there was no India in the political sense. It was a mere geographical expression..... Nor had India any jealousy of the foreigners, because she had no sense whatever of national unity; because there was no India and, therefore, properly speaking, no foreigner". The Hindus in Bengal whose vitality had been sapped by a few centuries of Muslim rule became indifferent to the new foreign conquest and developed a happy impression about the liberal character of British judicial system; yet there was hostile reaction to the British rule from Shah Alam, the Marathas and the Zamindars who then dominated public life.

The early movements against the English were due to several factors. Economically there was enhancement of taxation or an oppressive agrarian policy. The administration was characterised by official inaccessibility, a strange character of law and judicial system and an impersonal bias. There was religious frenzy that expressed itself through the Sanyasi rebellion of Bengal and the Faraidi movement, that was the precursor of the later Wahabi movement. Primitive tribes expressed their hostile feeling through the Kol rising of 1831-32, the Khond Revolt of 1846, the Santal rebellion of 1855-56 and others. Socially the British attitude to the native was far from satisfactory.

Thus the sporadic outbreaks were of a mixed character "originating in agrarian discontent or other economic causes.... fed by religious frenzy or unbridled passion of primitive tribes, ultimately taking a political turn and ending in a furious revolt against the British".

Bahadur Shah had no faith in the cause he was reluctantly forced to serve and his loyalty to the British was unimpaired. The Sepoys were indisciplined with no officer to guide them. The success of the mutineers at various places led the people of Rohil khand and Oudh to think that British Raj had ceased to exist and there were local revolts over an extensive area.

The lack of organisation and cohesion shows that the Mutiny of 1857 was not the result of any concerted plan; however there was some understanding, if not a regular conspiracy, among the Sepoys. Primarily the outbreak was "a mutiny of the troops and whatever plan or conspiracy might have been at the bottom of it, it was at first practically confined to the troops". Savarkar however calls it the Indian war of Independence. Even in the narrow zones where civil population revolted those who got the benefit of English education did not join the movement. Though the Sepoys and the common people of both the communities fought together against the English, we do not notice much of a "real communal amity which ought to characterise a national effort". At least a section of the Muslims believed that they were the senior partners in the undertaking. Apart from communal feeling there was also racial animosity produced by historical causes and shared by the Sikhs, Marathas and Rajputs who did not want any restoration of the Muslim rule. If the spirit behind a struggle counts, it was a struggle against the English not simply because they were foreigners; but it was also motivated by factors other than secular nationalism. None at the time worried about the value of recovering lost independence but the petty states were engaged in mutual fighting and the people, in subversive activities. Altogether, the revolt of 1857 was "neither First, nor National, nor a war of Independence". Yet it was then regarded as a challenge to British rule and its memory "sustained the later movement, furnished a historical basis for the grim struggle and gave it a moral stimulus".

The impact of the west opened the flood gate of new ideas. Literary revival, English education, socio-religious reforms and movements and Political Associations gave a fresh momentum to the spirit of nationalism. The nationalists unlike the congress school did not believe in the benevolence or sense of justice of the British people. Meanwhile the "Aligarh Movement was to the Muslims what the Renaissance and the Nationalist movement of the 19th century was to the Hindus". Indian nationalism was haunted by communalism even at the close of the nineteenth century.

Dr. Majumdar frankly asserts that he proceeds on certain distinct assumptions. Firstly, the major part of India lost independence early enough and merely changed masters in the eighteenth century; yet he deals only with the movement for freedom from the British yoke, the rest of it being considered as a part of general history of India. Secondly, the outbreak of 1857 was merely a continuation or revival of earlier acts of resistance and one should not exaggerate its importance. Thirdly, Hindus and Muslims had not lost their individual characters and there was no fusion as such. The Muslim obstinacy of the twentieth century has to be interpreted on the background of the mutual relations as they developed in the nineteenth century. Fourthly, Bengal inspired other parts of India with ideas of nationalism and political organisation on western lines.

The learned author covers comprehensively a complex subject full of incidents extending over a wide range of time and the book clearly reveals the amount of hard labour lying behind it as well as the author's sincerity of conviction and frankness of treatment. Uninfluenced by sentiments, he aims at the recognition of historical facts on the basis of which alone a real understanding is possible. We look forward to the publication of the succeeding volumes while congratulating the author on the purposeful work already done.

P. K. K. MENON.

SELECTIONS FROM EDUCATIONAL RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA: VOL. I EDUCATIONAL REPORTS 1859-71; Published for National Archives of India by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi, 1960. Price Rs. 25 or 38 sh.6.d.

Educational Records covering the period 1781-1859 had been published some forty years ago. We have, more or less, complete information about educational policy and administration after 1871. This volume, relating to the period 1859-71 is thus a connecting link and indeed satisfies a long-felt want.

Three reviews on the progress of education as compiled by M. A. Monteath in 1862 and 1867 and by A. P. Howell in 1872 find their place in the volume. These quinquennial reports will enable Research Scholars to have a continuous study of the ideas dominant at the time and their expression in practical administration. It is stated that the first Report on the original scheme introduced by the famous Educational Despatch of 1854 had not been printed so far and that the other two, though published earlier, have gone out of print.

Those responsible for this volume have wisely strayed from the usual practice of excluding from such publications lengthy reports or published documents. These contain, as Mr. Prem Kirpal states in his Foreword, the "essence" of the records bearing on education during the period. In fact we would have been happier if the section in Howell's report relating to educational progress upto 1854 also were included as an authoritative and contemporary review of the same. Needless to add, this attractively bound and neatly printed volume is a welcome publication, highly useful as providing ample raw material to interested scholars.

K. *MAMMEN.*

THE EVOLUTION OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN 1858-1947: SELECT DOCUMENTS, VOL. IV. General Editor C. H. Philips, London. Published by Oxford University Press, 1962, Price 90 Sh. net (in U.K. only).

We, in India, attempt at present to write our history revaluing inherited ideas, experiences and institutions. We seek a correct interpretation of the various forces that have woven the economic, political, administrative, constitutional and cultural patterns of the great Indian Society. An objective, balanced and comprehensive study of our history will be possible only if we avail ourselves of the rich and voluminous source material with a selective judgment. Different aspects of our history have been written upon by eminent scholars, but unfortunately no serious attempt has been, so far, made to collect and collate "nuclear themes" of source material that would illustrate the processes of history in all these aspects and enable a dispassionate appraisal of the interplay of ideas which found concrete expression in policies and movements.

To fill this gap, the publication of four volumes has been contemplated covering chronologically the history of India in early times, under Muslim rule, under the East India Company and in modern times, under the Crown. The task attempted is stupendous and, when completed, will be a matter of legitimate satisfaction for all. The present volume is the first to be published in this most valuable series. It has been prepared with the help of Rockefeller Foundation and the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

Mr. C. H. Philips, Professor of Oriental History at London University and Director of Oriental and African Studies, who is the General Editor and his colleagues have put the world of scholars under a deep debt of gratitude by enabling a disciplined understanding of the land-marks and turning points of the history of our land. They have utilised the valuable source material available in the present regions of India and Pakistan, translating it into English wherever necessary, as well as material in private collections in Britain often inaccessible to an oriental student, apart from official material.

In 1858 there was practically little change in substance of policy. Parliament, immersed in routine, did not initiate any political or constitutional advance on a continuous or long-range basis. The period upto 1918 saw the rise of the middle class and the continuance of the agitation for representative and responsible government. After 1918 the initiative was, more or less, transplanted to the Indian soil and the period also saw the struggle for power between Nationalism and Communalism. Through changing fortunes, the Muslim League stuck to its objective and policy. The Acts of 1919 and 1935 were followed by the Cripps Plan of 1942 and the three-tiered proposal of 1946. Independence and Partition came together.

During the entire period under review the influential middle class gradually acquired the means by which they could effectively respond to "the challenge of British ideas of Government". The social policy was worked out on the assumption that Indian Society would inbibe western ideas and register an advance. Economically, it is stated, the British rule cut short the old balance of forces and the new industrial class grew more slowly than the new professional class. It was assumed that the security of India would be adequately safeguarded as long as the entrances to the Indian Ocean were controlled by the British and there was often doubt whether the British outposts should be extended further into Central Asia. It is also evident that none, for a long time, appreciated the close relationship between the Indianisation of the army and the realisation of responsible government.

Part I of this volume reveals the political ideas that gained popularity from time to time and the adjustments that the British Government made to accommodate the Indian sentiments. Part II (1917-47) indicates the progressive transformation of a foreign autocracy into a responsible government and illustrates, as is pointed out in the Editorial Note, the apparent paradox of how the concept of responsible government could turn out to be a disruptive force. Part III deals with administrative problems, the impact of socio-economic forces and the absorption, by the Indian mind, of new ideas.

The volume is highly useful as drawing much on Indian as well as British source material. The stress on social and economic factors is particularly welcome for, after all, the constitutional structure is only a mirror reflecting the political and economic level of a society and no study of administration would be effective unless it is based on that of the socio-economic undercurrents. The developments in India are pictured on the background of those in Britain. This sense of balance is the primary quality of the volume through every chapter of which runs a thread of fundamental unity so that a proper appreciation is possible only after a perusal of the whole. The book illustrates the interesting fact that down to 1947 our nationalist politics grew in a "self-centred way" and that we were provided with little opportunity to grasp the essentials of external or defence policy. It will be particularly useful to the University bodies responsible for the prescription of documents for post-graduate studies, apart from others who are academically interested in interpreting ideas and observing the landmarks in history and the reactions of a people upon another.

K. MAMMEN

"ARGENTINA: MONUMENTOS HISTORICAS Y ARQUEOLOGICOS", por Mario J. Buschiazzo: IComision De Historia, de Instituto Panamericano De Geografia E Historia, Mexico, D.F., 1959, pp. 174):

This book in Spanish consists of the historical and descriptive information about the historical and archaeological monuments in Argentina with the reproduction of the concerned Laws and Rules of the country. The elaborate information, which is systematically arranged, is richly illustrated. It has a nice bibliography and is well indexed.

This is the eleventh book of the Serial "Monumentos Historicas y Arqueologicos De America", which is being published by the "comision De Historia" de "Instituto Panamericano De Geografia E Historia" and wherein each book is devoted to one particular American country. The "Instituto De Geografia E Historia", some publications of which I have already reviewed in the pages of this journal, has to its credit already a considerably large number of scholarly publications and has in its extensive and ambitious scheme several others planned with some already in the press. Certainly the "Instituto De Geografia E Historia" has to be congratulated on the excellent work of publication that it is doing in the field of the History and culture of the Americas.

The clear and masterly way, in which the author treats the subject in this book, is quite revealing as to the author's authority on the subject, on which he has already several publications to his credit.

R. B. JOSHI.

A NEW HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE, by Krishna Chaitanya. Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Price Rs. 18/75.

If the object of preparing a new History of Sanskrit Literature is, as it should be, the establishment of its internal chronology and history, the work under review must be deemed a failure; for an outstanding feature of this work is the short shrift it gives to all controversial questions of chronology, such as the date of the Veda, of Bhasa or of Śankara. Similarly have been ignored the questions of authorship and history such as those relating to the Mahābhārata and the Arthaśāstra. It is however not unreasonable to expect in a new history of Sanskrit Literature some acute discussion of dates and authorship; for, Winternitz has observed, "not a single one of the numerous and extensive works which belong to the Vedas, to the national Epic or to the Purāṇas can be ascribed with certainty even to this or that century." Consequently the omission of even important and interesting details relating to authors and works in the new history occasions surprise. As a stray instance may be noted the fact that Keith in his 'A History of Sanskrit Literature' mentions that the Kalpanamaṇḍitikā of Kumāralāta is the true description of what has hitherto been known to us as the Sūtrālaṃkāra of Aśvaghoṣa. Our author on page 230 of his book observes quite misleadingly that the Kalpanamaṇḍitikā (also known as the Sūtrālaṃkāra) was written by Kumāralāta. Without reasoning of any kind our author asserts on page 16 'that Suśruta lived in the fifth century before Christ and Caraka in the second century after Christ.' Authors like Monier Williams and Keith accept the tradition that the oldest of the extant medical samhitas is ascribed to Caraka reputed to be the physician of Kaniska and that Suśruta is a later author. Other examples of equally unsatisfactory and arbitrary dating are found on page 21 where it is cautiously suggested that the date of Vātsyāyana, the author of the Kāmasūtras, may be the 3rd century; on page 30 where it is gravely affirmed that the legendary Agastya lived in the second century B.C., and on page 140 where it is gingerly stated that Udayana wrote about 1200 A.D. Of a piece with the author's allergy to chronological questions is his studied avoidance of the discussion of the age of Vedic literature.

This drawback, serious as it is in a book of history, need not relegate his work to the limbo of oblivion as far as serious students of Sanskrit Literature are concerned. In his preface our author writes that the new History of Sanskrit Literature was called for in order both to avoid neglect of part of the vast extent of Sanskrit Literature of which authors like Keith and De are guilty and to mete out justice to classical Literature the handling of which has been very sketchy in books that have sought to cover the entire range of Sanskrit. The planning and in part, the execution of the work show a notable degree of originality. Having rapidly sketched the cultural background against which the form and content of Sanskrit Literature have to be contemplated, the author proceeds to give his imaginative reaction to the life mirrored in Vedic literature; his appreciation of the evolution of the Indian mind from poetic myth to poetic intuition; his evaluation of the inward quest of the Indian mind, its engagement with social reality, its adventure into the Transcendent; and his assessment of India's epic histories, epic legends, epic poems, drama, later drama, story, novel, campu, and poetry. The field sought to be covered is truly immense and it would be strange indeed if all the judgments of our author won universal approbation. An earnest effort has been made in this work to assess the worth of multiform Sanskrit literature as the vehicle of the variegated life of India during an immense stretch of time. Outstandingly brilliant is the interpretation of the supremacy of Law over brute force on page 118 in the light of the remarks of the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad. Notably well-written is the chapter on engagement with social reality (Pp. 120 ff). Another piece of writing which calls for warm commendation is the imaginative interpretation of the Rāmāyaṇa (Pp. 174 ff). The parallel drawn between Rāma with his deep yearning for Sīta, nevertheless demanding the fire-test, and Hector, heroic and yet fleeing for his life, is indeed perspicacious. Generally speaking, it is difficult to avoid the impression that the author's forte is the adequate interpretation of literature—an excellent example of which is his triumphant vindication, as against the strictures of Keith, of the claims of the Ūrubhanga to be deemed a successful tragedy (Pp. 300 ff). But his heel of Achilles is revealed as soon as he proceeds to assess the philosophical literature of India. Several times (Pp. 90, 104, 108, 109,) he echoes the parrot cry of pessimism in Indian Philosophy, forgetting or, perhaps, ignorant of the fact that this alleged pessimism is purely initial, and that it is none other than the philosophic dissatisfaction with the primafacie view of life. The classical name for this 'pessimism' is *īhāmutrā-thaphalabhogavirāga,* a turning away from the fruits of endeavour here and hereafter. Thus understood, this so-called pessimism may be seen to be the *sine qua non* of all earnest philosophic pursuit.

In this context may be noticed a grave misinterpretation of Upaniṣadic Philosophy occurring in the work under review. On page 91 reference is made to the pessimism welling up in the post-Buddhistic Maitrayaṇi Upaniṣad, and the view that life in this world is a descent into decay and illusion. On page 92 the author records his view that 'we first see the notion that this material world is an illusion in the 'Svetāsvatara Upaniṣads.' In contrast on page 90 and elsewhere lofty praise is bestowed on the earlier Upaniṣads for their good sense and stout realism. The irresistible conclusion is that our author has not dealt fairly with the Upaniṣadic evidence. Passages in the earliest Upaniṣads—Chandogya VI, 1, 4; and Bṛhadaranyaka IV, 3, 7—prove indisputably that the dominant world-view of the Upaniṣads relegates the material world to the realm of appearances.

Before concluding this review, may be noticed the great measure of our author's indebtedness for his translations of Sanskrit verses to Keith's monumental work on Sanskrit Literature. Whole passages in the chapter on Poetry have been lifted from Keith's work; but no acknowledgment seems to have been made.

Of course, translations are quite inadequate to convey any idea of the excellence of Sanskrit originals.

Sheer absurdities like the assertion on page 27 that the Aṣṭadhyāyī is a metrical composition are fortunately rare.

DR. A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER.

THE RISE OF MUSLIM POWER IN GUJARAT—A HISTORY OF GUJARAT 1298-1442, by Sri Satish C. Misra, M.A., Ph.D., Issued under the auspices of the Department of History, The M.S. University of Baroda—Asia Publishing House, Bombay, etc. Price Rs. 22-50 nP.

History is more than a Chronicle; it is not a mere narration of events and their dates. It is also a philosophy of life when dealt with and studied objectively; when its currents and cross-currents, when its motivations, political and economic, are brought into bold relief and discussed. This lends a reality and a direction to this subject and renders it at once fascinating and useful.

Dr. Misra has kept this objectivity of History in view in his book 'The rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat'. Thus, writing about the Turkish hierarchy in India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the writer says:— "An under-current of mutual rivalry, tension and, at times, open strife marked the relations between the members of this socio-political order ... Promotions inevitably engendered strifes and fanned rivalry ... Internal unity was difficult to arrive at except in external war." (pp. 27). How true this statement is, not only of the Turks, but also of others similarly placed! Given certain circumstances, certain results and situations are bound to follow. This constitutes the philosophy of History and Dr. Misra must be congratulated on having this in view throughout his work under reference.

In his learned preface to this book the author makes these interesting observations:— "Despotism, however, is by nature, a limited tool. It can compel obedience, it cannot win co-operation. It can maintain status quo, but cannot affect deeply—integrated social and economic patterns. It can destroy but it cannot create. ....These are axiomatic truths of History and it requires deep insight into human psychology and behaviour to make them, and the whole book is strewn with such illuminating statements wherever situations have demanded them.

The book is divided into three parts; Part I deals with the Sultanate of Delhi; Part II with Gujarat, as a part of that Sultanate and Part III, the Sultanate of Gujarat itself. There are thirteen chapters, the last one dealing with the Rajput States in and around Gujarat and their resistance to Muslim power, and the administrative system of the period; Land revenue, Justice and Central Control. The author has appended a scheme of Transliteration of Arabic and Persian names, a chronological summary of events, a select bibliography, an exhaustive Index and a Map of Gujarat and its adjoining regions.

The work is primarily political, but it also attempts at a stock-taking of the cultural, socio-religious and economic structure on which these political institutions functioned. The author is quite conversant with Arabic and Persian, as is abundantly clear from the references he gives of the sources from those languages. He has also the advantage of being very familiar with Rajput and Jain sources. He is thus in the happy position to give a fuller picture of the period he has attempted to portray. The book runs into two hundred and fifty-two pages of superfine paper, and quite readable type. The book is in octavo size, calico-bound and dust covered. This handy volume has left nothing to be desired both from the view point of its material and its get up and I congratulate both the author and the printers on its production.

S. A. W. BUKHARI.

INDIAN CULTURE by S. Abid Hussain. Aligarh Muslim University—General Education Reading material Series: No: 16. Printed by Michael Andrades at the Bombay Chronicle Press, Bombay-1, and published by P. S. Jaya Singhe, Asia Publishing House—Bombay. Price Rs. 5/-.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the average student of today, is blissfully ignorant of what lies beyond the scope of his text-books. He is scarcely interested in making use of the Library and conversing with 'the mighty minds of old'. The University Grants Commission is not a day too early in arresting this woeful tendency by engaging the services of experts to implement a programme of General Education. The Aligarh Muslim Uuniversity has been entrusted with the task of preparing reading material suitable for general education courses at Indian Universities. Several other Indian Universities also have accepted these programmes. The books prepared under this programme are not intended as Text books, to be completely digested, but they are meant to stimulate a taste for reading and to broaden the outlook of our students and the general reader. The book under review is an attempt in that direction. It is one of the several books essayed under this Project of General Education Reading Material Series which includes also books on Arts and Philosophy, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Literature and the like written by some of the most eminent intellectuals of our country.

The book surveys the growth of the national culture of India from its beginning down to the impact of western culture on Indian Culture. The book is divided into five chapters, dealing with the General features of Indian Culture, Ancient Indian Culture, Muslim Culture, Hindustani Culture and the Impact of Western Culture. The author brings out in bold relief the essential aspect of Indian Culture viz., that it is a striking example of unity in diversity. He says: 'We have here a number of diverse regional cultures and some based on religion. But side by side with these, there has always been a common national culture, providing a basis of unity amid these diversities" (Page X, Introduction).

The author's mastery of the facts with which he deals, whether of the vedic or Buddhist Periods or the Muslim and British Periods of Indian History; the lucidity of his expression and, above all, his frank and independent approach to problems, are at once illuminating and thought-provoking. The book is an objective study of the diverse currents in Indian History, a stock-taking of the responses provided by Indian Nationhood to the complex situations that arose from time to time in the History of this ancient land. The author, Mr. Syed Abid Hussain, himself a staunch Nationalist of the Gandhian School, has brought to bear on his task the depth of his learning and his zealous dedication to the motherland. This tiny volume of 67 pages is a mine of information and is bound to pay rich dividends to those who would study it. It amply fulfils the purpose for which it is intended. The book is printed on art paper in comfortable type and is well bound. It has also a useful index.

S. A. W. Bukhari

AKBAR THE GREAT, Vol. I; XXIV, 581 pp.; Agra, by A. L. Srivastava. Price Rs. 20/-.

This is the first volume of a full dress biography of the great Emperor whom even V. A. Smith, who is not too kind to him, describes as "a born king of men, with a rightful claim to rank as one of the greatest sovereigns known to history." This part deals primarily with the life history of Akbar looked at from the political view point, with social and cultural aspects of his life thrown in here and there. The author promises to publish the other two volumes dealing respectively with "the Evolution of Administration" and "the Society and Culture" of the period. He has made full use of the Persian chronicles, and memoirs left to us by the Jesuits who came to Akbar's court at Agra as well as the contemporary works in Sanskrit, Hindi and Rajasthani, and thus he stands on a better plane than V. A. Smith and Count von Noer. The twenty chapters into which the book has been divided deal with the life of the Emperor from his parentage and birth on October 15, 1542 to his death on the same date in 1605.

It was only natural that such a long range of life and rule should cover vast political, social and mental changes in India. Akbar was a contemporary of Elizabeth I of England, Francis I and Henry IV of France and the Emperor Charles V and his son Philip II of Spain, who were some of the most renowned monarchs of the Europe of the sixteenth century. In the evaluation of the reign we must not forget that this was the period of a great intellectual turmoil in Europe also marked by the Christian Reformation and Counter-Reformation, resulting in sanguinary civil wars in France and the protracted Thlrty Years' War in Germany. Again, the coming of the Portuguese and their very unscrupulous and cruel methods of conversion of the Hindus and Muslims to their faith followed the end of the Muslim rule in Spain in 1492. So whatever the Jesuits at the court of the Emperor have to say regarding his religious views is at best tendentious.

The learned author has quite rightly criticised V. A. Smith who "failed to utilise Persian books like *Tarikh-i-Masumi* . . . and *A History of Gujarat* by Mir Abu Turab" for having been "highly distrustful to Abul Fazl whom he unjustly accuses of deliberate perversion of facts and even of forgery", and for "having preferred Du Jarric to Abul Fazl and in fact to all the Indian chronicles combined." On the other hand Dr. Srivastava has a hlgh regard for Abul Fazl and says that "Akbarnamah must always remain the most valuable primary source of Akbar's life and times." Without in any way minimising the value of the book under review, it appears that at least a very large portion of the work is a paraphrase of Akbarnamah even to the extent of referring in a small paragraph to the birth of twins to Akbar and their death. On the other hand when he discusses Akbar's religious policy he relies too much on the writings of the Jesuits who, as he says in his preface, "suffered from religious and social prejudices".

In evaluating Akbar's religious bent of mind a historian has to sail between the Scylla of 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī and the Charybdis of the Jesuits, and this is by no means an easy task, especially when he has to deal with a complex personality like that of Akbar. It is, again, not plain sailing to follow a courtier like Abul Fazl either. It is for this reason that while the learned author says that "to the question whether he (Akbar) was a Muhammadan or not, a categorical answer cannot be given" and "he did not formally or openly renounce Islam", we find a substantial paragraph entitled "Akbar ceases to be a Muslim".

Every historian who relies more or less solely on Mug̱hal chronicles has to be excused for his wrong evaluation of the history of the Deccan. The Mug̱hals never recognised the sultanates of the Deccan as independent states, and invariably called the kings of Aḥmadnagar, Bijāpūr and Golkonda-Haidrābād as Niẓāmu'l Mulk, 'Ādil Ḵẖān and Quṭbu'l-Mulk. In point of fact, however, even after the fall of Aḥmadnagar and the later elimination of the Niẓāmshāhī kingdom the remaining two states were independent and enjoyed the fullest sovereignty right up to the reign of Shah Jahan. This does not seem clear to the learned author. He is not quite at home with the history of south India and wrongly names certain persons as "the Nizam", "Buhanuddin", "Qutub-ul-Mulk", "Moti Shah", "Qulij Khan" etc. Moreover it appears that certain facts regarding the history of this region have rather uncritically been reproduced from Mug̱hal chronicles.

The book is well written and documented and has a good index besides a detailed table of contents. We would look forward to the second and third volumes which, along with the present volume, would form a fairly accurate pen picture of the India of the later part of the sixteenth century.

H. K. Sherwani.

TWILIGHT OF THE SULTANATE; by Kishore Saral Lal. Asia Publishing House, Bombay; 1963; Pp.358. Price Rs. 25/.

The subject of this book is almost as romantic as its name, for it deals with the history of the Sultanate of Delhi from the inrush of the Mughals under Timūr in 1398 right up to the establishment of the Mughal Empire by Bābur in 1526. Not only is the name of the book romantic but some of its chapter headings are almost equally so, such as "Visitation of a Scourge", "Revenue through Bayonet", "The Problem Tract", "Az Dehli tā Pālam" and "Primus inter Pares". But the romance ends here, for the period dealt with is one of the most turbulent in the whole history of India and may be compared to the inrush of the Huns, Normans and other races into Europe, when humanity seemed to be at a stand-still. Dr. Lal has done full justice to the subject under review and has attempted to connect disconnected pieces of information in one chain. The work is divided into thirteen chapters, four appendices, a good bibliography and an index. It is almost free from misprints although some have unfortunately crept in and some words have been wrongly transliterated. The first ten chapters deal with the political history of northern India, and these are followed by three informative chapters on "Cultural activities in the fifteenth century", "Social and Economic Life" and "The Age of Socio-religious Reformers".

Someone has said that Literature and Art are the flowers that mark the path of national decline. This period, which begins with gruesome massacres and is marked by continuous struggle for the throne by the Turks, the Afghans and the Mughals, and by the greed coupled with impotency, of some of the rulers, was also marked by considerable evolution in the art and literature of the country. Dr. Lal gives a critical description of the development of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, Urdu and Hindi as well as of some of the local languages of north India as also the impact of a a new culture on the life of the people. The clash of two well-developed cultures was bound to bring them together, and the result was the flowering of the *bhaktī* and the *sūfī* movements. One feels that Dr. Lal might have devoted a little more space to these great movements which were symbolic of the life of the people apart from the life at the royal court or in the mansions of the great nobles, Hindu and Muslim. It is a pity that he had virtually ignored the tremendous part played by the Sūfīs in bringing the two sections of the people together and the influence they bore on the teaching of great gurūs like Baba Nānak. Some of the sūfi saints no doubt lived before the period scanned in the book, but their *silsilahs* remained and continued to influence the thought of the fifteenth century India.

Another lacuna in the book is that the learned author has not discussed the authorities on which he relies, in any detail. We are aware that our chroniclers make some vastly exaggerated remarks about the sucess of their patrons or of those who belonged to their cult, and so we have to be very careful about their remarks whenever they describe any clash of cultures. If what some of them aver is true then there would not be a non-Muslim living nor a temple standing. For a history of Middle Ages, as for the history of any period, a correct evaluation of the authorities is necessary in order to minimise prejudice as well as the sense of undue pride on the part of the chronicler as much as possible. While the book is fully documented the documents should also have been fully evaluated. On the whole, however, the learned author's treatment of the subject is well balanced.

It is generally believed that Daulat K̲h̲ān Lōdi was the prime mover of the invitation to Bābur to invade India. The author has quite rightly brought out rather vividly the treatment meted out to A'zam-I Humāyūn Sarwānī (mod. Sharwānī, Sherwānī) and his son Fatḥ K̲h̲ān as the primary cause of the discontent of the nobles against Ibrāhīm Lōdi. In one place he has referred to the tomb of Ṣadru'd-dīn Ṣadr-i Jahān at Malēr Kōṭla, and says that the Nawabs of the erstwhile State of Malēr Kōṭla claim descent from the saint; but it should be added that the Nawab's family claim to be Sarwānīs or Sharwānīs and there is a part of the city which is still called Sharwānī-Kōṭ.

The author quite rightly remarks: "There was a continuous process of synthesis in spite of all conflicts, political, social and intellectual. In fact these conflicts provided an urge for synthesis and counteracted the reactionary tendencies which have been sometimes emphasised by careless exaggerations of historians." It is feared that these exaggerations were not always due to carelessness, but were sometime made consciously in order to laudate a patron or maximise the efforts of one belonging to the chronicler's way of thinking.

H. K. SHERWANI.

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1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
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Editorial

This Special Number of the Journal of Indian History is being brought out in connection with the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Kerala University.

The late Sri Shafat Ahamad Khan, Professor of Indian History, Allahabad University, founded the Journal in the year 1920 and was its Editor till 1923. The late Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Professor of Indian History, University of Madras, subsequently edited and published the Journal until 1945. The Travancore University (now Kerala University), purchased the good will of the Journal from Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in 1946. Since that year, the Journal has been successively edited, on behalf of the University by Mr. V. Narayana Pillai, Mr. K. P. Pillay and Mr. P. S. Raghavan, former Professors of History, University College, Trivandrum.

We are happy to record that our Journal has won international reputation and that the *circle* of its popularity is getting wider day by day, thanks to the diligent efforts and unstinted cooperation of great Research Scholars and Historians of the East and West. It has, all these years, endeavoured to shed the light of original research on the dark nooks and corners of the history of our land. This peep into the cultural legacy of the past has naturally made the Journal the meeting point of the Orient and the Occident and its purposeful existence can claim to have definitely promoted greater amount of creative understanding and harmonious relationship among the cultured minds in different parts of the world.

We owe a deep debt of gratitude to our distinguished Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Samuel Mathai, to the Registrar of the University, Mr. A. M. N. Chackiar and the Office Staff for their active patronage and sympathetic encouragement that we have always received at their hands.

We also thank the G. S. Press, Madras, for the prompt, efficient and neat execution of all the numbers.

We trust that all the eminent Research Scholars and Historians will continue to assist the Journal, in its noble endeavour, through their valuable contributions as they have been doing in the past. We also hope that publishers of historical works will send their publications for notice and review so that the Journal can accurately reflect constructive criticism on the many-sided work undertaken by eminent historians.

On this auspicious and happy occasion we respectfully salute the Giants of the past who have bequeathed noble and mighty traditions and look forward, with hopes and aspirations, to the future, with its immense possibilities.

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Historical and Geographical Aspects of the Asokan Inscriptions

BY

DR. B. C. LAW, Ph.D., D.Litt., M.A., LL.B., HONY, F.R.A.S. (London), etc., etc.

The great Maurya king Aśoka holds that there cannot be a nation without a true national feeling aroused and a national character formed. Similarly there cannot be nationality, where the group of people belonging to it does not espouse a common cause of humanity. The elevation of human nature and the education of men to certain excellences of character are essential. They attract the attention of all people. Aśoka openly declared that he had aspired in his heart of hearts to be a servant of the land and that he had tried his utmost to infuse this very idea into the mind of all his ministers, officers, and subjects.

Aśoka's mission of life was the promulgation of the principle of *Dharma* in the form of a humanised culture. He fully realised the true spirit of rationality and human greatness and found it clearly set forth in the Buddha's teachings. The Buddhist culture signified to him harmony and co-operation in human relationship. It could generate forces of social adjustment and understanding, co-operation and integration, through abiding peace among different peoples as a cardinal principle in the regulation of human affairs. In the realm of peace Aśoka saw the end of disintegrating and corrosive elements in the life of a nation. He explained social philosophy of his own in order to promote the cause of piety and duty as among his subjects as among all men.

Here I have confined myself to a close study of the historical and geographical information contained in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

Jambudīpa, which occurs in the Minor Rock Edict I (Rupnath text), means the continent of India. It denotes the vast country ruled by Aśoka. In the Epics and *Purāṇas* it is described as one of the seven concentric islands encircled by seven *samudras*.

It is named after a Jambu tree.[1] The importance of Jambudīpa was very great, as it was often visited by the Buddha. Its people led a pious life. Bhāratavarṣa was one of the nine countries constituting the nine main divisions of Jambudīpa.[2]

The Rummindeī Pillar inscription of Aśoka locates beyond doubt the Lumbinī grove where the Buddha was born. When Aśoka was anointed 20 years, he himself came here and worshipped the spot, as it was the birthplace of the Buddha. He made it free of taxes, only paying an eighth share of the produce.[3] The Lumbinivana (*La-fa-ni* grove) was about 10 miles from Kapilavastu according to the Rummiṅdei Pillar Inscription. Lumbinī is Rummindeī or Rupadeī in the Napalese Terai, 2 miles to the north of Bhagavānapura and about a mile to the north of Paderia. It is mentioned in the *Buddhacaritakāvya* (I, v. 23; XVII, v. 27) as situated in Kapilavastu. The Chinese pilgrim, Fahien, who visited India in the 5th century A.D., places the Lumbini grove fifty li (9 or 10 miles) east of Kapilavastu, and 80 or 90 li north-east of the arrow spring, which itself was 32 li to the south-east of the city of Kapilavastu. Hiuen Tsang refers to the stone pillar set up by Aśoka with the figure of a horse on the top. This was undoubtedly the Rummindei pillar discovered by Fuhrer in December, 1896.

Between Devadaha which was the stronghold of the Koliyas, a branch of the Śākyas, and Kapilavastu, stood the Lumbinī grove on the bank of the river Rohiṇī. According to V. A. Smith Rummindeī was on the Tilār river. This small village was named after the shrine of Rummindeī, the goddess of Rummin. It was 4 miles inside the Nepal frontier, a little to the west of the Tilār river or the Oil River according to Hiuen Tsang.[4] The inscription on the

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[1] *Vinaya Texts*, I, 127; *Atthasālinī*, 298; *Visuddhimagga*, I, pp. 205-208; *Eugenia Jambolana Linn.* It is the rose-apple tree. Its height is very great and its trunk is 15 yojanas in girth. It is both a fruit and a timber tree. It is known to Bengal as *Kālajām* (blackberry), which stands with its outspreading branches.

[2] For details, Law, *Historical Geography*, pp. 8-11.

[3] *Lājina vīsativasābhisitena atana āgāca mahīyite hidā budhe jāte sakyamunīti ... ubaḷikekaṭe aṭhabhāgiyeca.* Cf. C.I.I., III, pp. 264-265; Watters, *on Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 15.

[4] For further details vide Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*; Law, *Historical Geo. of Ancient India*; Law, *Geographical Essays*, I, pp. 182 ff; Law, *Geo. of Early Buddhism*; Law, *Indological Studies*, Pt. III.

Niglīva pillar (now situated 38 miles north-west of Uskabazar station on the B.N.W. Rly.) shows that it was erected near the stūpa of Konāgamana but it is not now *in situ*.

The Rock Edict V refers to the Kāmboja or Kamboja country situated in the extreme north-west of India with Dvārakā as its capital. The *Petavatthu Commentary* shows that Dvārakā was not its capital.[5] There are different views as to its location. It was the country round modern Sindh and Gujarat.[6] Some assign it to a country near modern Sindh.[7] V. A. Smith places it among the mountains either of Tibet or of the Hindukush.[8] McCrindle says that Kamboja was Afghanistan, the Kaofu (Kambu) of Hiuen Tsang.[9] It is stated in the *Vedic Index* that the Kāmbojas, who settled in the north-west of the Indus, were the same as Kambujiya of the old Persian inscriptions.[10] Relying on a passage of the *Mahābhārata* (VII. 4-5) it may be pointed out that Rājapura was the home of the Kāmbojas.[11]

The Kāmbojas were the Kṣatriyas. The *Manusaṃhitā* (Chap. X, vs. 43-44) states that they were degraded to the position of the Śūdras on account of their omission of the sacred rites. They rendered great service to the Kurus in the battle of Kurukṣetra. According to the *Vāyupurāṇa* (Chap. 88) King Sāgara after killing the Haihayas was engaged in annihilating the Kāmbojas, Yavanas and others. From the Rock Edict V we learn that the censors were created by Aśoka for the establishment of the law of piety, for the growth of the law and for the welfare and happiness of the Kāmbojas, Gandhāras, and others living within his empire. The Kāmbojas were no doubt a very ancient people. Pāṇini in his sūtra (IV. 1,175) mentions Kāmboja.[12]

The Yaunas or Pali Yonas, literally Ionians, were a people of Greek descent. They may be traced in Indian literature and ins-

[5] Law, *Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, 2nd Ed., p. 102.

[6] Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 7.

[7] Banerjee, *Public Administration in Ancient India*, p. 56.

[8] *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 193.

[9] *Alexander's Invasion*, p. 38.

[10] Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 54-55.

[11] H. C. Raichaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th Ed. p. 148.

[12] For other details vide my *Tribes in Ancient India*, Chap. I. and my *Indological Studies*, Pt. I, pp. 7-10.

criptions from 3rd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.[13] They find mention as a ruling people in the Achaemenian inscriptions. The Yonas took the side of the Kauravas in the Kurukṣetra war along with other tribes of north-western India like the Kāmbojas, Madras, Śakas and others.[14] The Yavanas were the most esteemed of the foreigners but all the Yavanas were regarded as sprung from Śūdra female and Kṣatriya males.[15] The *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 54, 21) refers to the struggles of the Hindus with the Yavanas. Sugrīva places the country of the Yavanas and the cities of the Śakas between the countries of the Kurus and the Madras and the Himalayas.[16] The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* refers to the Yavanas grouped with other peoples of northern or north-western India (Chap. 57, 36). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[17] observes that there is nothing strange in Pāṇini flourishing in the 6th century B.C. and in his referring to *Yavanānī*, the writing of the Greeks. According to him the Yonas lived outside the kingdom of Antiochus Theos. In the inscriptions of Aśoka (R.E. XIII) the Yonas are mentioned along with the Kāmbojas.[18] The existence of a pre-Alexandrian Greek (better Ionian) colony may be inferred from the evidence of the coins similar to those of the earliest type of Athens, which are known to have been collected from the north-west frontiers of India. In the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāmana (about 150 A.D.), a Yavana official or a vassal Yavanarājā called Tusāṣpha is said to have been the governor of Surāṣṭra with his capital at Girinagara (Girnar) during the time of Aśoka. V. A. Smith says that the form of Tusāṣpha shows that he was a Persian. There is no good ground for assuming that Tusāṣpha was not a Greek but a Persian.

A Yavana army crossed the Hindukush which was the northern boundary of Aśokan empire on the ruins of which Indo-Greek kingdom arose. The extension of Yavana power to the interior of India was at first thwarted by the Śūṅgas. In western India the last vestiges of Yavana power were swept away by the ascendancy of the Andhras or Śātavāhanas of the Deccan. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi destroyed the Yavanas, as he thus boasted in his Nasik cave inscription. In the north-west of India the Yavanas were finally swept away by the onrush of the Parthians or Pahlavas.[19]

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[13] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 343 ff.

[14] *Mahābhārata*, p. 274.

[15] *Gautama Dharmaśāstra*, IV, 21; *Cambridge History of India*, I, 240.

[16] Raichaudhuri, *PHAI.*, 5th Ed., p. 4.

[17] *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 29.

[18] Vide Shahbazgarhi text, *Inscriptions of Aśoka* edited by Bhandarkar and Majumdar, pp. 53-54.

The Rock Edict V tells us that Aśoka appointed *Dharmamahāmātras* (high officers in the department of *Dharma* or religious conduct) to further the welfare and happiness of the Gandhāras. In Aśoka's time the Gandhāra territory to the east of the Indus with Takṣaśilā as its capital and the Gandhāra territory to the west of the Indus with Puṣkalāvatī or Puṣkarāvatī as its capital, were included in his empire. Ptolemy says that the Gandarai (Gandhāra) country was situated to the west of the Indus with its city Proklais i.e., Puṣkarāvatī. After Aśoka's death Gandhāra declared its independence only to fall very soon under the sway of the Greek kings.[20] Whitehead's supposition seems to be more tenable, if we are to assume that Gandhāra was subject to the Maurya empire until Aśoka's death in 227 B.C. Gandhāra was conquered by Euthydemos (230-195 B.C.)[21] About A.D. 465 Gandhāra was occupied by the Hūṇas.[22] It appears that in early times the Gandhāra territory lay on both sides of the Indus but was later confined to the western side.[23] In Buddha's time Pakkusāti, king of Gandhāra, sent an embassy and a letter to king Bimbisāra of Magadha.[24] Gandhāra was conquered by Cyrus (558-530 B.C.) and remained a Persian province for about 2 centuries. After the downfall of the Persian empire in 331 B.C. it came under the sway of Alexander the Great.

In the days of Aśoka and his immediate successors Gandhāra was one of the most flourishing seats of Buddhism. The Jātakas testify to the existence of trade relations between the Kashmīr-Gandhāra kingdom and the north-eastern kingdom of Videha.[25]

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[19] Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 153-57.
[20] Legge, *Fa-Hien's Travels*, pp. 31-32.
[21] *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, p. 4.
[22] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 328; Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 17.
[23] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 115.
[24] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 28.
[25] *India in Buddha's time*, p. 272.

In the Kurukṣetra battle the Gandhāras led by their king Śakuni made up a powerful division of the Kuru army.

As to the location of Gandhāra, it was situated on the north-western frontiers of India in the neighbourhood of the Kāmbojas, Madras and others. It denotes the region comprising the modern districts of Peshawar in the north-west frontier province and Rawalpindi in the Punjab. Gandhāra was the district of eastern Afghanistan probably including the north-west Punjab.

The *Mahābhārata* contains many references to Gandhāra and its people (vide Chap. 10, p. 118; Chap. 63, p. 72; Bhīṣmaparva, 20, p. 8; Chap. 16, p. 28). The *Purāṇas* have also many references to Gandhāra.[26]

It appears from the Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka that Gandhāra was not in his dominion proper but was feudatory to him. Takṣaśilā does not seem to have been the capital of Gandhāra in Aśoka's time. It was a famous seat of learning. The notable Buddhist scholars who made Gandhāra and Takṣaśilā famous were Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dhammapāla, and others. Aśoka sent his son Kunāla who was 28 years old to Takṣaśilā (modern Taxila, identical roughly with the district of Rawalpindi in the Punjab) as soon as he received the news of hostility at Taxila.[27] Takṣaśilā was known as Bhadraśilā but later it came to be known as Takṣaśila because here the head of the king Candraprabha was severed.[28]

The Nābhakas and Nābhapaṃtis are mentioned in the Rock Edict XIII. The Nābhaka and Nābhapaṃti states were presumably central Himalayan states, north of Kālsi, where a set of Aśoka's Rock Edicts were engraved. Nābhaka was probably the same as Na-pei-kea of Fa-Hien, the birthplace of Krakucchanda Buddha, about 10 miles south or south-west of Kapilavastu.[29]

Kauśāmbī was the capital of the Vaṃśas or Vatsas. It is identified by Cunningham with Kosam on the Jamunā about 30 miles south-west from Allahabad. King Udayana of the Vatsa country

[26] Matsyapurāṇa, 48; Vāyupurāṇa, 99.

[27] *Divyāvadānā*, Cowell & Neil, p. 407; *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā*, 59 Pallava, p. 59.

[28] *Divyāvadhānamālā*—R. L. Mitra *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 310.

[29] Raichaudhuri, *PHAI.*, 5th Ed., p. 309.

had his capital at Kauśāmbī.[30] The monastery of Ghoṣirā in the suburbs of Kauśāmbī is referred to.[31] This site may probably be identical with the old Ghositārāma of Kosambī referred to so frequently in the *Vinayapiṭaka*.[32] Aśvaghoṣa also refers to the hermitage of the sage Kuśāmba where the city of Kauṣāmbī was built.[33] It was visited by Hiuen Tsang. According to him it was a fertile country with hot climate. Its people were enterprising, fond of arts and cultivators of religious merit.[34]

The Andhras mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* along with the Puṇḍras, Śavaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas were a Dravidian people. They were evidently the progenitors of the modern Telugu speaking people occupying the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Krisṇā. Some hold that they were originally a Vindhyan tribe that extended its political power from the west gradually to the east down the Godāvārī and the Kriṣṇā valleys. According to the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 207, 42) they were settled in the Deccan (*Dakṣiṇāpathajanmānaḥ*). The *Rāmāyaṇa* connects them with the Godāvarī. Really speaking they occupied the Godāvarī-Kriṣṇā valleys. The Mayidavolu plates of the early Pallava king Śivaskandavarman show that the Andhrāpatha or the region of the Andhras embraced the Kriṣṇā district with Dhaññakaḍa or Bezwada as its capital.[35] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 18) refers to the Andhras as *dasyus* or non-Aryans. The Andhras were no doubt a southern people along with the Aśmakas.[36] They were rude and uncivilised.[37] They were vassal states under Aśoka.[38] Pliny says that they were also called as Andarae possessing many villages and thirty towns defended by walls and towers. They supplied their king with an army of infantry, cavalry, and elephants.[39]

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[30] *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā*, 35 Pallava, p. 3.

[31] R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 269.

[32] *Mahavagga*, PTS., p. 337; *Cullavagga*, PTS., pp. 21, 184, 292.

[33] *Saundarananda-Kāvya*, Canto I, v. 58.

[34] For further details, vide Law, *Kauśāmbī in Ancient Literature*, *MASI.*, No. 60; Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 136 ff.

[35] *Epigraphia Indica*, VI, p. 88.

[36] *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, LVII, pp. 48-49.

[37] *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, IV, 110; Vanaparva, 41, 1988.

[38] Vide Rock Edict XIII.

[39] Indian Antiquary, 1877, p. 339.

The Rock Edicts V and XIII refer to the Andhras, Pāradas, Bhojas, and Rāṣṭrikas who were the vassal tribes of Aśoka. The Bhojas and Rāṣṭrikas were the ancestors of the Mahābhojas and the Mahārathis of the Śātavāhana period. The Hathigumphā Inscription records that the Ceta king Khāravela of Kāliṅga defeated the Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas in the 4th year of his reign and compelled them to do homage to him. The Arulala-Perumal Inscription and the Raṅganāth Inscription of Ravivarman refer to a Bhoja king of that name, who belonged to the Yadu family of the Kerala country in South India.[40] The Bhojas were Kṣatriyas according to the Jain sacred books, which also refer to the descendants from those whom Ṛṣabha acknowledged as persons deserving honour.[41] In the Great Epic the Bhojas were associated with the Kukuras who were members of the Vriṣṇicakra (Mauṣalaparva, I, 7). The Bhojas spread over central and southern India in early times. According to the *Purāṇas*[42] the Bhojas and Satvats were allied tribes both belonging to the Yadu family of Mathurā. The Bhojas are mentioned in the *Rigveda* (III, 53, 7). The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 14) refers to them as a southern people, whose princes held the Satvats in subjection.[43]

The Rāṣṭrikas are mentioned along with the Andhras, Pāradas and Bhojas as vassal tribes of Aśoka.[44] The Rāṣṭrikas find no mention in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.* This tribe seems to be an insignificant one at that time. They continued to be associated with the Bhojas even after the time of Aśoka. King Khāravela of Kaliṅga defeated them and compelled them to pay homage to him. The Mahābhojas and Mahārathis were identical with the Bhojas and Rāṣṭrikas.[45] The Mahābhojas appear to have held the present Thānā and Kolābā districts of the Bombay Presidency while the Mahārathis controlled Poona and the adjoining districts. The Rāṣṭrikas may be supposed to have occupied the adjoining tract belonging to the Bhojas.[46]

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[40] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, Pt. IV, June 1896, p. 146.

[41] *Jaina Sūtras*, S.B.E., Pt. II, p. 71 n. 2.

[42] *Matsyapurāṇa*, Chap. 43-48; Chap. 44; *Vāyupurāṇa*, Chap. 94, 52; Chap. 95, 18; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 13, 1-6.

[43] Law, *Indological Studies*, Pt. I, pp. 43 ff; Law. *Tribes in Ancient India*, Chap. LXXI.

[44] Rock Edicts, V and XIII.

[45] Smith, *Asoka*, 4th Ed., p. 225.

The Pitinikas are identified by some with the Paiṭhānakas or natives of Paiṭhān, and some suggest that they were the ancestors of the Śātavāhana rulers of Paiṭhāna.[47] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says that the word *Pitinika* of Aśokan edicts[48] should not be treated as a separate word, but it is to be regarded as an adjective qualifying Rāṣṭrika in Rock Edict V and Bhoja in Rock Edict XIII, which are mentioned along with it. In this connection Dr. Bhandarkar draws our attention to some passages in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III, pp. 70, 300) where the term *Pettanika* occurs in the sense of one enjoying the ancestral property.[49] The *Petenikas* of Aśokan edicts have been identified with the Paiṭhānikas or inhabitants of Paiṭhāna on the Godāvarī in the north-west Hyderabad. Paiṭhāna is the modern name of ancient Pratiṣṭhāna which was a prosperous city during the rule of the Śātavāhana king. Pratiṣṭhāna or modern Paiṭhāna on the north bank of the Godāvarī was the capital of king Śātakarṇi and his son Saktikumāra.[50] Paiṭhāna is placed by the author of the *Periplus* at a distance of 20 days' journey to the south of Barygaza (identified with Bharukaccha or modern Broach). It is regarded as the greatest city in Dakṣiṇāpatha and Tagara is identified by some with Devagiri and by others with Dharur in Nizam's dominions.

Satiyaputra mentioned in the Rock Edict II may be identified with Satyavratakṣetra or Kāñcipura. Aiyangar agrees with R. G. Bhandarkar in identifying Satiyaputra with Satpute. V. A. Smith identifies Satiyaputra with the Satyamangalam taluk of Coimbatore district. Some hold that Satiyaputra is the same as Satyabhūmi of the Keralolpatti, i.e., a territory roughly equal to north-Malabar including a portion of Kasergode taluk, south Canara.[51] The names Śātavāhana and Śātakarni are derived from that of Satiyaputra.[52]

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[46] Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 178.
[47] Woolner, *Asoka*, p. 113; *JRAS.*, 1923, p. 92.
[48] Rock Edicts V & XIII.
[49] *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, p. 80.
[50] *Cambridge History of India*, I, 531.
[51] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1923, p. 412.
[52] Raichaudhuri, *PHAI.*, 4th Ed., p. 343, n. 2. For the origin and meaning of Śātavāhana and Śātakarṇi vide *CHI.*, I, p. 599 n; *JRAS.*, 1929, April; *BSOAS.*, 1938, IX.

All the identifications based upon the equation of Satiya of Satiyaputra with Satya (truth) are questionable.[53]

In the second and thirteenth Rock Edicts Aśoka mentions Keralaputras or Keralas as a people living on the border though outside his own realm. Later during the age of the Periplus Cerobothra (Keralaputra) was included within Damirica. During the time of Ptolemy the kingdom of Karoura was ruled by Kerobothros (Keralaputra). Keralaputra is undoubtedly the Kerala or Cera country. The Keralas like the Coḷas were one of the earliest tribes of south India. The Keralaputra was the country south of Kūpaka extending down to Kanneti in Central Travancore. The Kerala country comprised Travancore, Cochin and the Malabar district. The Kongudeśa corresponding to the Coimbatore district and the southern part of Salem district was annexed to it. Its capital was originally Vañji but later Tiru-Vañjikkulaṃ near the mouth of Periyar. It had important trading centres on the western coast at Tondi on the Agalappulai about 5 miles north of Quilandi. From the Coḷas the hegemony of the south was wrested for the time being by the Ceras but it soon went to the Pāṇḍyas and ultimately to the Pallavas.[54]

Tāṃbapaṃnī (Tamraparṇī) is mentioned in Rock Edicts II & XIII of Aśoka. It is called Taprobane of the Greek writers. V. A. Smith thinks that the term does not denote Ceylon but merely indicates the river Tāmraparṇī or Tamraparṇī in Tinnevelly. He refers to the Girnar text (*ā Taṃbapaṃnī*) which, according to him, indicates that the river was meant and not the island of the same name.

In the Rock Edict II occurs ā *Taṃbapaṃnī* which comes after Ketalaputo. In Rock Edict XIII the people of Tāmraparṇī are expressly mentioned as Tambapammiyā i.e., Tāmraparṇyas. In this edict Tāmraparṇī is placed below Pāṇḍya or Drāviḍa and the mount Vaidūryaka is mentioned as its landmark. By Tāmraparṇī or Taprobane Ceylon is meant. In one of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions Tambapaṃṇa is clearly distinguished from the island of Tambapaṇṇi.[55]

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[53] For details, Law, *Indological Studies*, I, p. 58.

[54] Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 193-94.

[55] Barua, *Asoka and his inscriptions*, Chap. III.

Tosali[56] is mentioned in Aśoka's Kalinga Rock Edict I, and the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions of Vīrapuruṣadatta. It is the Tosalei of Ptolemy. Some hold it to be the ancient Kośala. It is the same as Dhauli in the Puri district in Orissa. Northern and southern Tosali occur in the two copperplate inscriptions found in the Cuttack district.[57] A viceroy was stationed there in Aśoka's time. Dakṣiṇa Tosala is perhaps the same country as Amita Tosala of Dakṣiṇāpatha. It was the name of a wide territorial division. Uttara Tosala appears to have been smaller in extent than Dakṣiṇa Tosala. Some Inscriptions refer to a viṣaya called *Anarudra* and *maṇḍala* named Koṅgoda.[58] Some villages of Uttara Tosala mentioned in the Neulpur grant have been located in the Balasore district.[59] The copper-plates of Soro (Balasore district) record the grant of land in a village adjoining Sarepha in Uttara Tosala.[60] The Balasore region seems to have been the centre of the Uttara Tosala country which formed only a part of Oḍraviṣaya.[61]

Isila seems to be the modern Siddāpur village in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore province.[62] The high officers of Suvarṇagiri and Isila were given instruction by Aśoka who called himself *Piyadasi lājā Magadha*.[63] Piyadasi, king of Magadha, saluted the Church and declared his faith in the Buddhist Trinity. The Māski version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict sets at rest the controversy over the identification of Piyadasi of the inscriptions with Aśoka of the Buddhist texts. There is a Pali literary reference which solves the problem. *Piyadaso* occurs in Buddhaghosa's *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (Vol. II, pp. 613-14) which clearly shows that Piyadaso (=Piyadasso) was the earlier name of Aśoka before he became the king.[64]

Suvarṇagiri mentioned in Minor Rock Edict I (Brahmagiri Text) is identified by Hultzsch with Kanakagiri in the Hyderabad state, south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara.[65] Bühler is inclined to look for it somewhere in the western ghats. Krishṇa Sāstrī identifies it with Maski situated to the west of Siddāpur in Mysore. It was most probably situated near Vāda in the north of the Thānā district at Waghli in Khandesh, as the later Maurya inscriptions of Konkan and Khandesh have been found out at Vāda. A prince (*ayaputasa*) as viceroy was stationed at Suvarṇagiri. Suvarṇagiri and Isila are both mentioned in the Minor Rock Edict I.

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[56] Law, *Historical Geography*, p. 195.
[57] *Epigraphia Indica*, IX, p. 286.
[58] *Ibid.*, VI, 141, 21.
[59] *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 2-3.
[60] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 199.
[61] *Indian Culture*, XIV, pp. 130-31.
[62] R. K. Mookerjee, *Asoka*, p. 108.
[63] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1911, p. 1113.
[64] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 120-21.

Kaliṅga or Kaliṅganagara has been identified with modern Kaliṅgāpaṭam at the mouth of the Vamśadharā river or Mukhaliṅgaṃ near Chicacole.[66] Mukhaliṅgaṃ is a place of pilgrimage, 20 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district.[67] Fleet has identified it with Kaliṅgāpaṭam as a kingdom.[68] It was a well-known country on the eastern coast of India lying between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī.[69] The Triliṅga inscription of Devendravarman, son of Gunārṇava (Ganga Year 192), and the India Office plate of Lakṣmaṇasena refer to Kaliṅga.[70] The kingdom of Kaliṅga included Pithuḍaka, Pithuḍaga or Pithuṇḍa on the sea-coast which existed near the river Lāṅguliya. The Kaliṅga Edict I tells us that a *kumāra* was in charge of Kaliṅga with his headquarters at Tosali or Tosala or Samāpa.[71] King Khāravela stormed a stronghold of the Magadhan army in the Barabar Hills known as the Gorathagiri and caused a heavy pressure to be brought to bear upon the citizens of Rājagaha. He compelled king Bahasatimita of Magadha to acknowledge his suzerainty. King Khāravela is said to have deputed the Bhojakas and Rāṭhikas in the 4th year of his reign and to have compelled them to do him homage. Kaliṅganagara was the capital of Kaliṅga during Khāravela's reign. The ancient Kaliṅga country seems to have comprised modern Orissa to the south of the Vaitaraṇī and the sea-coast southwards as far as Vizagapatam.[72] The *Matsya* and *Bhāgavatapurāṇas* refer to

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[65] *C.I.I.*, Vol. XXXVIII.

[66] *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, 187.

[67] *Ibid.*, XXIII, Pt. II, April 1925, p. 76.

[68] *Indian Antiquary*, XVI, p. 132.

[69] *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XV, Pt. II, p. 34.

[70] *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVI, Pt. I; XXV, Pt. V, January 1940.

[71] Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 64 f.n.

[72] Cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 114. 4.

Jaleśvara as a holy place in the Amarakaṇṭaka hill of Kaliṅga (186. 15-38; 187. 3-52) and to Kaliṅga and its people (IX, 23.5; X, 61, 29, 37) respectively. The capital of Kaliṅga was Dantapuranagara.[73] Many other Kaliṅga capitals existed in the Ganjam district.[74] Kaliṅga which formed a geographical unit by itself had its own rulers from the earliest times.

Pulakesin II claims to have subdued the Kaliṅgas and taken the fortress of Piṣṭapura[75] when Lakṣmīkarṇa gave full play to his heroism. Vaṅga trembled with Kaliṅga.[76] Kaliṅga was visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A.D. According to him it was 5,000 li in circuit. It was regularly cultivated and it produced many fruits and flowers. It contained extensive forests. It was thickly populated. The climate was hot. The people were vehement and impetuous, mostly rough and uncivilised. There were some monasteries and deva temples.[77] Kālidāsa styles the king of Kaliṅga as the lord of the Mahendra.[78]

The Pāṇḍya country comprised Madura and Tinnevelly districts.[79] It was known as Pandion to Ptolemy with Modoura as its royal city.[80] The Pāṇḍya kingdom also comprised Travancore in the 1st century of the Christian era. Originally it had its capital at Kolkai on the Tāmraparṇī river in Tinnevelly and its later capital was Madura (Dakṣiṇa Mathurā). The Pāṇḍus are spoken of in the Mahābhārata and the Jātakas as the ruling race of indraprastha. Kātyāyana in his *vārttika* derives Pāṇḍya from Pāṇḍu. The country of the Pāṇḍyas is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV,

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[73] *Epigraphia Indica*, XIV.
[74] *Ibid.*, IV, 187.
[75] *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 4 ff.
[76] *Ibid.*, II, p. 11.
[77] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 209-10.
[78] *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 43; VI, 54. For further details, vide Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 156-59; S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, Vol. I (1941) Ch. XIII, pp. 396 ff; Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 18; Cunningham, *AGI.*, pp. 734-35; Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 63-64; Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, pp. 63, 64, 95, etc.; *JRAS.*, 1898, pp. 384-85; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1927, p. 841; *Indian Culture*, XIV, p. 137.
[79] *S.I.I.*, I, 51, 59, 63, etc.
[80] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Majumdar's Ed., p. 183.

Ch. 41) where Sugrīva is said to have sent his monkey soldiers in quest of Sītā. Sahadeva went to the Dakṣiṇāpatha after having conquered the king of the Pāṇḍyas.[81] Aśoka's Rock Edicts II and XIII mention the Pāṇḍyas whose territory lay outside his empire. Aśoka was in friendly terms with the Pāṇḍyas who probably had two kingdoms, one including Tinnevelly on the south and extending as far north as the highlands in the neighbourhood of the Coimbatore gap, the other including the Mysore state. Strabo (XV. 4, 73) mentions an embassy sent to Augustus Caesar by a king Pandion, possibly a Pāṇḍya of the Tamil country. The Pāṇḍiyans were not the Pāṇḍyas.

The association of the Pāṇḍiyas of the south with the Śūrasenas of Mathurā and the Pāṇḍus of northern India is probably alluded to in the confused statement of Megasthenes regarding Heracles and Pandaia.[82] The distinction between the Pāṇḍya and the Coḷa divisions of the Tamil country is well-known.

Vijaya married a daughter of the Pāṇḍu king whose capital was Madhurā. Madhurā is Madura in the south of the Madras Presidency.[83]

Aśoka in his Rock Edicts II and XIII mentions the Coḷas along with the Pāṇḍyas, Keralaputras, and Satiyaputras as forming *Pracaṃta* or outlying provinces outside his empire. They were on friendly terms with him. The Coḷas like the Pāṇḍyas are spoken of in the plural in all the versions of the Aśokan edicts and this has been held to imply that in Aśoka's time there were more than one Coḷa and one Pāṇḍya king.[84]

The Coḷa country was drained by the river Kāverī and comprised the districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore.[85] The river Kāverī is often associated with the name of the Coḷas in south Indian Inscriptions. The Coḷa kingdom stretched along the eastern coast from the river Pennar to the river Vellar and on the west reached almost the borders of Coorg. The geographer Ptolemy refers to the kingdom of Sora (Coḷa) ruled by Arkatos and the kingdom of Malaṅga ruled by Basaronagas.

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[81] *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, Ch. 31. v. 17.

[82] Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 190; Raichaudhuri, *PHAI.*, 5th Ed. p. 329; McCrindle, *Ancient India* (Megasthenes and Arrian) pp. 163-64.

[83] For further details vide Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 190 ff; Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 180-81.

[84] Cf. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, p. 41.

[85] Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, Chap. II, p. 22.

The Coḷa kings were alleged to belong to the tribe of Tiraiyar or men of the sea. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* (Chap. 57, v. 45; Chap. 45, v. 124; Chap. 112, v. 46) the Coḷas are mentioned along with the Pāṇḍyas and Keralas. Sugrīva is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV, 41, Bombay Ed.) as sending his monkey followers to the Coḷa country in search for Sītā.

The early history of the Coḷa country is obscure. From the Coḷas the hegemony of the south passed to the Ceras and later still to the Pāṇḍyas who were ousted by the Pallavas who afterwards became the suzerain power of South India.[86]

The Nyagrodha or Nigrodha cave is hewn in the granite ridge and faces south. There is an inscription recording the gift of the cave to the Ājīvikas by Aśoka when he was consecrated 12 years.

The Khalatika hills are the modern Barabar hills in the district of Gaya in eastern India. This group of hills came to be called in some of the mediaeval inscriptions as Pravaragiri, which has given rise to the modern name Barabar. The Barabar hill cave inscriptions of Aśoka inform us that the four rock-cut cave-dwellings[87] were dedicated to the Ājīvikas by Asoka in the Khalatika hills, when he was consecrated 12 years.[88] The Khalatika (Bald-headed) hills became known in the later inscriptions by the name of Gorathagiri (Goradhagiri) and still later by the name of Pravaragiri.[89] The Barabar hill in the Jahanabad sub-division in the district of Gayā contains the Sātgharā and the Nāgārjuni caves of the time of Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha. It is about 7 miles to the east of Bela station of the Patna-Gaya railway. To the south and near the foot of the hill are the seven rock-cut caves called Sātgharā. Out of these seven caves three are on the Nāgārjuni hills.

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[86] For a detailed account vide Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 186-89.

[87] The four rock-cut cave dwellings for the use of the Ājīvikas with a vaulted roof, an oblong, rectangular, or circular outer chamber and bearing the distinctive characteristic of a bright polish shining from their walls as roofs, mark a glorious beginning of the cave architecture in India.

[88] Law, *India as described in the early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 27.

[89] Law, *Rajagriha in Ancient India*, *MASI.*, No. 58.

Magadha was a narrow strip of country of some considerable length from north to south and of an area higher than that of Kośala. Magadha corresponded at the time of the Buddha to the modern district of Patna and to the northern half of the modern district of Gaya. The inhabitants of this region used to call it Maga, a name doubtless derived from Magadha.[90] Magadha or Madhya maṇḍala is generally regarded as answering to Central Bihar. It is also called Makata by the Burmese and Siamese, Mo-ki-to by the Chinese and Makala Kokf by the Japanese.[91]

During the first 13 years of his reign Aśoka appears to have followed the traditional Maurya policy of expansion within India and of friendly co-operation with foreign powers. The martial spirit of Magadha began to die out for want of exercise. Thus came to an end the era of political *digvijaya*, giving place to the sacred era of *Dhammavijaya* or conquest by the spiritual force of non-violence. Aśoka's change of religion after the Kaliṅga war resulted in a change of the monarch's internal as well as foreign policy. He maintained friendly relations with the South Indian and Hellenistic powers. He gave up for good the old policy of violence after conquering peoples, suppressing revolt by force, and annexing territory. In the Rock Edict IV he says with a spirit of exultation that the reverberation of the war drums (*bherighosa*) has become the reverberation of law (*dhammaghosa*). He called upon his future successors to shun new conquests. This change of policy darkened the political horizon of the Magadhan empire in its heyday. After the Kalinga war the political destiny of Magadha was reversed.

Pāṭaliputra mentioned in the Rock Edict V was the later capital of Magadha. It was originally a Magadhan village known as Pāṭaligrāma which lay opposite to Koṭigrāma on the other side of the Ganges.[92] Pāṭaliputra or Kusumapura became the capital of Magadha after Rājagriha lost her glory. This city formed a natural boundary between Magadha and the territory of the Licchavis of Vesālī. It was built near the confluence of the great rivers of Mid-India, the Ganges, Son, and Gandak. It was the capital of the later Śiśunāgas, Nandas and the great Maurya emperors Candragupta and Aśoka.

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[90] *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 182-83.

[91] Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 140.

[92] For a detailed study vide Law, *Historical Geo. of Ancient India*, p. 249.

We read in the Rock Edict II that from Ujjayinī (*Ujenite*) the prince as governor (*rājūka*) would send a body of officers. Ujjayinī was the capital of Avanti which roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the Central provinces. It was situated on the river Śipra,[93] a tributary of the Carmanvatī (Chambal). It is modern Ujjain in Gwalior, Central India.[94] It is curious to note that the Sanskrit Buddhist texts place Ujjayinī in south India (Dakṣiṇāpatha).[95] It appears as Ujenī, a town in Luders' List (Nos. 172, 173, 210, 212, 218, 219-29, 231-37, 238 etc.). Avanti is placed by the *Mahābhārata* in Western India (Vanaparva, III, 89, 8354). In the Inscriptions of Aśoka the Bhoja and Ṛṣtika-Rāṣṭrika territories and their off-shoots were placed outside the territorial limit of the then Maurya province of Avanti.[96] According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (Ed. Law, pp. 49, 63) Aśoka, while he was a prince, was the head in charge of the collection of revenue of Ujjenī

Ujjayinī (Ujjenī) is frequently visited by the Liṅgāyat itinerant ascetics.[97] This city played an impotant part in the political history of India. Under the Pradyotas it rose to a very high position and its power and prowess were feared even by the great Magadhan emperors. Nine famous persons adorned the court of Vikramāditya, king of Ujjayinī, which was built by Accutagami.[98] Mahādeva visited Avantipura after destroying the great demon called Tripura. In honour of the great victory obtained by the God, Avantipura came to be known as Ujjaiyinī.[99] Ujjayinī was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. According to him it was about 6,000 li in circuit, a populous city. There were many convents and many priests.[100]

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[93] The confluence of the rivers Kṣātā and Śiprā known as *Kṣātāsangama* is an important place of pilgrimage.

[94] Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 175.

[95] *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 30.

[96] Barua, *Asoka and his Inscriptions*, Chap. III.

[97] Eliot, *Hinduism & Buddhism*, II, p. 227.

[98] *Dīpavaṃsa*, Law's Ed., Ch. IX, v. 36.

[99] *Skandapurāṇa*, Ch. 43.

Sāñcī—The Sāñcī Edict is one of the four minor pillar edicts of Aśoka, dealing with the subject of penalty of schism. Its ancient name was Kākanada.[101] It is situated 20 miles north-east of Bhupal in Central India. It is noted for its ancient Buddhist topes.[102]

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[100] For further study vide Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. IX; Law, *Geographical Essays*, pp. 33, 170; Law; *Ujjayinī in Ancient India* (Gwalior Archaeological Department); Law, *Indological Studies*, I, p. 54; Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 304-309.

[101] *C.I.I.*, III, 31; Luders' List No. 350.

[102] Marshall, *The monument of Sāñcī;* M. Hamid, *Excavations of Sindh, ASI., Annual Report* 1936-37 (1940); Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 329.

Extent of Pragjyotisa

BY

D. C. Sircar

F. E. Pargiter published a paper entitled 'Ancient Countries in Eastern India' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1897. Many of the results of this study were later incorporated in his English translation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (1904), in which he made a laudable attempt to locate the peoples or countries mentioned in the geographical section of the said Purāṇa.

Unfortunately, some of Pargiter's identifications of localities are clearly wrong. Thus he locates the Puṇḍras in the northern areas of Chota Nagpur in the southern region of Bihar and the Utkalas in the land extending from the southern part of Chota Nagpur to the Balasore District of Orissa. As regards the latter, Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (Canto IV) makes it clear that they lived in the land to the west of the Kapiśā (modern Kaśāi) running through the Midnapore District in South-West Bengal between the deltaic region of South Bengal inhabited by the Vaṅgas and the country of the Kaliṅgas whose king is called *Mahendranātha, i.e.,* the lord of the Mahendragiri peak in the Ganjam District of Orissa. The Utkalas therefore lived in the Balasore District and the adjoining coastal regions. There is really no evidence suggesting the inclusion of Southern Chota Nagpur in the Utkala country. Likewise, in locating the Puṇḍras, Pargiter ignored the evidence of the *Divyāvadāna* and the records of the age of the Pālas and their contemporaries, and we have now inscriptions of the Maurya and Gupta epochs—all clearly indicating that this people lived in North Bengal. According to the *Divyāvadāna*, the city of Puṇḍravardhana lay on the eastern border of the land which was the early sphere of Buddhism (i.e. Bihar and Eastern U.P.),[1] while epigraphic records of the early mediaeval period apply the name Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti to North Bengal, its chief city being Puṇḍravardhana, identified with modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District.[2] The Damodarpur plates of the Gupta age show that Koṭivarṣa (the area around modern Bangarh in the Dinajpur District) was a *viṣaya* or district of the *bhukti* or province of Puṇḍravardhana.[3] The Mahasthan inscription of the third century B.C. not only proves that Puṇḍravardhana was also called Puṇḍranagara, 'the city of the Puṇḍras', but also supports its identification with Mahasthan.[4] Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century A.D., travelled from Kajaṅgala (modern Rajmahal in East Bihar) to the east to Puṇḍravardhana and thence to the east to Kāmarūpa (Prāgjyotiṣa).[5] Thus Pargiter's location of the Puṇḍras in Northern Chota Nagpur is palpably untenable.

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[1] Ed. P. L. Vaidya, p. 13. *Puṇḍravardhana* is explained as 'the city of the Puṇḍras', *vardhana* being the same as Old Persian *vardana.* See Monier-Williams *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *vardhana.*

It is a matter of regret that the wrong location of the Puṇḍras influenced Pargiter's identification of the land of the Prāgjyotiṣa people and this has also affected writers on the early history of Assam.

According to Pargiter, the early kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa comprised the major part of modern Assam together with the Jalpaiguri, Cochbihar, Rangpur, Bogra, Mymensingh, Dacca and Tippera Districts and parts of the Pabna District in Bengal and probably also the eastern areas of Nepal.[6] He points out that the Prāgjyotiṣa country bordered on the lands of the Kirātās and Cīnas forming the retinue of Bhagadatta of the *Mahābhārata*, etc., who also drew his troops from the dwellers of Sāgarānūpa (marshy region near the sea) and is even represented as dwelling in the Eastern Sea. It is suggested that 'these marshy regions can only be the alluvial tracts and islands near the mouths of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra as they existed anciently',, so that "Prāgjyotiṣa comprised the whole of North Bengal proper.'[7]

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[2] See Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 15, etc.; Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 2, etc.

[3] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 283-84, etc.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

[5] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 184 ff. The pilgrim noticed a *stūpa* built by the Maurya emperor Aśoka (third century B.C.) at the city of Puṇḍravardhana though no Aśokan *stūpa* was found by him in Kāmarūpa. Considering the tradition that Aśoka built 84000 *stūpas* throughout his empire, it seems that North Bengal was included in his dominions but Assam was not.

[6] *JASB*, 1897, p. 106.

K. L. Barua, in his *Early History of Kāmarūpa*,[8] refers to Pargiter's views and suggests that the western boundary of Prāgjyotiṣa was the Kosī river in Bihar and that the Purnea District was included in it. This, however, clearly goes against the epic and Puranic tradition regarding Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva (*i.e.* Vāsudeva, King of the Puṇḍras), the epigraphic and literary evidence about the location of the land of the Puṇḍras in North Bengal and of Prāgjyotiṣa Kāmarūpa in the Brahmaputra Valley, and the Chinese *Tang-shu* and the *Kālikā Punāṇa* and *Yoginī Tantra* stating clearly that the western boundary of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa was the river Karatoyā. Some scholars believe that the Karatoyā was originally a very big river uniting in its bed the streams of the present Tīstā, Kosī and Mahānandā.[9]

The Nidhanpur (Sylhet District) charter, originally issued by Mahābhūtavarman of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa in the sixth century and renewed by his descendant Bhāskaravarman about the middle of the following century, records the grant of land near the Kauśikā (sometimes called *suṣka* or dried up), and Barua identifies it with the Kosī in Bihar, though others prefer its identification with the Kushiyārā in the Sylhet region near Assam.[10] But Barua does not notice that, if the Purnea District of Bihar formed a part of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa in the days of Bhāskaravarman, contemporary Chinese writings would not have mentioned the Karatoyā as the boundary between Puṇḍravardhana and Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa.[11] Barua's belief that Puṇḍravardhana was a part of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa in the first quarter of the sixth century or about 525 A.D. when Mahābhūtavarman is supposed to have been ruling totally ignores the evidence of the Daṃodarpur inscription of 543 A.D., which includes the province of that name in the Gupta empire.[11a] If Māḍhāśālmalī in the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, mentioned in the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla, is regarded as identical with or situated near Mayūraśālmatī in the Candrapurī-viṣaya as known from the Nidhanpur plates[12] of Mahābhūtavarman and Bhāskaravarman, the inclusion of Puṇḍravardhana in Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa is scarcely proved since certain border areas of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa may have been annexed to the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti by the Pāla emperor. It is well known that, during the age of the Pālas and their contemporaries, wide areas of East and South Bengal were comprised in the *bhukti* called Puṇḍravardhana or Pauṇḍra.

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[7] *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 328, note. Pargiter even goes so far as to say, "The *Raghuvaṁśa* places it seemingly beyond the Brahmaputra (IV, 81); but Kālidāsa was a little uncertain in distant geography." Since Kālidāsa flourished at the court of the Gupta emperors whose dominions included the province of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) and bordered on the pratyanta kingdom of Kāmarūpa, another name of Prāgjyotiṣa, it is impossible to think that the poet was ignorant of the location of this country. But Kālidāsa says that the king of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa trembled when Raghu crossed the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) which is thus not represented as a boundary of the county. The Aphsad inscription (*CII*, Vol. III, pp. 203, 206) also places it in the valley of the Lohitya (Lauhitya) while describing the victory of Mahāsenagupta over Susthitavarman. It may however be noted that, while Mahāsenagupta invaded Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa from the east or south-east, Raghu entered the country from the Himalayan region in the north.

[8] Cf. pp. 2-3.

[9] Gait, *History of Assam*, 2nd ed., pp. 10-11.

[10] Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51; *IHQ*, Vol. VII, p. 743 (823).

According to the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (chapter 38) compiled in the Assam region during the early mediaeval period, Naraka, son of the god Viṣṇu and the goddess Earth, was taken to Prāgjyotisapura near the temple of Kāmākhyā in the heart of Kāmarūpa. He drove out the Kirāta inhabitants of the country from the area between the Karatoyā in the west and the Dikkaravāsinī and Lalitakāntā in the east for settling the twiceborn, while the Kirātas were rehabilitated in the sea coast extending from Lalitakāntā in the east. Similar information is supplied by the late mediaeval *Yoginī Tantra* according to which Kāmarūpa was bounded in the north by the Kañjagiri or Kāñcan-ādri (probably the Kanchenjunga) in Nepāla, in the west by the Karatoyā, in the east by the Dikṣu river or Dikkaravāsinī, and in the south by the Brahmaputra-saṅgama or the confluence of the Brahmaputra and the Lākṣā.[13] The Dikṣu is no other than the modern Dikhu falling in the Brahmaputra near Sibsagar in Assam, while the Lākṣā is the modern Lakhyā which joins the Brahmaputra in the Mymensing District of East Pakistan. The temple of Dikkaravāsinī is often wrongly located at Dikrang near Sadiya, and Lalitakāntā is likewise associated with the hill streams of Sandhyā, Lalitā and Kāntā not far from Gauhati, the chief city of Assam, lying a few miles from the Kāmākhyā temple[14] and identified with the ancient city of Prāgjyotiṣapura.

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[11] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 184ff. (cf. p. 186 and note 2).

[11a] *Select Ins.*, pp. 337ff.

[12] Cf. P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 6.

[13] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 68; Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 13 and note.

It will be seen from the above discussion that the Karatoyā was regarded as the western boundary of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa from the seventh century A.D. while the same appears to have been the case when North Bengal was included in the Magadha empire under the Guptas from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. and the Nandas and Mauryas between the fourth and second century B.C. There is again no evidence to prove that the position was otherwise between the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas. It may be mentioned in this connection that North Bengal was also called Varendra or Varendrī from the age of the Pālas and that Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita* mentions Pauṇḍravardhanapura as the chief city of Varendrī which it locates between the Ganges and the Karatoyā.[15]

Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa is represented as a land sometimes of the north and sometimes of the east.[16] This is because the country extended from the hilly region regarded as a part of the Himalayas in the north to near about the junction of the Brahmaputra and the Lakhyā in the south. The *Mahābhārata*[17] represents Bhagadatta as *Pūrvasāgaravāsin* (dwelling in the Eastern Sea) while the *Rāmāyaṇa*[18] states that Prāgjyotiṣapura, the city of Bhagadatta's father Naraka, was situated on the Varāha mountain in the sea. The *Mahābhārata*[19] also represents Bhagadatta as the leader of the Cinas, Kirātas, Mlecchas and Sāgarānūpavāsins. It is therefore interesting to note that, in the course of Arjuna's *digvijaya* in the north, he is said to have defeated Bhagadatta leading the Cīnas, Kirātas and Sāgarānūpavāsins[20] while Bhīma in his expedition in the east is said to have reached the Lauhitya valley and defeated the Mleccha rulers and the Sāgarānūpavāsins.[21]

[14] *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 17, note 3.
[15] *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 328, note.
[16] V, 4, 11; XI, 23. 10.
[17] See V.R.S. ed., pp. 84 (III. 10), 153, v. 1).
[18] IV. 42. 30-31.
[19] II. 26. 9; 33. 9-10.
[20] *Ibid.*, II. 26. 9.
[21] *Ibid.*, II. 30. 26-27.

This sea or Eastern Sea not far from Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa requires some explanation. As we have seen, Pargiter supposed that it was below the mouths of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. But the deltaic region of South Bengal watered by the mouths of the Ganges was inhabited by the ancient people, called the Vaṅgas by the Indians and Gangaridae by the Greeks, from very early times.[22] Since the *Kālika Purāṇa* seems to locate the sea to the east (or at least the south-east) of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa, P. N. Bhattacharya considers it possible that Bhagadatta's empire extended upto the South China Sea.[23] But it is extremely doubtful if we can take the *Kālikā Purāṇa* evidence so literally and conclude that such a large area of South-East Asia was actually included in Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa. There was really no sea to the east or south-east of the country. K. L. Barua points to the application of the name *hāor* (Sanskrit *sāgara*) to the marshy parts of Sylhet and Mymensing and refers to the Bhatera copper-plate inscription of Govinda Keśavadeva of Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) mentioning the sea as the boundary of a plot of the gift land.[24] He therefore concludes that the sea referred to was the low-lying and water-logged land to the south of the Assam range and suggests that the said area may have been connected in olden times with the Bay of Bengal (Eastern Sea) through the estuaries of the Brahmaputra.

Considering the fact that the traditional southern boundary of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa was the confluence of the Brahmaputra and the Lakhyā in the Mymensing District, Barua's suggestion seems to be justifiable. In this connection, it may also be noted that the epigraphic records of the kings of ancient Assam speak of the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra as 'the sea', while there is a tradition that, in ancient times, the Eastern Sea extended upto Devīkoṭṭa in the Dinajpur District of North Bengal.[25] This also explains the mention of the Lauhitya in the *Mahābhārata* side by side with the Sāgarānūpavāsins.

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[22] Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 172 ff.

[23] *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Intro., pp. 4, note 2; 11, note 2. For the country to the east of this land, cf. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 186; Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, pp. 132-33.

[24] *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 2; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 282, text line 32. The word used here is *sāgara*. An inscription of the Senas speaks of the *samudra* as the boundary of one of the plots of land granted (Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 146, text line 47).

[25] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 151.

Reference may be made here to another point not entirely unconnected with our topic. In an inscription of King Jayadeva Paracakrakāma of Nepal, probably dated in 737 A.D., his queen Rājyamatī is described as born in Bhagadatta's family (to which all kings of ancient Assam claimed to have belonged) and as the daughter of Harṣadeva, called *Gauḍ-Oḍr-ādi-Kaliṅga-Kosala-pati,* 'lord of Gauda, Oḍra and other lands as well as of Kaliṅga and Kosala (apparently South Kosala)'.[26] This Harṣadeva, father-in-law of the Nepalese King Jayadeva, is generally identified with King Harṣavarman, a descendant of Sālastambha who occupied the throne of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa about the middle of the seventh century A.D.[27] But it is not noticed that, although Harṣa was the king of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa, neither Prāgjyotiṣa nor Kāmarūpa occurs in the above list of his territories and that this fact clearly points to the degree of historical accuracy to be expected in the description. We have similar other cases of poetical excesses. Thus the Aihole inscription (634 A.D.) of Pulakeśin II of Badami describes his father Kīrtivarman I as the vanquisher of the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas, and nobody ever doubted the genuineness of the claim. But the same Kīrtivarman I is described in the Mahakuta pillar inscription (602 A.D.) of his younger brother Mangaliśa as the subduer of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Gaṅga, Mūṣaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa, Coḷiya, Āḷuka and Vaijayantī. It is interesting that, in this list, Kīrtivarman's genuine victory over the Nalas and Mauryas is conspicuously omitted, while his imaginary success against the Vaṅgas, Aṅgas, Madrakas and others has been mentioned. The conquest of Vaijayantī, the capital of the Kadambas, is the only genuine claim of victory in the fictitious description of the Mahakuta pillar inscription.[28]

The statement in the Nepalese inscription regarding the lordship of Harṣavarman of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa over a number of countries in Eastern India should therefore be taken with a grain of salt.

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[26] Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, p. 117, verse 15.

[27] See Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13; but cf. Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[28] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 345-46; *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, pp. 232-33.

The Military Operations of 1824-5 on the North-east Frontier of India

BY

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The military operations of 1824-5 on the borders of Bengal in Assam, Sylhet and Cachar have not received from the historians the attention they deserve. These operations showed how vital the North-Eastern frontier was to the safety of the low-lying plains of Bengal. The Burmese occupation of Assam and the hill states bordering Sylhet and Tipperah not only weakened the defence barriers of Bengal, but constituted a direct menace to its security along upwards of six hundred miles of its frontier. The campaigns which came in the wake of the Burmese conquests in Assam demonstrated the urgent need for a scientific frontier for Bengal on that side. They also illustrated the risks and dangers from a lack of adequate military defences on the eastern borders.

On the eve of the out-break of the first Anglo-Burmese War, the eastern borders of Bengal were more or less unguarded on account of the want of foresight and care on the part of the British authorities. The Chittagong frontier was left with no more than five companies of Sepoy infantry, and a police force called the Chittagong provincial battalion. Sylhet was in the care of four companies of the Rangpur local battalion, and Rangpur itself was guarded by the headquarters of that corps, stationed at Jamalpur on the Brahmaputra. The borders on the Assam side were protected by two companies of the Dinapore local battalion, with some gun-boats. Only five companies of regular infantry were posted at Dacca, until the latter part of 1823, when an additional five companies had to be transferred from the cantonment of Berhampore. The military defence thus was most inadequate. Whatever force was available was scattered, and it was hardly in a position to stop an organized enemy offensive. There was no fortress or fortified position along the Brahmaputra from the Naaf in the south to

Goalpara in the north. The ill-guarded frontiers of Bengal must have been a standing incitement to the Burmese expansion in Assam. To make matters worse, the authorities at Calcutta had very little topographical knowledge of the hill regions of Assam, and little or no statistical information about the people and the resources of the neighbouring areas. Thus, when the Calcutta authorities were involved in the first Burma War of 1824, they were almost ignorant of the eastern terrain on which it was to be prosecuted, and equally unaware of the resources of the enemy. And, the whole frontier was practically defenceless.

It is therefore hardly surprising that the initial arrangements for the prosecution of the war in Assam, Sylhet and Cachar were wavering and inefficient, and every operation had to be conducted with insufficient and unsatisfactory resources. It was because of the semi-defenceless state of Bengal that there was alarm even for the safety of Calcutta, and the Commander-in-Chief had to improvise hastily a gun-boat establishment or flotilla which was to cruise on the salt lake, east of Calcutta, and guard the river barrier from the Sunderbans or Delta to Dacca. In due course, this flottila was apportioned to the forces about to penetrate into Assam, Cachar and Arracan.

The military operations on the North-Eastern frontier were prosecuted from several points in 1824-5, viz., from Goalpara into Assam; from Sylhet into Cachar; and from Chittagong into Arracan. The objectives of these campaigns were, *firstly*, to complete the conquest of Assam, *secondly*, to reinforce the British forces in Burma, *thirdly*, to create a diversion inside Burma from the side of Cachar and Arracan, for which purpose, upwards of 30,000 men, of all arms, were concentrated in Bengal, and *lastly*, to secure the Chittagong frontier and counteract the Burmese moves in Arracan.

From the contemporary despatches and unofficial reports, it is possible to reconstruct one connected and comprehensive day-to-day account of the main campaigns of 1824-5. This summary account would throw some light on the emergence of the North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal as a vital link in the chain of its defences, and also on the inefficient prosecution of the war in the early stages on account of the utter mismanagement of Lord Amherst and Sir Edward Paget.

Invasion of Assam, 1824

In January, Brigadier McMorine succeeded Brigadier Popham, who went back to England on account of ill-health. The new Brigadier came to Goalpara on the Brahmaputra—a point on the eastern frontier leading into Assam, where a force was collected for the eventual invasion of that area. A gun-boat flotilla on the Brahmaputra, three brigades of six-pounders, six companies Rungpur and the Dinapore local corps were assembled here. To these were subsequently added seven companies, and a wing of the Champaran local corps, giving a total of about 2,200 rank and file, with a small body of irregular cavalry. As against this, the Burmese were reported to have 3,000 or 4,000 well-armed troops in Assam, although this estimate was found incorrect afterwards.

March 13, 1824—Flotilla stores and 46th Regiment N.I. moved up the Brahmaputra. The remainder of the troops moved by land.

March 23—From *Kumurpootah,* a detachment of the Champaran brigade diverged to dislodge the enemy from the stockades of *Lu Riedewa.* The object was effected without difficulty; the Burmese leaving two men killed, and a few wounded.

March 26—At *Plaasbarry,* the two divisions were united. This was a stockaded position, ten miles from *Gauhati,* the capital of South Assam, and seventy miles from *Goalpara.*

March—27—After a few shots, the Burmese evacuated their position. An ineffectual pursuit was attempted.

March 28—The town and stockades of *Gauhati* were occupied. The Burmese, prior to their retreat up the Brahmaputra to *Kulliabar,* impaled some forty Assamese, suspected of intrigue with the British. On this date, a proclamation was issued by the Brigadier, explanatory of the views of the invaders, and calling on the Assamese to join in expelling the Burmese. The Brigadier's operations were under the control of the political agent, Mr. D. Scott, who was, at this period, personally attending to the Burmese movements from Cachar on Sylhet.

April 5—Mr. Scott, with an escort of three companies 46th Regiment N.I., quitted Sylhet to reach the Brahmaputra, by a direct route through the state of the *Jyntiah* (Jaintia) Raja, who was inimical to the Burmese.

April 15—Mr. Scott, with his escort, arrived in safety at *Russu Chokey* on the Brahmaputra, about 80 miles above Gauhati. The distance traversed by this party was about 90 miles in eleven days; the greater portion of the route lay across a high tableland, easy of access, and the *Jyintiahs* very friendly. *Naogaon* had been deserted by the Burmese soon after the Brigadier reached Gauhati.

April 29—Mr. Scott moved down to Gauhati, leaving his escort, under Captain Horsburgh, to occupy *Naogaon.*

May 5—Some movements of the Burmese indicating an intention to dispute the possession of Naogaon, Lieut-Col. Richard, with the gun-boat flotilla, and five companies 46th regiment, N.I. moved from Gauhati to prosecute operations as far as *Kullung* river, or *Kulliabar.*

May 9—Reached *Munguldye,* thirty miles up the Brahmaputra.

May 15—Having been joined by the Naogaon detachment, Col. Richards gained the Kullung river, about 90 miles above Gauhati. On the two following days, possession was taken of the stockades of *Hautbar,* or Kullung, which the enemy did not venture to defend.

May 24—A movement was made by water to turn the stockades of *Runglygur,* above Kulliabar. During this operation, the camp at the latter place was left under charge of Captain Horsburgh, with four companies, and a party of irregular horse. The Burmese, before a final retreat from Lower Assam, ventured an attack on the camp at Kulliabar. For this effort, they lost 50 killed, and 150 or 200 wounded and drowned on their retreat. The loss of the British was limited to some camp-followers at the commencement of the attack.

May 30—Brigadier McMorine fell a victim to an attack of cholera. He died on his way from Gauhati to Kulliabar, where Lieut.-Col. Richards who succeeded to the command, established his headquarters for some time.

July 10—Brigadier Richards found himself under the disagreeable necessity of retreating to Gauhati; the difficulties of supplying the troops with provisions being found almost insurmountable, owing to the rapidity of the current of the Brahmaputra, and the great distance from which the supplies were obliged to be brought; Assam itself furnishing nothing but beef, an article of food which

Hindus did not approve. Most of the baggage, cattle and cavalry (for which water carriage was not obtainable), perished on the way down, though the distance was not above 90 miles.

Thus ended the operations of the season in Assam. The delay in the advance of the troops, during February and March, was regrettable, and was the subject of adverse comment. Owing to mismanagement, the land column could not easily penetrate the deep and high grass jungle which lay in its route. The progress of the flotilla was equally slow owing to the rapidity of the current and the want of track paths along the banks of the river. On the whole, the advance of the troops was most unsatisfactory. There was inefficient transport both by land and by water. Provisions and stores were inadequate, and the advance of the army could not outstrip the commissariat supplies. It was by great exertions that the means placed at the disposal of the commissariat officer enabled him to meet the wants of the troops on their limited line of operation; any extension of this line, the department could certainly not meet. The campaign closed without a signal success, although there was no mishap. Much exposure and privation were endured by the troops; but, there was no opportunity for obtaining laurels.

Sylhet and Cachar, 1824

To meet the Burmese invasion, the British collected on the Sylhet frontier the 1st Brigade 10th, three companies 2nd Brigade 23rd, and the original detachment of four companies of the Rungpur local corps, with a very inadequate detail of artillery. Altogether, the effective strength of this force might be estimated at 1,200 rank and file.

January 16, 1824—At Juttrapoor, on this date, Major Newton had concentrated his small force, and attacked the enemy in their stockades; losing five men killed and eleven wounded. The Burmese lost about seventy killed, and retired. But, owing to the want of provisions, the British army had also to retreat to Bhadrapur, on the Soorma river, fifty miles from Sylhet.

Feb. 13—The Burmese having re-entered Cachar in greater force, and with more apparent combination, pushed forward on this date a party to occupy the heights across the Soorma, within

1,000 yards of the British post at Bhadrapur. Here, they began to stockade their position. Mr. D. Scott sanctioned an attack on the Burmese. The Burmese fired on the advanced parties from the British force, but their attack was not strong enough to route the British, although the latter had to suffer losses. Then, the Burmese retired without any loss on their side. On this second reverse, the Assam division fell back on the passes, while the Burmese stockaded on the heights of *Duodpatly,* a distance of a few miles only from Bhadrapur.

Feb. 16—Since the affair of the 13th, Lieut.-Col. Bowen had moved from Sylhet. Major Newton also advanced, and again occupied Juttrapoor. Here Lieut-Col. Bowen's division, which had to proceed by water, also arrived on the following day. By these diverse movements the Assam troops were induced to retire altogether from Cachar, influenced, no doubt, by the preparations at Goalpara for the invasion of Assam.

Feb. 21—The movements of this day brought the advance of Col. Bowen's force into contact with a detachment of the Burmese, which was briskly attacked, and an attempt made to follow the enemy into the stockaded position on the ridge of Duodpatly, but, being drawn on the strongest point, the attempt failed. Col. Bowen persevered in his efforts to carry the heights after the first repulse, but totally failed in all. After a prolonged exposure to the Burmese fire, the British troops were compelled to fall back two miles to Juttrapoor; leaving a party on the intervening ridge. The British loss was one officer killed, five European officers wounded, and 150 men killed and wounded.

Feb. 25—No further movement occurred until this date, when it was reported that the Burmese were in retreat from Cachar. The British troops then went into quarters for the rains, but the main body fell back to cantonments at Sylhet. Towards the end of this month, an ordance depot was formed at Dacca, and a local corps was ordered to be organized at Sylhet, to be composed of hill tribes and Manipuris.

Nothing material occurred on this frontier during the months of March, April and May. Towards the end of May, a British army moved in haste towards Chittagong, where the greatest alarm prevailed after the great disaster of the 17th of May at Ramoo. Later, more Burmese invasions of Cachar took place from the side of Manipur. The British troops had to fall back in consequence.

June 7—Unfavourable accounts were received from the frontier. The Burmese had re-established themselves on the heights of Talayn, Juttrapoor and Duadpatly. Col. Innes was recalled.

June 12—Col. Innes, with part of his harassed troops, retired to Sylhet; the men had to track their routes night and day against the stream, with brief intervals of rest; and, as the whole country is at this season under water, the essential indulgence of landing to cook their meals was seldom to be obtained.

June 20—Col. Innes' force, amounting to about 1,000 rank file, reached Bhadrapur..

June 27—The force gained the Barak river, near Juttrapoor; some previous efforts to cross a detachment by land were obstructed by the state of the rivulets and marshy hollows.

June 28—Col. Innes landed a part of his force, and with two five-and-a-half howitzers, and four six-pounders occupied a ridge of hills, with the intent from thence to prosecute his attack on the stockades of Talayn and Duodpatly. So little attention was paid to the elevation of surrounding heights, that the Burmese cleverly seized a point from where they commanded the British position. After some fruitless expenditure of ammunition, a feeble attempt to recover the lost height, and some loss, Col. Innes withdrew to his boats on the Barak river. With this ill-planned and ill-executed effort the operations for the season closed. The season was unfavourable and equipment in artillery insufficient.

July 6—The troops passed the season in boats; the Burmese in quiet possession of their heights. There was considerable sickness among British troops. Sometimes, more than half the men were in hospital.

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It is clear that the operations in Cachar were entirely mismanaged. The Government and its political advisers were ill-informed of the movements and intentions of the Burmese. The officers on this front were inefficient, and nobody seemed to know that a successful prosecution of hill warfare is the most difficult field for the exercise of military skill, and one in which stratagem is more usually called forth than tactics, and therefore extensive local knowledge is an essential requirement. Owing to the lack of local knowledge, the British officers committed a series of blunders, and the ignorance of the theatre of operations on the part of the British troops was a great advantage to the Burmese. Col. Inne's action against the latter on the 28th of June was badly conducted, and it showed no foresight and vigour on his part. The repeated abandonment of the commanding positions in Cachar betrayed a total lack of experience in hill and jungle warfare. The Burmese thrice occupied the passes and the heights, and were neither driven from, nor manoeuvred out of these positions. It was a very costly lesson that the British learnt in frontier operations during this war.

Chittagong Frontier, 1824

The quarrel between the British and the Burmese in 1823, with regard to the right to the island of Shapari ("Shahpuree") had ended in its occupation by a small force commanded by an Indian officer from the Chittagong police corps. A small naval force was equipped to interpose between that island and the Burmese positions on the Naaf and at Mungdoo. Chittagong which is at a distance of 140 miles from the Naaf was re-inforced by the transfer of a force from Dacca. The seizure and deportation to Arracan, on the 21st of January 1824, of Mr. Chew, who had been invited on shore to a conference with the Burmese was an act of hostility, and so reinforcements were ordered to Chittagong. A local Mug levy was recruited, and was placed under the command of Capt. Pringle on the 29th of April. The entire force, regular and irregular, numbered about 3,000 men; but of these the small detail of artillery and the regulars were alone to be depended on, and these were no more than a half of the total number. There was a detachment at Ramoo, about 100 miles from Chittagong, and within a few miles of the Burmese outposts on the Naaf. Early in May the Burmese crossed the Naaf with about 2,000 men, and took up a position fourteen miles distant from Ramoo.

May 9—A British force moved as a reconnaissance towards the Burmese, when its advance was successfully opposed by the latter. The British force had to retreat to Ramoo, having had two officers wounded, and twenty-five men killed and wounded.

May 12—Having heard of the approach of the Burmese, Brigadier *Shapland* sent three companies from Chittagong to reinforce the British positions.

May 14—The Burmese kept on advancing. An attempt was made to check them, but it was of no avail. The British officer in charge was comtemplating retreat from the entrenched position.

May 15 and 16—Much desultory firing, under which the Burmese continued to push on towards the British front and flanks.

May 17—The Burmese were still advancing towards the rear of the British force. They occupied an important position at 10 A.M.—a decisive success which proved critical for the British troops. There was general panic among them. The Burmese obstructed the retreating force by effective attacks. The British were in dire peril. Most of the officers died in their vain efforts to rally a defeated army. In the end, however, a fair part of the force could disperse safely. Only three officers escaped, two of them being wounded. This was a disgraceful rout, indeed!

May 18—The great disaster at Ramoo created a deep sensation all round. In Calcutta, the greatest alarm prevailed. The safety of Chittagong was "past praying for". Dacca was in immediate danger, and even Calcutta itself was supposed to be in peril. But, the Burmese could not follow up their success. The season was unfavourable for a rapid advance, and they were not fully equipped for an extended line of operations. Reinforcements for the defence of Bengal were now called from every quarter.

May 24—A wing of infantry was embarked for Chittagong from Calcutta. There was a baseless rumour of the occupation of Chittagong by the Burmese. The Burmese could in fact make no advance beyond Ramoo. Their default saved the situation for Bengal, for if they had rushed on for Chittagong and Decca, they could have captured both the stations easily.

June 2—The Burmese successfully captured the British detachment at Shapari. A few men escaped with difficulty.

June 10—The Burmese had to send most part of their army in Arracan to reinforce their forces at Rangoon. This marked the beginning of the end for the Burmese.

July 27—The Burmese had to evacuate all their positions north of the Naaf and retire inside Arracan. This was due to a number of factors. Firstly, the war situation was changing inside Burma. Secondly, most of the Burmese troops had to be sent away to Rangoon. Thirdly, Arracan lay exposed to attack by sea. Lastly, sickness was an important cause for the Burmese withdrawal.

These operations brought to light the defenceless state of the South-Eastern frontier of Bengal, and demonstrated a lamentable lack of foresight on the part of the Bengal authorities. The measures of defence were totally inefficient and inadequate. The rainy season alone saved the British position in Bengal, and it was purely providential. There is no doubt that the British authorities committed error after errror, and the lessons of hill and jungle warfare during the Nepal War were forgotten with disastrous results. These lessons were learnt afresh now. The authorities found, *firstly,* that the art of stockading must be thoroughly acquired, *secondly,* that the advantages of position when held by a foe must not be despised, *thirdly,* that an engineer corps with artillery parks is absolutely necessary in hill warfare, *fourthly,* that the troops on the frontiers can be reduced only at grave risk, and, *lastly,* that the knowledge of the theatre of operations must be fairly accurate and full.

Campaign In Assam, 1824-5

In the latter part of 1824 when the operations were resumed in Assam, some of the early errors were avoided. *Firstly,* the commissariat was now better organised and equipped, *secondly,* the communication with the Bengal provinces was kept open, *thirdly,* Brigadier Richards was to work in co-ordination with Mr. D. Scott, Political Commissioner, as a junior Commissioner so as to avoid the risks of divided authority, *fourthly,* the troops were now adequately reinforced, and, *lastly,* several new suitable posts were established for cantonments.

Oct. 19, 1824—The Burmese were in possession of Kulliabar, whence their parties were pushing into Cachar. Major Cooper, who was stationed at Mungle Dye was directed to proceed towards Kulliabar with four gun-boats and a flotilla.

Oct. 31—The British troops surprised the Burmese at Dikeree. This success restored the British prestige to some extent. The

Burmese had to retreat hereafterwards. One of their parties was surprised at Hautgaon in incessant rain.

Nov. 2—The Burmese were again surprised at Raha Chokey, and their flight was intercepted. They had to suffer considerable losses, without any on the part of the British.

Nov. 3—It was reported that the Burmese Governor in Assam was preparing to withdraw to Manipur.

Nov. 4—The Burmese made a precipitate retreat from Naogaon, and left behind most of their baggage, plunder and stores, including twenty guns and three war boats. These repeated successes restored the British troops to the former positions lost by their retreat in July last.

Nov. 25—The 57th regiment Infantry reached Gauhati, when the 46th regiment infantry was ordered to move by water to Kulliabar.

Dec. 3—British operations were directed against Rangpur, the head-quarter of Upper Assam. The great obstacle to a speedy movement lay in the insufficient supply of transport Carriage, the principal resources being in water-transport, ill adapted to facilitate operations against many of the least accessible points of attack.

Dec. 27—More British reinforcements advanced from Kulliabar by land and by water. The number of store-boats caused the progress to be very slow.

Jan. 6, 1825—The British entrenched themselves at Maura Mookh. The force consisted of artillery, flotilla, irregular çavalry, Infantry regiments, and Dinapore and Rangpur corps. A party of the Burmese were forced to retire, but without any loss. Arrangements were begun to clear the country on the flank and rear. Advance parties were sent in all directions.

Jan. 10—The British forces reached Deorgaum at one A.M.; but the Burmese were alert, and they managed to leave their stockades on one side as the British troops entered on the opposite, and escaped with little or no loss. A Burmese stockade near Deorguroo was carried by assault. The Burmese abandoned Kutcheree Hath, but a part of their detachment was cut up. As a result of this, the neighbouring country was cleared. The Burmese had to retire towards Rangpur.

Jan. 16—The Dinapore corps, under Major Waters, reached Jorhat after its hasty evacuation by the Burmese. Large supplies of grain were detained here.

Jan. 17—The British troops expected an attack at the mouth of the Dessung river. Precautions were taken, but the Burmese did not appear.

Jan. 18—The headquarters joined the advance of Jorhat, while Captain McLeod, with the fleet, was making slow progress against the currents and shallows towards the Dhekun river. From this date to the 26th, the movements were slowed down, and the British suffered considerably from the rain that fell daily.

Jan. 21—The fleet and stores, under Captain McLeod, reached the Dhekun river, which proved too shallow to admit a nearer approach than fourteen miles from Rangpur. No enemy had been seen by the fleet.

Jan. 22—The Burmese left the stockades at Millung.

Jan. 24—The Burmese still continued to retire as the British advanced.

Jan. 25—The British troops encamped at Gowrie Saogor on the Dhekun river.

Jan. 26—A reconnaissance was conducted close up to Rangoon, and an outwork gained. This was so buried in woods and marshes that little could be traced of the nature of its defences.

Jan. 27—At 11 A.M., the Burmese made a brisk and unexpected attack on Captain McLeod's position. The troops and camp-followers who were cooking beyond the bridge made such a rush on the first alarm that the Burmese actually gained a footing on the bridge before the British defenders could act. But, the Burmese had to give ground eventually. Captain McLeod put his men under cover, and remained on the defensive. Brigadier Richards soon arrived, but would not order any movement until it was clear that the enemy had no other object of attack. During this brief interval, the Burmese kept up a smart fire and loud yelling from the high grass jungle, which concealed their numbers and position. Once, they pushed on the road, across which they quickly threw up a retrenchment to command the bridge. At length, the British moved on to the assault. There was stiff fighting, and the Burmese retreated, and were pursued.

Jan. 28—An advance on Rangpur was arranged after the arrival of more guns and howitzers, and also provisions.

Jan. 29—The force moved at 7 a.m. At 11 a.m. the advance came on the enemy's outworks, from which a smart fire was opened. Then, the British troops had to diverge right and left into the dense jungles. A Burmese stockade was carried in gallant style, and the enemy hastily retreated to the fort of Rangpur. There were losses on both sides. Brigadier Richards took up position in front of the fort, occupying two stockades within 700 yards of the ramparts. The Burmese opened an ineffective fire, as the British troops were protected under cover of a big tank and the ditches of the road. Troops were posted in two temples within 300 yards of the walls.

Jan. 30—At 3 a.m., two men were killed at the left temple pique by the enemy. After daylight, a few shots were fired from the fort; but at noon a flag of truce was displayed, and negotiations opened for the surrender of Rangpur, which was taken possession of by 2 p.m. on the following terms; viz: The evacuation of Assam by the Burmese; the surrender of all forts with military stores and arms; such of the troops as wished to come over to the British to be protected in their persons and property; the rest to retire out of Assam to Ava without molestation, provided no act of aggression was committed. Under this historic capitulation, *Saum Phokun*, with some other chiefs, and 700 men, surrendered; the rest of the garrison, estimated at 200 fighting men, but 9000 of all classes, ages and sexes, retired towards the passes leading to Manipur. The fort of Rangpur was a quadrangular structure, each face about 1200 yards, a rampart faced with brick, decayed in several places; bastions at the angles, gates at the centre of each face, and a moderate ditch surrounded these defences. The principal obstacle, however, to overcome was a glacis, thickly sprinkled with spiked bamboos, a mode of defence much practised. From the camp, the ramparts made a respectable appearance, but the fort could hardly have stood an assault, as the ditch was very imperfect, and there were several breaches in the ramparts, hastily repaired with a breastwork of timber.

Feb. 2—The British troops set out against a tribe of mountaineers who harried the plains and carried off the inhabitants. Several of the tribe were cut up, and a great number of Assamese set at liberty.

March 2—Ghergaong, eleven miles south from Rangpur, was found in a complete ruin; in the old fort, 350 pieces of ordnance of small calibre, were discovered; and, in a tank, a number said to equal 1000 more.

April—From the 20th of March to the end of April rain fell daily, and the low lands became inundated; the troops were placed in cantonments on the most suitable sites. The attention of the Commissioners was directed to negotiations with the several hill tribes that held the upper part of the valley of the Brahmaputra and border Assam; and many were made to submit to the British authority. Small detachments were frequently called to act against the refractory tribes.

May—The Burmese again appeared at Beesa Gaum, on the extreme boundary of the Wykayut, leading into Manipur. A detachment was ordered against the chief of Wykayut.

June 4—A British force reached the Now-Dheng river.

June 10—The Burmese stockades at Dupha Gaum were carried by Lieutenant Kerr. The Burmese hastily retired.

June 12—At Beesa Gaum the Burmese made a show as if inclined to dispute possession, after having tried to decoy a small party to that point by giving out that it was abandoned. Scouts dogged the march of the British troops, but when they deployed to assault the stockades, the enemy fled too hastily to suffer loss.

June 13—A British detachment pushed forward early to press the Burmese rear. Several hundred Assamese were liberated, and the Burmese driven beyond the passes.

* * *

These operations closed with the fall of Rangpur, and the capitulation for the retreat of the Burmese from Assam. At Rangpur, a decisive blow was struck against the remnant of the Burmese power in Assam. But, it is true that the hill tribes in the neighbourhood gave a lot of trouble after this, and so the campaigning was protracted in the midst of great difficulties such as inadequate supplies in hilly parts, the deficiency of land-carriage and unfavourable weather. The conduct of the British troops was in this campaign exemplary despite the handicaps to which they were exposed.

Campaign in Sylhet and Cachar, 1824-5

After the close of the last operations in June 1824, the subsequent months of July, August and September passed without any other occurrence than a knowledge that the Burmese troops were quickly diminishing from disease, and that their commanders anxiously waited the return of the fair season to lead the survivors back to Manipur. The Burmese also suffered from want of food; constant foraging having drained the Naga, as well as the few straggling villages in Cachar, of their scanty supplies. The British troops were as follows: a flotilla of ten gun-boats, foot artillery, 100 men; and four regiments Indian Infantry; exclusive of Raja *Ghumbeer Singh's* irregulars, or nearly 3000 effective men.

On the 25th October 1824, a reconnaissance was made on Talayn to verify a report of the actual retreat of the Burmese; the works were found partly destroyed by the enemy, who had fallen back on *Banskandy,* and was said to have reached Manipur on the fourth of November.

Brigadier Innes might easily have intercepted the retreating Burmese by a timely movement to the rear, but their stockades were too formidable to warrant their assault by a *coup de main.* Besides, he could not have launched an offensive without the permission of the Commander-in-Chief, who was about 400 miles from the scene of action.

June 5, 1824—Brigadier-General Shuldham, appointed to command on the frontier from Kissengunj to the border of Chittagong, including Assam and Cachar, fixed his headquarters at Dacca where he reached in September.

October 21—The Infantry was brigaded and numbered, viz., third brigade, 7th, 23rd, and 44th regiments infantry; fourth brigade, 14th, 39th, and 52nd regiments infantry. General Shuldham moved from Dacca for Sylhet with the third brigade, and was expected to drive the enemy out of Cachar and Manipur.

November—Brigadier-General Donkin was appointed second in command on the Sylhet frontier. The augmented force on this frontier was as follows: Gun-boat flotilla, Artillery-two companies with four 24-pounders, four 8-inch mortars, and a light field battery of two brass 12-pounders, two howitzers 5½ inch, and four 6-pounders. Pioneers—four companies. Cavalry-3rd irregular horse. Infantry-two brigades of regulars and the Sylhet local battalion. Raja Ghumbeer Singh, as an ally had 500 infantry and 60 horse; forming an effective total of 7000 men. To provision and move so large a force, one officer of the Commissariat department was placed at Sylhet, but the resources placed in the hands of the Commissariat were a scanty supply of elephants and 800 camels.

Dec. 11—Major Swinton, with his pioneers, reached Bhadrapur, and, by the 8th January, carried a road to Banskandy, 19 miles.

Dec. 19—The route to Manipur, via Lukipoor and Kala Nagah was reconnoitred, but was not approved. The more northern route by Noongahil was adopted.

Jan. 22, 1825—The Pioneer gained Koora Bel, 12 miles from Banskandy.

Jan. 30—Blair's horse, from the Nerbuddah, after a march of four months, reached Doadputty, and a wing moved to join the advance under Captain Dudgeon.

Feb. 4—The forest areas and reed jungles around Manipur were reconnoitred. A road for guns and cattle was built with much labour. Invasion by a heavy equipped army of 7000 men was obviously impracticable. The Naga tribes seemed little inclined to afford help. They had perhaps suffered too much from the passage of Burmese troops to favour another army.

Feb. 13—A British force moved across the Jiree river, about 40 miles from Banskandy. Heavy and frequent rain damaged the newly constructed road, and impeded the advance.

Feb. 16—Brinjara bullocks and camels for the carriage of supplies arrived, but the march of the troops toward Banskandy was impeded by rain.

Feb. 24—Until this date, a great sacrifice of cattle was experienced in this short march. As the surface which covered the hills and low grounds was of clay, every fall of rain made the roads impassable to cattle, and even difficult to men.

March 2—The Pioneers carried the road to the Jiree; but on the 5th, a want of supplies forced them to fall back on the nearest depot. The march towards Manipur was suspended for the time being. A wing which had vacated Noonghie was forced to retrograde for supplies. The Commissariat was now urged to put forth all its means to convey a month's supply for the advance and third brigade to Noonghie. 800 bullocks, out of 1000, reached Nyapurra, but half the grain was destroyed in transit; the remaining 4000 bullocks did not advance beyond Kumrungabad; a great portion of their loads also spoiled. As a further resource, the Commissariat officer at Sylhet had made a requisition on the magistrate for 7000 coolies, which number was furnished at different times. 1000 of these men did actually reach Doadputty, but only 150 the banks of Jiree, so great was the desertion.

March 8—The periodical rains, termed the "Chota bursat", set in early in February, continued through the month with occasional intermission but for the last ten days the fall was heavy, and without intermission. The roads became literally impassable, and as a month's fair weather was not to be hoped for even, orders were issued for the advance to fall back.

March 29—On this date, the guns and baggage that had been pushed forward to the Jiree, after great labour, got back to Banskandy, with the loss of six elephants, 150 camels, and 200 bullocks; the cattle in general sick, or so jaded, that little work could be got out of them. It was now realised that the advance to Manipur was for some time utterly impracticable.

April 26—The army was now disposed of for the great rains, or "Burra bursat", as follows: viz., the fourth brigade which had remained in boats on the Soormah river for two months was broken up; 14th regiment infantry was sent to Allahabad; 39th infantry to Dinapore; and the 52nd infantry was ordered to Jamalpur. Some infantry regiments remained stationed in Cachar at Panchgaong and Phoolbaree. The artillery pioneers and 44th infantry stayed at Sylhet. General Shuldham went back to Dacca. Blair's horse was sent to Comillah, leaving one squardon at Sylhet. Thus terminated the operations against the Burmese upon the Sylhet frontier in 1824-5.

* * * * *

It would appear that the Sir Edward Paget intended to make Manipur the line of operations for the conquest of Upper Ava; and, it was with this intent that a big army was assigned for service in Sylhet. How long this scheme, formed in May or June, lasted, is not easy to ascertain, but all the European troops were not withdrawn until the mutiny at Barrackpore on the first of November.

A survey of all the operations on the North-Eastern and South-Eastern borders in 1824-5 would serve to bring out a number of important facts. Firstly, the knowledge of topography and terrain was imperfect. Secondly, the commissariat resources and arrangements were inadequate and inefficient. Thirdly, the number of troops employed in the early stages was absurdly small, and even at the end it was far from adequate. Fourthly, transport arrangements were very unsatisfactory. Fifthly, the rains rendered these areas practically impassable, and in such conditions camels were utterly useless in the marshy and mountainous tracts of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The number of bullocks was also quite inadequate to the task. Sixthly, coolies were available with great difficulty at the rate of five rupees a month, but from the absence of strict control, by the institution of *Sirdar* contracts, and the want of a supply of adequate food, these men deserted as fast as they were nominally furnished. Seventhly, since the departure of Mr. Scott, in April 1824, for Assam, the plenary power in Sylhet seems not to have been vested in any resident authority. Eighthly, Rs. 2,000 had to be spent every month as presents to the hill chiefs, whose loyalty these were intended to procure, nothing tangible came out of it, and it is noteworthy that, in times of need, the local chiefs remained either apathetic, or even semi-hostile, if not openly inimical! The hill tribes also gave little or no aid. Ninthly, there was a gross deficiency in pioneers, irregulars and scouts. Tenthly, the rugged and hilly terrain afforded little facilities for road-building, and whether tracks were built was washed away in heavy rain. Eleventhly, the lack of an adequate corps of engineers proved to be a very difficult handicap to the advancing troops in so wild and difficult a country as Assam. Twelfthly, the rivers constituted another handicap of a difficult nature, for many of them were not fordable, and many of them were navigable only to light boats. Thirteenthly, sickness was much too common in the malaria-ridden jungles of Assam, and the casualties were always heavy on this account. A large number of men had to be sent to hospital, if not to the grave. It was throughout a big problem to carry and feed the huge number of invalids. Lastly, the army was encumbered with cavalry and heavy artillery which were quite unsuited to the theatre of war.

When all is said, the fact remains that the direction of the operations was faulty all along. The want of foresight and a lack of energy and promptitude were the besetting sins which prevailed at the head-quarters, and at Calcutta. Lord Amherst was no Wellesley, or Hastings, and Sir Edward Paget was one of the most incompetent Commanders-in-Chief British India has ever known. It was only the inability of the Burmese to prosecute the war farther after their initial successes that saved Bengal from the threatening clutches of the Burmese Empire. If the British army retrieved the position in the end, it was possible only after a series of blunders and humiliations, and after incurring a ruinous expense during the long drawn-out campaigns in Assam, Sylhet and Cachar.

Note: For a full account of the campaigns, one has to read, besides the contemporary journals and newspapers, the official papers as follows: Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, Foreign Department, Volumes of Correspondence on Arakan; Parliamentary Papers relating to the first Burma War (Session 1825), etc.

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Nationalism and Imperialism in India

(THE VICEROYALTY OF LORD CURZON, 1899-1905)

BY

P. HARNETTY

Lord Curzon's viceroyalty marks a crisis in the development of the national movement in India. Since the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, its leaders had been committed to a political programme conceived in the spirit of English liberalism. They desired the gradual advancement of India toward self-government under British aegis, along the lines envisaged by Macaulay, Elphinstone and others in the 1830s. The constitutional agitation commenced by the Congress to secure this objective did not succeed. Certain reforms were made with respect to the number of Indians in the civil service in 1889, and in the structure of the Legislative Councils in 1892, but they fell far short of what the Congress expected and desired. This failure was a damaging blow to the prestige of the liberal Congress leaders. By the end of the nineteenth century, disillusionment had setin within the Congress ranks, and many who had initially placed their faith in the original Congress programme were forced to reappraise their position. Subsequently, in the years 1899-1905, Lord Curzon made it clear that in the new age of imperialism the liberal policy of the past was dead, and that British rule must be considered permanent. So the nationalists were forced to search for a new programme better able to meet the challenge with which they were faced. They turned to the technique of passive resistance, and to the boycott and *swadeshi* movements. In this way, they sought to bring patriotism down from the lofty heights of abstract idealism, where it touched only the Western-educated few, to the hard realities of Indian life and surroundings, where it would strike a response from the masses. By 1905 the new form of nationalism, stimulated by the challenge of Curzon's imperialism, had captured the imagination of a large segment of the nationalist movement.

Curzon had first come in contact with India during a world tour which he had made in 1887-88. His belief in the civilizing mission of Great Britain was enormously enhanced as a result. He was vividly impressed with a sense of the splendour of the opportunities for imperial service which the Eastern possessions of Great Britain offered.[1] A second tour in 1893 confirmed his earlier impressions, and reinforced his belief that the continued existence of Great Britain was bound up in the maintenance and extension of the Empire which Providence had entrusted to her. He told his Southport constituents on his return:

> It is only when you get to see and realize what India is—that she is the strength and the greatness of England—it is only then that you feel that every nerve a man may strain, every energy he may put forward, cannot be devoted to a nobler purpose than keeping tight the cords that hold India to ourselves.[2]

But Curzon intended to be more than a mere spectator of this splendour. In 1894, when only 35 years of age, he told a friend that the viceroyalty of India was the finest object of ambition.[3] In 1897, and again in 1898, he wrote to Lord Salisbury claiming that he had done what he could to qualify himself for the post, and when the Prime Minister at last told him he was to be appointed to the office he so ardently desired, he confessed that to receive the post at his age lent a distinction to the honour which the winning of no other prize in life could give.[4]

Curzon's imperialist convictions explain his inability to appreciate the existence of a growing spirit of national self-consciousness in India. It did not seem to occur to him that if it was Britain's mission to effect the moral and material regeneration of India, it must equally effect its political regeneration and willingly accept the consequences. Curzon, fully occupied with bearing the white man's burden, could spare no attention for the claims of an Indian intelligentsia aspiring to lead and speak for the masses. He believed that concessions to them would hinder Great Britain in the discharge of the task committed to her by God by reason of her loftier standards.[5]

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[1] Earl of Ronaldshay, *The Life of Lord Curzon* (3 vols., London, 1928), I, 133.

[2] Speech at Southport, March 15, 1893. Cited in *ibid.*, I, 193.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 309.

[4] Curzon to Salisbury, June 25, 1898. Cited in *ibid.*, I, 311.

This attitude was at total variance with the new spirit which was possessing India at the moment he took up the reins of office. Indians viewed the new imperialism from a very different angle. They saw it as meaning self-government for Britain and the white colonies, autocracy for the rest of the Empire. As one of the moderate leaders of Indian nationalism, Surendra Nath Banerjea, expressed it at the annual session of the Indian National Congress in 1902:

> British imperialism which is so sedulous in exalting British greatness is not equally sedulous in opening up to us the possibilities of our greatness. British imperialism which seeks to draw closer the bonds of union between the mother-country and the Colonies has literally done nothing to cement the loyalty or deepen the gratitude of the Indian people. I would welcome an imperialism which would draw us nearer to Britain by the ties of a common citizenship and which would enhance our self-respect, by making us feel we are participators in the priceless heritage of British freedom. But we are as yet very far from this blessed consummation.[6]

Curzon, in fact, was fully aware of the need about which Banerjea spoke. "The one thing most needed in India", he declared in a Minute dated May 11, 1902, "is a sense of common participation in a great political system and of fellow-citizenship of the British Empire."[7] His idea of an effective measure to promote this end was the magnificent Durbar held to celebrate the coronation of Edward VII. This pageant had no appeal for politically-conscious Indians who desired more substantial evidence of their alleged status. But Curzon was not the man to be disturbed by the views of Indian politicians. Moreover, he treated the claims put forward by the Congress with stinging contempt. For example, commenting on the demand for the wider employment of Indians in the public service in a speech to the Supreme Legislative Council on March 30, 1904, Curzon laid down two general principles. First, the highest ranks of civil employment, though open to such Indians as could secure entry through the examinations held in England, must as a general rule be held by Englishmen, who possessed, by heredity, upbringing, and education, the knowledge of the principles of government, the habits of mind, and the vigour of character, which were essential to the task. The rule of India being British rule, and any other rule being in the circumstances of the case impossible, the tone and standard should be set by those who had created it. Second, outside this *corps d'elite*, Indians would be employed except in certain departments where scientific or technical knowledge was required, or where there was call for the exercise of particular responsibility.[8] These principles were officially embodied in a Government Resolution issued on May 24, 1904.[9] This was taken by the intelligentsia as a wanton affront to their capacities. They interpreted it as a direct attack on the principles previously laid down in the Act of 1833 renewing the Charter of the East India Company,[10] and in the Royal Proclamation of 1858 declaring assumption by the Crown of direct responsibility for the government of India.[11]

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[5] *Ibid.*, II, 418.

[6] *Report of the Proceedings of the Eighteenth Indian National Congress*, p. 66.

[7] Cited by Ronaldshay, *Curzon*, II, 231.

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Curzon, however, was guided only by the dictum which he laid down in the Legislative Council in 1904: "Efficiency of administration is, in my view, a synonym for the contentment of the governed."[12] It was on this basis—that good government is better than self-government—that Curzon approached his task as Viceroy. Within two months of taking office in 1899 he sent the Secretary of State a list of ten questions which he either contemplated or had already broached. They included the management of the educational system; railway policy; the question of official and departmental writing; the institution of an Imperial Library in Calcutta;

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[8] *Proceedings of the Supreme Legislative Council*, Vol. xlii, 1904, p. 560.

[9] *Supplement to the Gazette of India*, June 4, 1904, pp. 935-937. Paragraph 8 of the Resolution was worded in almost identical terms with Curzon's speech.

[10] 3 & 4 Wm. IV, c. 85.

[11] P. Mukherji, *Indian Constitutional Documents, 1600-1918* (2 vols, Calcutta, 1918), I, 43.

[12] *Proceedings of the Supreme Legislative Council*, vol. xliii, 1904.

the scientific survey of parts of the Himalayas; and the problem of the Punjab frontier.[13] Later he also undertook to reform the currency system and reorganize the police, besides tackling the problem of agricultural indebtedness and the question of irrigation development as a guard against future famines. In undertaking such an extensive programme, Curzon meant to demonstrate to Indians the advantages of benevolent imperialism. Unfortunately defects of personality robbed his reforming ardour of a great deal of its effect. His masterful attitude and overbearing manner, which derived from his unshakable self-confidence, irritated Englishmen and Indians alike, and generated much unnecessary ill-feeling. Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India during much of Curzon's viceroyalty, on one occasion had to rebuke him mildly for his dominating manner,[14] and on another told him: "The truth is, my dear George, that, if there were two more of you in other parts of the British Empire occupying big posts, the machine would not be manageable."[15]

Curzon's indifference to the opinions of others when he was convinced of the rectitude of his own actions enabled him simultaneously to carry out his intentions and to involve himself in a good deal of trouble in the process. Within a year of arriving in India, he had antagonized Indian public opinion by his reform of the Calcutta Municipal Council. He reduced the power of the Indian elected members in the interests of "better administration". This was the first application of his principle of benevolent imperialism which brought him into open conflict with the educated classes in India. In the next few years he pushed ahead with his programme, undeterred by opposition either from within the Government or externally from such quarters as the Indian National Congress or the Indian press. By 1903, after four years in office, he was well on the way to completing the extensive programme he had set himself on assuming the viceroyalty. He had dealt with the frontier problem and had created a new North West Frontier Province out of the Punjab; he had increased the annual outlay on irrigation and had appointed a Commission to inquire further into the subject; he had tackled the problem of agricultural indebtedness; he had revised the famine code; and he had made certain remissions of land revenue. Surveying his work in the middle of 1903, Curzon felt well pleased. He told the Secretary of State that the Bengali press regarded him as the worst enemy India had ever had, because they recognized that all his policy and his acts tended to rivet British rule more firmly on to India and to postpone the longed—for day of emancipation. "I am an Imperialist," he wrote, "and Imperialism is fatal to all their hopes."[16]

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[13] Curzon to Hamilton, March 23, 1899. Hamilton Papers, Series IIb (Letters from Lord Curzon, 14 vols., numbered xiii-xxvi), xxvi, no. 26. (These MSS are catalogued in the India Office Library under the title Private Correspondence, India).

[14] Hamilton to Curzon, September 16, 1903. *Ibid.*, Series IIa (Letters to Lord Curzon, 5 vols., numbered i-v), v, no. 37A.

[15] Hamilton to Curzon, July 9, 1903. *Ibid.*, IIa, v, no. 27.

There were grounds for Curzon's self-satisfaction. At the end of 1903, for instance, an article was published in the *Hindustan Review* under the title of "A Call to Arms".[17] It was contributed by the four "fathers of the Congress"—A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, Dadabhai Naoroji, and W. C. Bonnerjee. The theme of the contributors was that, as Bonnerjee put it, the Congress movement did not evoke the same enthusiasm on the part of educated Indians as in the past, that a feeling of despondency was creeping into the minds of its followers, and that some had actually considered that the movement might with advantage be stopped for a while.[18] This was a clear indication that the cautious policy and constitutional methods hitherto pursued by the Congress leaders, having failed to achieve significant results, were failing to capture the imagination of the generation of educated Indians which had come to maturity since the Congress was formed seventeen years earlier.

This can be seen, for example, in the attitude of one of the leaders of the younger school of nationalists, Bipin Chandra Pal, whose connection with the Congress dated back to 1887. At that time he had believed in the continuance of British rule in order to ensure the political and social advancement of the Indian people.[19]

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[16] Curzon to Hamilton, July 9, 1903. *Ibid.*, IIb, xxvi, no. 28.

[17] Sir William Wedderburn and Others, "A Call to Arms". *Hindustan Review*, VIII (No. 6, June 1903), 471-482.

[18] Bonnerjee, *ibid.*, p. 475.

[19] See my article "British and Indian Attitudes to the Indian Problem at the end of the Nineteenth Century". Canadian Historical Association. *Report*, 1959, pp. 50 and 55-56.

The events of the succeeding years, however, had tempered Pal's faith in the virtues of British rule and had caused him to examine afresh the principle on which it was based. By 1902 he had come to the conclusion that the moral and political uplift of the people of India could never be achieved by the methods of constitutional agitation hitherto favored by the Congress. Writing in his newspaper *New India* on September 17, 1902, Pal declared that it was no use begging for rights and looking for help from outside in securing them. Indians had given a new name to begging: they called it agitation, but the Congress agitation had not brought India any solid advantage. "Agitation is not, in any sense, a test of true patriotism. That test is self-help and self-sacrifice; and the time, perhaps, is coming faster than we had thought, when Indian patriotism will be put to this test."[20]

The test about which Pal wrote was provided by Curzon's general policy of benevolent imperialism, and in particular by certain measures which he set on foot during his last two years as Viceroy. The first of these was in the field of education. The preliminary work began in September 1901, and the final stage was the passage in March 1904 of an Act to reform the Indian Universities. The avowed object of this legislation was to raise the standards of university education in India. Curzon's method was to reconstitute the administrative structure of the universities by turning their senates into bodies of experts, largely nominated by the Government. This led Indians to believe that the Government had ulterior motives unconnected with improving the standards of education as such, but designed rather to control the universities so as to deal a blow to the educated classes who formed the spearhead of the nationalist movement. Curzon reinforced this feeling when he summed up his attitude in a speech to the Legislative Council on March 21, 1904: "The ideal we look forward to is that of self-governing institutions watched parentally by the Government in the background. If the institutions play their part, the control will be nominal. If they do not, it will be there as a check".[21] Curzon pronounced his satisfaction with the triumph of his policy, but the deep hostility and the suspicions as to motive which it aroused in the Indian mind more than outweighed the administrative benefits flowing from it.

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[20] *New India*, September 17, 1902, cited in B.C. Pal, *The New Spirit* (Calcutta, 1907), p. 209. This work consists of Pal's writings and speeches on social, political, and economic subjects from 1902 to 1907. Most of them appeared in the weekly newspaper *New India*, which Pal had started in 1900 as the organ of the new spirit then developing in the nationalist movement.

Curzon's consuming passion for efficiency quite blinded him to the human side of things. He upbraided Indians for their exaggerated fears of the intentions of the Government without ever attempting to analyze what lay at the bottom of those fears. Indians had before them the precedent of the officialization of the Calcutta Corporation, and they saw in the Universities Act the application of the same principle to the field of education. They interpreted it as simply a particular expression of Curzon's general policy which, as Pal had pointed out in *New India* in August 1903, was shaped so as to strengthen England's hold on India and to establish her as India's permanent overlord.[22] Curzon confirmed this conclusion in a speech less than a year later, while in London to receive the freedom of the City at the end of his first term as Viceroy. He emphasized that he had no thought of a decline of British dominion in India:

> It is still in its youth and has in it the vitality of an unexhausted purpose. I am not with the pessimists in this matter. I am not one of those who think we have built a mere fragile plank between the East and the West which the roaring tides of Asia will presently sweep away. I do not think that our work is over or that it is drawing to an end. On the contrary, as the years roll by, the call seems to me more clear, the duty more imperative, the work more majestic, the goal more sublime.[23]

In this spirit, he proceeded, on his return to India, with the crowning measure of his viceroyalty—the partition of Bengal. The idea has first been put forward in the 1890s, when the Government of Bengal had warned that it would be unwelcome to popular opinion in that Province.[24] A similar warning had come from the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to whose jurisdiction it had been proposed to transfer certain districts of Bengal.[25] Accordingly, the Government of India finally rejected the idea in 1897. Curzon resurrected it in 1902 as part of a general examination of the question of Provincial boundaries in India. At the end of 1903 he had a scheme ready, and when it was made public a storm of protest arose. Nothing daunted, Curzon set off on a tour of Eastern Bengal and returned convinced that the original partition proposal was not large enough in scope. Consequently he decided that the amount of territory to be severed from Bengal should be increased, and an entirely new Province created. In speeches delivered during the course of his tour, the Viceroy declared that the Government of India had no conceivable object in view but the administrative advantage of the country as a whole,[26] and he dismissed the extent of public feeling on the partition issue as greatly exaggerated.[27] The foundation of Indian opposition to partition was the fear that it was not really projected for reasons of administrative efficiency at all, but was in fact another blow aimed at the educated classes in Bengal, and hence at the head and centre of the national movement in India. To Bengalis in particular, partition was the logical sequence to the Calcutta Corporation Act and the Universities Act. Curzon, however, constituted himself the arbiter of public opinion in India, and he dismissed the real fears which the scheme had conjured up in Indian minds as 'the frothy ebullition of irrational sentiment.' Events were soon to prove the contrary.[28]

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[21] *Proceedings of the Supreme Legislative Council*, vol. xliii, 1904, p. 338.

[22] *New India*, August 20, 1903. Cited by Ronaldshay, *Curzon*, II, 421.

[23] Speech at the Guildhall, London, July 20, 1904. *Speeches by Lord Curzon of Kedleston* (4 vols., Calcutta, 1901-06), IV, 21.

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[24] Government of Bengal to Government of India, August 13, 1896. Letters from India (Public), vol. 24 (1897). (Enclosed in Government of India to Secretary of State, Despatch no. 39 (Public), July 14, 1897.)

[25] Note by the Chief Commissioner of Assam on the proposed transfer of the Chittagong Division from Bengal to Assam, dated January 26, 1897. (Enclosure 2 in Government of India to Secretary of State, Despatch no. 39 (Public), July 14, 1897).

[26] Speech at Chittagong. February 15, 1904. *Speeches by Lord Curzon*, III, 284.

[27] Speech at Dacca, February 18, 1904. *Ibid.*, III, 298.

[28] Many Indians feared that partition was also an application of the policy of "divide and rule", in an effort to split the ranks of the nationalists by setting the Hindus against the Muslims. This view seemed confirmed by a statement of the Government of India that it appeared desirable to en-

The Government published its final scheme for the partition of Bengal on July 20, 1905. The reaction was swift. It began with a great public meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta on August 7. A resolution was adopted calling on Bengalis to boycott British goods until the partition scheme was withdrawn. The boycott movement quickly expanded into a movement for *swadeshi*—the use of home-produced as against imported manufactured goods. The agitation which accompanied these developments was so widespread that it began to impress the Home Government. At the height of the agitation, Curzon resigned as Viceroy because of a disagreement with the British Government over a new system of military administration. The Secretary of State, St. John Brodrick, in telegraphing his formal regrets, stated: "Throughout your administration, since your appointment as Governor-General in 1898, my colleagues and I have endeavoured to give you constant support in the many measures of administrative reform which you have initiated, including the partition of Bengal, upon which we recently adopted your proposals".[29] The impression was created that partition was really Curzon's personal idea and not altogether approved of in England. It was strengthened by the extreme haste with which the necessary legislation was rushed through the Legislative Council in September, 1905, in order to make sure that partition became a settled fact before Curzon left India. The date on which partition was to come into force was then set for October 16, only a month before Curzon sailed for England.

The agitation against partition was not confined to Bengal. For example, the Governor of Madras, Lord Ampthill, had at first taken the stand that the "frothy agitation was neither real nor formidable" and would die a natural death if ignored.[30] But by the end of the year, he was forced to acknowledge to the new Secretary of State, Morley, that it had become a matter which affected

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courage the growth of centres of independent opinion, local aspirations, local ideals. (Government of India to Secretary of State, February 2, 1905. East India, *Further Papers relating to the Reconstitution of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam*. Parliamentary Papers, 1906, LXXXI, (Cd. 2746), p. 18). It was certainly a fact that the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam had a Muslim majority.

[29] Cited by Lovat Fraser, *India under Lord Curzon and After*, (London, 1911), p. 386.

[30] Ampthill to St. John Brodrick, August 29, 1905. Ampthill Papers, VIIc55.

the whole of India, and a trial of strength between Congress and the British Government.[31]

In the Congress party, the partition issue brought to a head the differences between two schools of thought. The "moderates", led by G. K. Gokhale, Surendra Nath Banerjea, and Dadabhai Naoroji, still put their trust in the old methods of constitutional agitation. Gokhale told the Benares session of Congress in 1905 that the advent to power of the Liberal party in England offered better prospects for India. A recent visit to England had convinced him that a strong current had already set in against the tide of aggressive imperialism.[32] The "extremists", on the other hand, led by Pal, B. G. Tilak, and Lajpat Rai, called for direct action instead of the barren policy of begging for concessions. Lajpat Rai, who had accompanied Gokhale to England, told the Congress delegates that the British democracy was too busy with its own affairs to do anything for India. It was hard for Indians to get a hearing in England, where the influence of retired Anglo-Indians was too strong.[33] Lajpat Rai advocated passive resistance, a proposal first made by Tilak at a meeting of the younger generation of nationalists held during the Congress session. It was there decided to inaugurate a new era of self-help and self-reliance based on an active boycott of Government service and institutions.[34]

These differences between the moderates and the extremists threatened to split the Congress party. The breach was averted at the 1906 session only when the moderates agreed to resolutions defining the Congress objective as "Self-Government or *swaraj* like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies," and favouring the boycott and *swadeshi* movements.[35] But the differences were too fundamental to be restrained for long. They extended not merely to political objectives and to the methods of attaining them, but included the opposition between the ideals of Western liberalism derived from English education, and resurgent Hindu nationalism. As Bipin Chandra Pal expressed it: "Behind the new nationalism in India stands the old Vedantism of the Hindus."[36] In a speech delivered in Madras in 1907, Pal emphasized that the real conflict between the educated classes and the Government was over the possession of the minds and hearts of the people. Curzon, he said, had realized this and consequently all his measures had been directed towards capturing the public mind, by means of rural reforms, agricultural banks, pageantry, and a scrupulous regard for justice. Thus he hoped to secure at least the passive acquiescence of the people, if not their allegiance. Therefore, said Pal, recognizing the existence of this conflict, it was important that nothing should be done to make that government easy for the people. If that condition were reached, the sense of separation between Government and people, brought about by the partition of Bengal, would be lost.[37] Pal recognized that the strength of British arms in India made violence in the pursuit of freedom suicidal. Instead, he advocated passive resistance. In the political sphere, Indians should refuse to be members of municipalities, District and Local Boards, and Legislative Councils; in the economic sphere, the boycott should take the form of a refusal by the people to buy foreign articles, thus indirectly protecting indigenous industry and developing a spirit of self-sacrifice among the people.

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[31] Ampthill to Morley, December 20, 1905. *Ibid.*, 61-63.

[32] *Report of the Proceedings of the Twenty-First Indian National Congress*, p. 17.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 73-74.

[34] Lajpat Rai, *Young India: An Interpretation and a History of the Nationalist Movement from Within* (New York, 1917), p. 162.

[35] *Report of the Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Indian National Congress*, p. 21.

Such tactics were completely unacceptable to the moderate elements in the Congress, who pinned their hopes on the constitutional reforms then being considered by Morley, and Curzon's successor, Minto. At the end of 1907 the Congress session at Surat broke up in disorder as a result of the irreconcilable differences between the opposing groups. This event marked the end of an era in the history of the Indian National Congress. On the face of it, the hope which Curzon had expressed in 1900 of aiding a tottering Congress to its fall[38] seemed to have been fulfilled within two years of his departure from India. In fact, his policies had undermined the influence of the moderate wing of the Congress and had convinced the younger nationalists that the adoption of methods totally at variance with the official Congress line of constitutional agitation was essential in order to ensure the future vitality of the movement.

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[36] B. C. Pal, *The Spirit of Indian Nationalism* (London, 1910), p. 21.

[37] B. C. Pal, *Swadeshi and Swaraj (The Rise of New Patriotism)* (Calcutta, 1954, pp. 188-192.

[38] Curzon to Hamilton, November 18, 1900. Hamilton Papers, IIb, xviii, n. 52.

Curzon left behind him an unhappy legacy. The passions he had stirred up resulted in outbreaks of terrorism in Bengal and disturbances in other parts of the country. This in turn led to repression by the Government. Legislation was passed to curb the press and restrict public meetings. The leaders of the "extremist" wing of the Congress, among them Tilak, Pal, and Lajpat Rai, were arrested, and imprisoned or deported on charge of sedition. The whole tone of the nationalist movement was altered in consequence. Curzon, in effect, had presented the movement with a challenge—the challenge of benevolent British imperialism as an alternative to developing Indian nationalism. But in so doing, he had carelessly overstepped the bounds of political prudence, and by pursuing such measures as educational reform and the partition of Bengal in the face of widespread popular opposition, he presented the extremists with ready-forged weapons with which to attack his whole concept of paternal despotism. Guided, as he was, by the maxim that administrative efficiency is synonymous with the contentment of the governed, Curzon sought to stifle nationalism with bureaucracy. In fact, in his singlemindedness, he aided rather than deterred the forces undermining the British position in India. Consequently, it does not seem too much to say that, as far as British rule in India was concerned, the Curzon regime marks, if not the beginning of the end, at any rate the end of the beginning.

On Feudal Polity in Ancient India

BY

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The State structure of ancient India has been described by some scholars in terms connected with feudalism. This tendency to describe peculiar social, political and economic institutions of India by employing terms from western history can be misleading and in this instance needs particularly careful consideration.

The term feudalism has been loosely used in many contexts in spite of its describing a particular structure of European society that came into being after the fall of the Roman Empire and was in its most flourishing form during the middle ages.

Payment of Government Servants

A study of feudalism in any country has to concern itself, in the first instance, with the mode of remunerating the State servants, especially in terms of land and revenues of villages, and the extent to which such grants were permanent and hereditary in nature.

It cannot be denied that the practice of granting lands to State officers was known. Kauṭilya, while dealing with the colonisation of waste lands, provides for the grant of land to superintendents, accountants, *gopas*, *sthānikas*, veterinary surgeons, physicians, horse-trainers and messengers.[1] The superintendent was required to clearly record, in his register, the grants of land to State servants.[2] But these references cannot be taken to mean that all government servants were remunerated in terms of lands or revenues from villages. A passage elsewhere[3] provides: 'When wanting in money, the king may give forest produce, cattle, or fields, along with a small amount of money. If he is desirous to colonise waste land, he shall make payments in money alone; and if he is desirous of regulating the affairs of all villages equally, then he shall give no village to any (of his servants)'. This suggests that the *Arthaśāstra* aimed at discouraging whatever of this 'feudal' practice that existed in earlier times.[4] It was only in certain specified cases that grants of land were recommended, and then not with full rights of ownership. These grants were without the right of sale or mortgage.[5] It further seems that the official, receiving the land, had nothing to do with the administration of that area. He was simply given land to be cultivated by him. There was no close relationship between his official work and his right to that land. The pay of State servants was fixed in terms of *kārṣāpaṇas* and the treasury made cash payments to them.[6] The *Arthaśāstra*[7] provides that the superintendents in charge of groups of 100 and 1000 officials should pay to them food and wages. It is further stated that, in such payments, one *āḍhaka* of grain should be regarded as equal to the payment of sixty *paṇas*. Thus it is clear that the general practice as revealed in the *Arthaśāstra* was that the pay should be given in cash, with occasional benefits in the form of provisions in kind. If the practice of remunerating officers by the granting of land had been worth notice it would surely have been mentioned in this chapter.[8]

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[1] *Artha*, II. 1.

[2] *Artha*, II. 35 — *rājopajīvinām pragrahapradeśa-bhogaparihārabhakta-vetanalābham.*

A passage found alike in the *Manusmṛti*[9] and the *Mahābhārata*[10] implies a closer association between the enjoyment of land and administrative work. According to it, the lord of ten villages should get one *kula* of land, the lord of twenty, five *kulas*, the lord of a hundred, one village and the lord of one thousand, one town. This system of payment is mentioned only in connection with local government and the silence about the central government would suggest that the officers there were probably not paid in terms of 'fiefs'. It seems that this injunction is reminiscent of an earlier period when money had not assumed its importance in society. The *Manusmṛti*[11] and the *Mahābhārata,*[12] in similar passages which indicate a common earlier source, show that for the purposes of revenue administration the country was divided into groups of 100, 20, 10 and 1 villages. The *Arthaśāstra*[13] appears to give a later account than this for, according to Kauṭilya, the administrative divisions consisted of groups of 800, 400, 200 and 10 villages. Even in the *Manusmṛti*[14] there are traces which show payment in both cash and kind to the king's servants. It has been provided that the lowest class of servants should receive one *paṇa* a day, one *droṇa* of grain every month, and one cloth every six months, while the highest class should get six times this scale.

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[3] V. 3.

[4] Cf. R. N. Mehta—*Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 128 for *Jātaka* references to kings rewarding officers of the State with such grants.

[5] *Artha*, II. 1—*vikrayādhānavarjam*.

[6] *Artha*, V. 3. The *Arthaśāstra* mentions many grades of officers according to the sum of *Kārṣāpaṇas* paid to them as wages—U. N. Ghoshal—*Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 154ff.

[7] V. 3.

[8] Cf. *Mālavikāgnimitram*, p. 87 *dakṣiṇām māsikīṁ purohitasya* and *ibid.*, p. 17—*kiṁ mudhā vetanadānenaiteṣām* (for monthly salary to teachers of fine arts).

[9] VII. 118-119.

[10] XII. 87. 6-8.

Another reference which would suggest a feudal tendency is found in a chapter of the *Arthaśāstra*[15] dealing with the functions of the *Samāhartā*. The *Samāhartā* had to prepare a register in which he mentioned besides revenue-free and revenue-paying lands, lands supplying troops (*āyudhīya*). This may appear to point to a class of *jāgīr* holders who in return for the revenue they enjoyed supplied the king with troops, whenever the necessity arose. But a closer scrutiny does not support such a conclusion. The State had its own army and the *Arthaśāstra*[16] elsewhere gives details of wages and food paid to it. Most likely the expression *āyudhīya* points to villages noted for the large number of soldiers recruited from them and thus entitled to certain concessions. A passage found alike in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[17] and the *Mahābhārata*[18] shows that the soldiers were paid in terms of food and wages. Here the king is advised to give proper food and wages to the troops at the due time, because those who live upon wages get angry with their master, if the time for payment is passed. Another passage in the *Mahābhārata*[19] mentions 1000 coins per month as the pay of a warrior. In this respect Megasthenes supplies very reliable evidence. In his account of the fifth caste consisting of warriors, he records that the entire force—men-at-arms, war-horses, war-elephants and all—is maintained at the king's expense.[20] The passage indicates that the army was paid cash salaries and that the practice of granting land to soldiers was not known.

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[11] VII. 115-7.

[12] XII. 87. 3-5.

[13] III. 10; IV. 4, 6, 13.

[14] VII. 125-126.

[15] II. 35.

[16] V. 3. Also X. 3 for rewards in cash.

Vasiṣṭha[21] and Kauṭilya[22] enjoin that the king should maintain the wives and children of soldiers slain in battle. This provision suggests that even supposing that the officials and the soldiers were paid in the form of land, such grants could not possibly have been hereditary in nature. If the soldiers had been given a hereditary right to enjoy certain pieces of land there would not appear much justification for provisions about pensions to their dependants.

The epigraphic evidence is not very relevant; its importance is negative as making a case against the existence of the 'feudal' tendency of land being awarded to State servants as wages for their service. It is really significant that whereas inscriptions recording land-endowments by kings are so many, those mentioning grants of land made by State officials of whatever ranks are conspicuous by their absence. The Sanchi Stone inscription[23] shows that Āmrakārddava, a minister of Candragupta II, purchased a house-site and presented it to the community of Buddhist monks in the *vihāra* of Kākaṇādaboṭa. It appears that half the money was paid by Āmrakārddava himself and the other half, by some of his friends. The evidence is undoubtedly not very much to the point. It may, however, be suggested that if Āmrakārddava had, in his possession, any village or field he received from the State as remuneration for his services, he would have made the charity out of it. The Tiwarkhed plates[24] of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nannarāja refer to the grant of ten *nivartanas* of land made jointly by the superintendent of religious affairs, Govinda and the Great Minister for peace and war, Narasiṁha.[25] The fact that the field is donated jointly by two persons shows that it could not have been in the nature of land they received as remuneration from the State. Possibly the field was purchased by the two officers specifically for the purposes of charity.

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[17] II. 100. 32-33.

[18] II. 5. 48-49. Cf. *Pañcatantra*, I (Hertel), p. 22—*kālātikramaṇaṁ vṛtteryo na kurvīta bhūpatiḥ kadācit taṁ na muṁcanti bhartsitā api sevakāḥ.*

[19] II. 85. 29.

[20] Found alike in the works of Diodorus, Strabo and Arrian (Monahan—*Early History of Bengal*, pp. 143, 144, 150). Cf. Fa-hsien's remark in connection with the description of the Madhyadeśa (p. 43): The men of the king's bodyguard all have fixed salaries.

[21] XIX. 20; also *Mbh.*, II. 5. 54.

[22] *Artha.*, V. 3.

[23] *Gupta Inscriptions*. 5; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 273f. The Karamdanda inscription (*E.I.*, *X*. 15) of the reign of Kumāragupta recording a grant made

Realisation of State Revenue

Moreover it appears that generally there was a direct relation between a cultivator and the State. For the most part the cultivators came under the category of revenue-paying villagers. Those who enjoyed exemption from taxes, either because of religious considerations or for services performed, were few and far between.[26] The *Arthaśāstra* envisages a separate territorial division for the purposes of revenue administration[27] unconnected

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by minister Kumārāmātya and Mahābalādhikṛta Pṛthivīṣeṇa is unfortunately fragmentary, the portion containing the grant proper being defaced; otherwise it would have thrown welcome light on the question.

[24] *E.I.*, XI, p. 279.

[25] Cf. Kana Plate of Lokavigrahabhaṭṭāraka—*E.I.*, XXVIII. 51(A) for an instance of the grant of a village made jointly by a *Vaiśvāsika*, a *Viṣayapati*, an *Aṁsabṛhadbhogika*, a *Karaṇika* and a *Draṅgapāla*.

[26] *Artha.*, II. 1, 35; V. 3.

[27] *Artha.*, II. 35. The *Samāhartā* was directly connected with the realisation of revenue from the whole of the kingdom. He managed it with the help of other subordinate officers. In this account of revenue administration the intermediaries do not find a mention. The *Samāhartā* divided the kingdom into four parts, each under the jurisdiction of a *sthānika*. Under a *sthānika* were many *gopas*. A *gopa* looked after the work of five or ten villages. The exhaustive list of the duties of a *gopa* fully reveals that the

with general administration.[28] The governors and district officers did not combine in themselves the work of revenue collectors. It is possible that if the office of a governor or other such territorial functionary carried with it the realisation of the revenue of that particular area, some sort of a feudal tendency might have been created. But the separate and direct management, by the State, of the revenue of the kingdom was a very successful device to prevent the growth of 'feudal' tendencies.

Inscriptions corroborate the testimony of legal works. It is clear that the State had an undivided right to the revenues from a village. That is why the grants of villages or of specified shares thereof, which mean the right to the revenue or a part of the revenue from the villages, are made only by the king. Likewise it is the king who is found exercising the right to exempt *agrahāra* villages from the payment of the dues to which ordinary cultivators were liable. Further, in some records the donor king specifically orders cultivators and others residing in the village henceforth to pay to the donee all the dues which hitherto the king had received from them.[29] All this means that ordinarily the king realised the revenue directly from the villages.

The well-known statement of Megasthenes on agrarian system in India[30] serves as a corroboration of the position indicated above. Diodorus, Strabo and Arrian, in spite of their apparent divergences, are unanimous in observing that there was a direct relationship between the cultivator and the State and that the king realised his dues directly from the cultivator.[31] It is clear that even

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State realised the revenue from the cultivators directly. (U. N. Ghoshal—*Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 49 ff).

[28] III. 10; IV. 4, 6, 13.

[29] See *J.E.S.H.O.*, IV. 252.

[30] Monahan—*Early History of Bengal*, pp. 142, 144, 149. Breloer—*Kauṭalīya-Studien*, I, p. 52ff q. by U. N. Ghoshal—*Hindu Revenue System*, p. 163.

[31] Diodorus says that the second 'caste' consisting of the husbandmen pays a land tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Strabo states that the whole of the land is the property of the king and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce. Arrian records that the husbandmen cultivate the soil and pay tribute to the king and the independent cities.

supposing that there was a tendency towards feudalism it was not so pronounced and important as to attract the attention of a foreigner.

The account of Fa-hsien also does not go against this theory. Fa-hsien in his description of the Middle kingdom notes: 'Only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay a portion of the gain from it'.[32] Here we are not concerned with the many intricate questions connected with this passage.[33] What is significant to us is the clear suggetion that the State realised the revenue directly from the cultivator. There is nothing in this passage to indicate the existence of an intermediary class.

Beginning of a Feudal Tendency

However, it seems that towards the close of the period of our study there had grown in India some sort of a 'feudal' tendency. The practice of allotting lands to State officers has been recorded by Hsüan Tsang.[34] His testimony is unequivocal and clearly shows the growth of a 'feudal' tendency: 'Of the royal land there is a four-fold division. One part is for the expenses of Government and State worship, one for the endowment of great public servants, one to reward high intellectual eminence, and one for acquiring religious merit by gifts to the various sects.' Of these four classes of land the second class was evidently land granted to State officer. That it was a common practice would follow from the fact that such lands occupied one-fourth of the land at the disposal of the State. It would indicate that at that time payment in cash and kind was not the general rule and that the offices were connected with the enjoyment of land.[35] Hsüan Tsang[36] later on observes that the ministers of State and common officials all have their portion of land, and are maintained by the cities assigned to them. He thus confirms that the division of land into four types, indicated above, was a real division.

An epigraphic corroboration of the growth of feudal tendency towards the second half of the sixth century is found from three inscriptions from Soro in Orissa.[37] These record the grant of villages. In two of the grants Somadatta, the donee, is called Mahābalādhikṛtāntaraṅgamahāsāndhivigrahika. The third grant was made by mahāpratīhāramahārāja Bhānudatta. These two persons were high officers of the State and donated the revenue of villages enjoyed by them. It is thus likely that sometimes the State officers were given certain villages in lieu of salaries.

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[32] Pp. 42-43.

[33] *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 191f.

[34] Watters, I, p. 176.

[35] Cf. *Harṣacarita*, p. 93—Prabhākaravardhana seemed to portion out the earth for the support of his dependents—*bhṛtyopayogāya vyabhajateva vasudhām bahudhā.*

[36] Watters, I, p. 176 (*Si-yu-ki*, I, p. 88).

But the growth of the feudal tendency towards the close of this period is best illustrated by the inscription from Hazaribagh[38] roughly assigned to the seventh or eighth century A.D. According to this inscription three brothers Udayamāna, Śridhautamāna and Ajitamāna were made the rulers of three villages. If the inscription is faithful in its representation of the period it would appear that the administrative units of a kingdom used to be allotted to different persons to be enjoyed by them as rulers. The inscription, though without any details about the relations existing between such lords and the king, is sufficient to indicate the existence of something of a feudal order.

Feudal Theory of Dr. Pran Nath

Dr. Pran Nath[39] seems to be at pains to prove that ancient India was similar, in many aspects of its social organization, to feudal Europe of the mediaeval ages. His theory is that India consisted of a large number of petty estates, the owners of which were like feudal lords controlling the destiny of the nation in every sphere.

The first premise in his theory is that the term *grāma* occurring in inscriptions and literary works means a landed estate and not a village. He believes that the numbers appearing after the names of districts and provinces in inscriptions refer to the number of estates included in them. The hollowness of the view has been ably revealed by such eminent authorities as Prof. K. A. N. Sastri[40] and Dr. A. S. Altekar[41] and there is no need for repeating the arguments.

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[37] *E.I.*, XXIII. 32 (B, C and D).

[38] *E.I.*, II, p. 343.

[39] *Economic Condition of Ancient India*, pp. 2, 6, 120.

[40] *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. IV, pp. 211ff.

[41] *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their times*, pp. 141ff.

In support of his theory Dr. Pran Nath suggests that the republics or *gaṇas* mentioned in the Buddhist literature, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Pāṇinīya*, the *Arthaśāstra* and the Greek accounts were really federations of those who owned landed estates. As against this it is to be pointed out that authorities among whom Rhys Davids,[42] K. P. Jayaswal,[43] D. R. Bhandarkar[44] and R. C. Majumdar[45] are most prominent have unmistakably shown that *gaṇas* and *saṁghas* refer to the republics of those times. The Greek testimony to the existence of republics and oligarchies in India is really weighty; it is difficult to believe that the Greeks with their intimate knowledge of democratic institutions would have made any mistake in appreciating their true nature. Dr. Pran Nath relies mainly on the members of the republics being called each a *rājan*. But this only shows the emphasis laid by the members on their being independent. A passage in the *Lalitavistara*[46] makes this quite clear; it states that amongst the Licchavis the rule of the high born, the middle, the aged and the elder is not observed; every one considers himself to be the *rājan*, 'I am the *rājan*, I am the *rājan*'. Likewise in the *Arthaśāstra*[47] the Licchavis and other *gaṇas* have been termed *rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ*. Dr. R. C. Majumdar[48] is right that the expression only refers to the use by the members of the epithet of king. This does not amount to every member being a lord in himself. It signifies the great importance attached to their independent status. Even if we accept, for the sake of argument, that the republics were really oligarchies dominated by a few families, there is nothing to suggest that each noble was a landlord having a landed estate.[49]

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[42] *Buddhist India*, pp. 1-2, 19ff.

[43] *Hindu Polity*, pp. 23ff.

[44] *Lectures on Ancient History of India*, pp. 146ff.

[45] *Corporate Life*, pp. 221ff.

[46] *Sarga*, III, p. 21.

[47] VI. 1. Cf. *Avadānaśataka*, II, pp. 103-4; *Jātaka*, I. 504.

[48] *Corporate Life*, p. 250n.

[49] Dr. Pran Nath again takes the account in which the kingdom of Porus is said to have contained 5,000 cities, villages and towns (McCrindle—*Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 309) to mean that it contained 5,000 *grāmas* (estates). But there is no warrant for the supposition because the account refers distinctly to cities, villages and towns and not to estates. Moreover, there is no justification for deducing anything about the nature of the component elements of a republic from an account of a kingdom.

Laos—A Distant Outpost of Indian Cultural Influence

A SHORT HISTORICAL SKETCH

BY

DR. B. R. CHATTERJI

Laos, at least South Laos, was a part of Kambuja (Cambodia). Up to the end of the 6th century A.D. Kambuja was a vassal State of Fu-nan—a great 'Indianised' empire in Indochina which is now known only by its Chinese name. The capital of Kambuja, Shresthapura, was at Bassac (South Laos). The original inhabitants of Laos, before the Thais came in, were probably Mon-Khmers, the same as the people of Cambodia. According to a Kambuja legend, Chams of Champa (South Annam) were living in Kambuja when a prince of Indraprastha arrived on the scene and drove out the Chams. These refugees settled down in what is now known as Champasak—the region in which Bassac is situated.

The late 6th century A.D. inscription of Lakhon, south of Vientiane (the administrative headquarters of Laos today), tells us:—"The youngest brother of Shri Bhavavarman (the Kambuja prince who overthrew the suzerain State of Fu-nan), Chitrasena by name, has chosen the title of Shri Mahendravarman at his Coronation. Having conquered all the country (i.e., completed the conquest of Fu-nan) he has established the linga of Gireesha on this mountain to commemorate his victory." The Shivalinga still exists on the crest of the hill.

In the 8th century, northern or upland Kambuja was called by the Chinese chroniclers Wen-tan—a name which reminds us of Vientiane. (Prof. Manmohan Ghosh too points out this similarity in his recent work on Cambodia). During the 8th century Kambuja was split up into upland Kambuja (Land Chenla of the Chinese) and Lowland Kambuja (Water Chenla). Laos was included in Land Chenla.

Jayavarman II, who restored the unity of Kambuja about the year 802 A.D., came from Javā (not Jāvā). There is a locality in north Laos known by this name of Javā. So this illustrious monarch, with whose name begins the most glorious epoch of Kambuja (Cambodian) history, may have come from Laos and not from the island of Java as supposed hitherto.

Important Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia have been found in Laos. A digraphic inscription (written in the usual Pallava script of South India and also in a North Indian script akin to Bengali) of Yashovarman, the founder of the Angkar, has been found in Laos. This series of digraphic records (late 9th or early 10th century A.D.) are scattered over the whole area of the monarch's empire. In the 28th stanza we read: "This king, well versed (in kingly duties), performed the Koti-homa and the Yajñas for which he gave the priests magnificent presents." This is one of the few references to Vedic sacrifices in Cambodia.

A late 11th century inscription of Jayavarman VI found near Bassac in Laos gives a glowing description of the beauty and learning of the lady Tilakā. "In her youth not only had she a beauty most excellent coupled with right conduct ... but by the elders, the royal gurus, and the most learned she was honoured publicly and proclaimed as the Goddess Vāgīshwari (Sarasvati) and in contests of learning, being reckoned the foremost, she was decked with jewels." She was the mother of the court pandit Subhadra of King Jayavarman VI.

The latest Kambuja inscription (12th century) found in Laos is in the Khmer language. It is the order of a King Jayavarman addressed to several high officials and priests asking them to look after the upkeep of the devāshramas in the region of Ratnagiri. Ratnagiri (Sayfong) appears to have been very near the city of Vientiane of our times.

We thus find Laos, the cradle of the early Kambuja realm when it was still a vassal State of Fu-nan, remaining an integral part of the Cambodian empire in its palmiest days. It was probably during this period, when the 'Indianising' process was in full swing, that Laos got the name of Lava, i.e. the land of Lava, the son of Rāma, in learned circles. This name Lava continued in use in religious texts in later times as Dr. Raghavia points out.

The Kambuja empire began to break up towards the end of the 13th century with the arrival of Thais on the scene. Driven out by the Chinese from their homeland in Yun-nan (Southeast China) the Thais swept across Upper Burma (the Shan country), North

Siam and Laos. The words Shan, Siam and Thai (Sai) come from the same root. The Thai principality of Vien-chang (Vien-tiane) was established in Central Laos. Further to the north was Lan Sang which remained more Laotian comparatively free from Thai influence. Lan Sang (the first two words of a long Laotian sentence) is to be translated: 'the realm of a million elephants and the white umbrella'. Vientiane acquired the Sanskrit name 'Chandanapuri' (the Sandal city).

About the middle of the 14th century, Fa Ngom, a Laotian prince banished from his country, returned to his native land with the help of the Cambodian monarch, his father-in-law, took possession of Lan Sang and then proceeded to occupy Vientiane. The Thais of Sukhodaya (on the Upper Menam) attempted to help Vientiane against the attack of Fa Ngom, but were defeated and had to pay him a regular tribute. Thus c. 1353 A.D. Fa Ngom received consecration as king of the whole of Laos. In his address to his people on this occasion the king strongly denounced the evils of slavery.

His queen was a devout Buddhist. Finding but little trace of Buddhism in her husband's newly acquired realm, she wrote to her father, the Kambuja monarch, to send her some learned Buddhist monks, sacred texts, and a sacred image of the Buddha. The Cambodian king complied with her request. The sacred image, 'Luang Prabang', was sent to the capital of Lan Sang and it gave its name to that city by which it is known to this day. This image was a present from Ceylon to the king of Entapatha (Indraprastha by which name Angkor, the capital of Cambodia, was known for centuries).

About the middle of the 15th century there was a quarrel with the king of Annam for the possession of a huge elephant with red hair. Chakkapatti (Chakravarti), the King of Laos, defeated the Annamese. About the middle of the 16th century Potisa (Bodhisat) removed the capital of Laos from Luang Prabang (Chudānāgaajuta nagara—city on the crests of a million serpents) to Vientiane (Chandanapuri). Potisa also routed a Siamese army sent from Ayuthia to seize a Siamese refugee prince who had sought shelter in the Laotian court. To punish Siam, he overran and took possession of Xieng Mai (Haripuñjaya)—one of the finest provinces of that Thai Kingdom.

But Potisa's son helped Siam when a Mon army from Pegu (in Lower Burma) threatened Ayuthia (Ayodhya). Later on, in 1555 A.D., the Pegu army after seizing Ayuthia (the Siamese capital) advanced into Laos and put their own nominee on the Vientiane throne. The Burmese King of Ava, the enemy of the Mon King of Pegu, came to the rescue of Laos. In 1599 the Pegu army of occupation was driven out of Laos.

Suryavaṁsha Dhāmmika Raja Paramapavitra was reigning in Laos when Geraerd van Wusthof of the Dutch company of Batavia (Jakarta) visited the realm in 1642. It was a brilliant court which the Dutch man witnessed at 'Wincian' (Vientiane) in the 'Louwen' (Laos) country. The monarch was an absolute ruler. All the land belonged to him. There was no hereditary nobility. The mandarins were appointed by him. When a mandarin (a noble) died, his property reverted to the king. Eight great mandarins helped the king in administering the realm—the most important being the Obaréach (Uparaj) or viceroy.

According to foreign travellers, students of Buddhist texts came to Vientiane from Cambodia and Siam for their studies. Ambassadors came to the Laotian capital from Ava and Annam though relations with these neighbours were often strained. Siam already dreamt of bringing Laos under its sway, but for the time being allied herself with the Vientiane ruler against Burmese aggression.

On the death of Suryavaṁsha (1695 A.D.) his brother, living as an exile in the Annamese court at Hué, occupied Vientiane with the help of Annam. In 1707 however Suryavaṁsha's son, with Siamese aid, seized Luang Prabang. From this year started the rivalry between Vientiane and Luang Prabang which continued for two centuries. In this struggle for supremacy Luang Prabang looked to Siamese support and Vientiane sought help at first from Burmese Ava and later on from the Annamese Court at Hué. In this way began the long-drawn-out duel between Siam and Annam for the coveted possession of Laos.

In 1828 Vientiane was razed to the ground by an invading Siamese army. For years the whole area remained a devastated site. Luang Prabang and Champasak (in South Laos) received the refugees from the sacked city of Vientiane and thus profited to some extent from this disaster. Both Luang Prabang and Champasak tried to ward off a similar disaster happening to themselves by sending regularly tributes to both Siam and Annam.

Such was the state of affairs when the French arrived on the scene. Mouhot, who rediscovered Angkok for the outside world, died in Laos in 1861. When Doudart de Lagree visited the kingdom in 1867 it was in a precarious condition. The Hos (refugees from Southwest China desolated by the Taiping rebellion) were making predatory raids into the country and Bangkok offered no protection. Thus it was that King Oungkam accepted the French protectorate over Laos (1893).

This French protectorate lasted till the Second World War. During the last months of the War the Japanese declared Laos to be independent. But when the war ended the French came back with the support of the victorious Allies. A resistance movement however grew up in Laos to prevent the restoration of French rule. Annam, now known by its old name Vietnam, itself engaged in fighting France, backed their resistance movement led by Pathet Lao—a Leftist party with a military organisation. The Geneva Agreement (1954) gave a short respite. Then again trouble flared up and this time the afflicted realm was in the grips of the global struggle going on between the two Great Power blocs of the East and West. Pathet Lao looked to China and Russia for support. The Rightist Lao court, led by Prince Boun Oum of Champasak, depended on the help the U.S.A., Thailand (Siam) and South Vietnam could give.

The words of the Cambodian Head of State Prince Sihanouk are very significant in this connection: "Laos does not deserve the fate that foreign agents should sacrifice her with cynicism and brutality on the altar of an alleged Communism and that these (foreign agents) should contemplate giving up North Laos to Communism and creating an illusory non-Communist bastion in the south." He is convinced that, left to themselves, the Laotians would patch up all differences and live in peace at home and with their neighbours outside.

India, which has been authorised by the Geneva Agreement of 1954 to appoint the Chairman of the International Control Commission in Laos, has got a heavy responsibility for carrying out the task of restoring peace in that war-torn country. It is the last outpost of Indian culture in the far-flung Southeast Asian region. Just across the Annamite range we find another sphere of cultural influence—the Chinese sphere.

Indo-American Trade During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

BY

H. R. GHOSAL, M.A., B.L., D.Litt.

The first American vessel appeared off the Coromandel Coast in 1784,[1] within one year of the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles. The British Government adopted a liberal attitude towards the trade of Americans, considering it expedient to cultivate friendly relations with a nation they had fought against in the immediate past. Indeed in 1788 the Company's Government issued orders according the most-favourad-nation treatment to the subjects of the United States at all the British settlements in India.[2] Five years later England became involved in the Revolutionary War. Thereafter British insistence on the search of neutral vessels somewhat interfered with American trade in Europe and in the East; and it produced a certain anti-English feeling in the United States. To prevent a clash with Britain the Government of George Washington sent John Jay to negotiate a trade treaty in 1794. The British Government welcomed the proposal, and a "Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation" was signed between the two nations on 19 November, 1794. The treaty granted the subjects of the United States a right to carry on trade between their country and "all the sea-ports and harbours of the British territories in the East Indies" in all articles "of which the importation or exportation respectively to or from the said territories" was not entirely forbidden.[3] The carrying on "of any part of the coasting trade of the said territories" was, however, expressly prohibited.

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[1] The vessel was originally bound for China, but having failed in that voyage, proceeded to Achen and thence to the Coromandel Coast.—*J.A.S.B.* (New Series), XXV, p. 202.

[2] Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, XXV, App. p. 38.

[3] *Vide* Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, ii, p. 136.

During the whole period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, except for a brief interval in 1802-3, *bona fide* French trade with India was at a standstill. So was also the case with Dutch trade from 1795, in which year Holland was included among England's enemies. Formerly these two had had the largest share of the trade with India among the continental powers. Now the situation was reversed on account of war, and neutral nations, such as the Portuguese, Danes and Americans had a lion's share of the trade.[4] But Portugal was shortly afterwards entangled in troubles arising out of Napoleonic ambitions, while Denmark suffered frequent interruptions in her commerce. Naturally the Americans were in a better position than the other two neutrals. Moreover, they were otherwise privileged too, and had a number of advantages over other trading nations.

In the first place, the treaty of 1794 decidedly improved America's trade position in the East. Encouraged by the treaty, the Americans were able to drive a vigorous trade, with little interruption, for fifteen years. Secondly, their racial and linguistic affinities to the English gave them a certain preference over other foreigners. Then, again, in spite of the great distance between America and India, American ships usually made quick voyages and were less exposed to war-time perils than the ships of European nations. Lord Wellesley rightly observed in his letter to the Court of Directors of 30 September, 1800, that they navigated "more cheaply and expeditiously, and also more safely" than either the East India Company or British private traders.[5] Thus it is not to be wondered at that the net profit of a voyage from America to Calcutta, as the Reporter of External Commerce, Bengal, estimated in 1797, was sixty per cent. "after the payment of every charge incidental thereto."[6]

But it was the peculiar business methods followed by Americans that would mainly account for the large profits they usually made from their trade. These methods were quite different from those of European nations. Americans did not maintain any settlements, factories or houses of commerce in India or in any other parts of the East. They had no buildings, practically no office establishments, no managerial paraphernalia. All their transactions were accomplished through Indian agents or middlemen called banians. The captains or commanders of American ships, and such other persons as might accompany them, stayed on board the ships for three weeks or a month at the most, and sailed back without ceremony with the ships loaded with goods. In Calcutta or Madras they would "seldom, if ever, apply to Christians of any denomination whatsoever for goods for their homeward cargoes."[7] Previous to an American ship coming to anchor, the banian concerned, who was usually a Hindu, got a small house hired temporarily. The first day was spent in moving into that house, delivering the register at the police office and the manifest at the customs house.[8] The second day went by in putting up screws for the bale goods and in settling, with the aid of the banian, the prices of sugar or indigo brought into the house by 'native brokers.'[9] During the next two or three days piece-goods prices might be settled and their deliveries taken. A day or two would be spent in packing the goods, and one or two days in obtaining the register from the police office and the permit from the customs house. Next the cargoes were loaded on the ship. If, however, the ship wanted to export some saltpetre, it might take some days to have the necessary permission from the Government. At any rate, "in the course of 20 or 25 days, a vessel of 300 tons burthen will have her homeward cargoes on board."[10] Among the banians employed by Americans in Calcutta early in the last century, two figure prominently in the English Company's records—Ramdulal Dey and Debiprasad Ghose. They were big capitalists, possessed ships of their own, and did extensive business on their own account, besides acting as agents.

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[4] *Vide* the author's *Economic Transition in the Bengal Presidency*, pp. 234-5.

[5] Owen, *Wellesley Despatches*, pp. 701-13.

[6] Bengal Board of Trade (Customs) Consultations, 4 August, 1797.

There were no doubt some legal restrictions on the trade of Americans. The 13th Article of the treaty of 1794, which laid down that American vessels were to be admitted and hospitality received at all the sea ports and harbours of the British territories in the East Indies, contained a stipulation "that they shall not carry any of the articles exported from the said British territories to any port or place, except to some port or place in America".[11] A question that naturally arose was whether the treaty restricted the right of Americans also of a circuitous trade on their outward voyage from America to India. In the case of *Wilson vs. Marryat*, in 1798, the Court of King's Bench in London decided that the treaty did not impose any such restriction.[12] After this decision American ships often resorted in the first instance to some port on the Malabar or Coromandel Coast and then moved to Bengal which gave them an opportunity to evade the strict letter of the 13th Article and to bring Malabar or Coromandel goods to Bengal. Again, the treaty left them free to carry goods from any place in the East Indies, which was not British territory, to Europe. Indeed Americans considered themselves free to export goods from the Danish settlement of Serampore in Bengal to which their ships frequently resorted. The Calcutta Board of Trade, in their letter to the Governor-General in Council of 8 May, 1798, noted that there were then seven ships under Danish and American colours lying at anchor off Rishra, a place two miles below Serampore, and that of the twenty-seven foreign ships which had received their cargoes wholly or partially at Serampore and Rishra between 1 June, 1797, to 1 May, 1798, three belonged to Americans.[13] These were intended to proceed to some ports in the East Indies.[14]

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[7] Extracts from the Report of T. T. Brown, Reporter of External Commerce, Bengal, 10 Sept., 1800—*Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons).

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

Moreover, captains of American ships quite often violated the strict letter of the law and indulged in the coastal trade of India. The Company's Government generally tolerated this breach of privilege and sometimes permitted American vessels to participate in this branch of trade. It is interesting to note that in 1799 Captain Service, the commander of the American ship *Indian Chief*, offered to freight his ship to carry grain to Madras which was then in the grip of a severe scarcity.[15] The Calcutta Board of Trade recommended that the offer be accepted notwithstanding the legal restriction imposed by the 13th Article of the treaty of 1794. "We think it not foreign to the purpose to point out," they observed, "that shortly after making this Treaty with America, at a time of a dearth in England, American ships were employed by the Court of Directors to carry rice from this country to Great Britain, ... and that American ships were the only foreign ships so employed. It should appear a singular policy that they should be used to relieve the people of England from the apprehensions of famine, and not used to relieve our subjects in India in a similar predicament."[16] In the same year W. J. Miller, agent for the owners of the American ship *Harmony* offered the use of that ship for carrying rice to Madras, and the Government of Bengal authorised the Marine Board to accept the offer.[17]

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[11] Beng. Board of Trade (Customs), 8 May, 1798.

[12] *JA.S.B.* (New Series), p. 203.

[13] Beng. Board of Trade (Customs) Cons., 8 May, 1798.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Home Public Cons., 1 April, 1799.

The Court of Directors, in a report of 1801, remarked that there had been a progressive decline in exports from Bengal to Europe and America between 1795 and 1799.[18] This was contradicted by Thomas Henchman who pointed out that the number of foreign ships that had cleared out from Calcutta in 1796-97 and 1797-98 was 62 and 65 respectively as against 44 in 1795-96.[19] The Reporter of External Commerce, Bengal, wrote to the Calcutta Board of Trade in 1797: "The trade is rapidly increasing, and it is expected in a few years that America will repay with India merchandise a considerable part of their imports from Europe."[20] America then was a purely agricultural country and had very little to offer India in the shape of merchandise. The returns of Indian exports to the United States were effected partly in European staples, but chiefly in bullion or dollars. America possessed a relatively small quantity of current coin, and yet had no hesitation in permitting "the export thereof, probably under the idea that a merchant who has goods in his warehouse of the intrinsic value of £ 2000 is a richer man than another who has £ 1000 in specie locked up in his chest."[21] Throughout the period under review dollars formed the bulk of American imports, together with wines and spirits, which were occasionally imported. It is interesting that there is a reference in the *Calcutta Gazette* to the importation of American ice to Calcutta in the early nineties of the eighteenth century.

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[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] Beng. Board of Trade (Customs) Cons., 27 April, 1802.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] Beng. Board of Trade (Customs) Cons., 4 August, 1797.
[21] *Ibid.*

The exports to the United States consisted of a variety of articles. A letter from Philadelphia, dated 28 December, 1790, stated: "The manufactures of Bengal are in great demand, and will through this channel make the very best remittances to Great Britain."[22] Piece-goods, both cotton and silk, formed the largest proportion of the exports. In the year 1797-98, more than 81,71,000 sicca rupees worth of piece-goods were exported by British private traders and foreign merchants from Calcutta and Serampore, and a considerable portion of the amount was on account of the quantities shipped by Americans.[23] According to the Reporter of External Commerce, Fort St. George, the value of piece-goods exported by Americans from Madras prior to 1801 might be fairly estimated at six lacs of sicca rupees a year.[24] What, however, is rather surprising is that America should have during these years indented for large quantities of Bengal sugar, which was subject to very heavy freight and insurance charges compared with the sugar of the West Indies, a nearer source of supply. The total quantity of sugar shipped from Calcutta by Americans during the three years ending May, 1798, was as high as 1,43,834 maunds.[25] During these years Americans exported also larger quantities of Bengal rum and ginger than any other nation.[26] The other articles of export were mainly indigo, saltpetre, raw cotton, raw silk, drugs and grain, gunnies and gunny bags. From 1793 there was an embargo on the export of saltpetre from British India by foreigners and to foreign countries, lest the enemy be supplied with this essential ingredient of gun-powder.[27] But an exception was generally made in favour of American subjects, and there are frequent references, in the Company's records, to saltpetre being permitted to be shipped by American individuals.[28] They had of course to execute bonds to the effect that the article would be carried to America only. It should be noted that shipments of pepper were made from time to time by Americans from the ports of Malabar.

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[22] Calcutta Gazette, 21 July, 1791.

[23] Beng. Board of Trade (Customs) Cons., 14 August, 1798.

[24] Letter to Governor-General in Council, 23 February, 1805—*Parl. Papers* (House of Commons).

[25] Beng. Board of Trade (Customs) Cons., 14 August, 1798.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] Seton-Karr, *Selections from Calcutta Gazetteer*, ii, pp. 102-3.

[28] Home Public Cons., 25 June, 1807.

During the four years from 1801 to 1804 there was a noticeable fall in the volume of American trade with the Coromandel Coast.[29] During the year ending January 1805, the import of merchandise from America was trifling in value, not exceeding Rs. 21,054, and it consisted chiefly of French brandy and wine.[30] The import of treasure during the year was proportionally considerable, amounting to Rs. 3,23,375.[31] The exports to America in that year were quite inconsiderable too, being valued at Rs. 1,61,420.[32] The exports included "the finer assortments of the Madras manufactures, particularly handkerchiefs of the French patterns", intended for Levant, with a comparatively "large proportion of coarse blue cloths manufactured to the southward".[33] But next year the total value of American trade with the coast rose to Rs. 28,20,810 which was more than four times its value in 1804.[34] In 1804-5 no fewer than twenty-nine American ships arrived in Bengal, but more than half of these had been originally destined for Java, Sumatra and Manila.[35]

It should be noted that the object of the Americans in trading to India was not merely confined to supplying their own wants. Their vessels frequented various parts of the continent of Europe, and very extensive supplies of Bengal piece-goods were "by their means thrown into the continental markets". "The vessels of these enterprising merchants", remarked J. P. Larkins, Reporter of External Commerce, Bengal, "are to be seen traversing the seas in every part of India, from the Isles of Japan to the furthest extremity of the Arabian Gulf or Red sea; 14 American vessels were at Mocha in the month of July last; they had bought up all the coffee that was in the market at a most exhorbitant price".[36] Not satisfied with the "fair and honourable extension of their commerce," American merchants claimed the liberty of carrying on their transactions "beyond the bounds of neutrality." The following observations of J. P. Larkins are worthy of note in this context.[37]

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[29] Letter from Reporter of External Commerce, Fort St. George, to Governor-General in Council, 23 Feb., 1805.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] Letter from Reporter of External Commerce, Fort St. George, to Governor-General in Council, 18 Oct., 1805.
[35] Extracts from Report of J. P. Larkins, 10 June, 1806.

"The Americans who resort to India have in various instances been detected in carrying on an illicit trade, particularly in their intercourse with the merchants in the isle of France. Our ships of war, when cruizing off that island, have frequently detained American ships, seized them, and sent them into Bombay or Ceylon for adjudication. These vessels have been going into the Mauritius, when by their papers they should have been bound to America, under the plea of want of water, the having sprung a mast, or some such frivolous pretex (pretext), so frought with suspicion as to warrant their detention. To prove that the Americans are concerned in a contraband commerce, I have to add (that) the commander of a Danish vessel, lately arrived at this port (Calcutta) from the Mauritius, declared that during his residence on the island several Americans imported there from Bengal."

The extent to which trade intercourse was carried on between America and India in 1806-7 far surpassed "everything of the kind heretofore recorded in the commercial history of British India".[38] The value of the trade in that year exceeded two crores of rupees.[39] This unprecedented boom is to be ascribed partly to the political troubles of Portugal which greatly affected Indo-Portuguese trade, and especially to the Continental System of Napoleon. But the effects of the Continental System soon fell also on American trade. The British blockade of the coast from the Seine to the Elbe, the Berlin and Milan decrees and the Orders-in-Council had been watched with alarm by American merchants. Feeling ran so high between the United States and Great Britain on account of rigid British search of neutral vessels that in 1809 the American Legislature passed a No-Inter-course Act against British territories.[40] As a

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36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. Extracts from Report of J. P. Larkins, 1 Sept., 1808.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Vide* the author's article: The Americans in East India Trade (1794-1819)—Proceedings of Ind. Hist. Records Commission, 1956.

result American trade with India was suspended. Though in 1810 America threw open her commerce, war broke out with England in 1812, stopping all intercourse between the United States and India for three years. However, on the termination of the conflict Americans were the first, among the foreign nations, to renew their trade with this country.

Though Indo-American trade occasioned frequent complaints in Parliament, it must be admitted that this trade was ultimately beneficial to India, and even to Britain. Americans brought into our country "seasonable and large supplies of bullion" at a period when there was acute silver scarcity.[41] Then, they carried Indian products to Europe, Spanish America and many other parts of the world during the greater part of the war period and thereby saved Indian manufacturers from a probable loss of markets abroad. In 1813 Charles Grant described the beneficial effects of the trade before the Commons thus: "......when by the policy and increasing power of Buonaparte, the produce of this country and its colonies were nearly shut out from the continent, the Americans still continued to introduce the commodities of India there, and with the returns of their adventures, they probably purchased English manufactures to carry to the American continent, so that this country also eventually benefited by their trade........"[42]

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[41] Hansard's *Parl. Debates*, XXV, App. p. XIL.

[42] *Ibid.*, App. p. XL.

Early Cāḷukyan Architecture—A Review

BY

DR. M. RAMA RAO

The Early Cāḷukyas or Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi ruled over a large part of the Deccan from 550 to 753 A.D. and played a prominent part in the history of ancient India. Their contributions to art and architecture are very valuable and the monuments erected during the period of their rule, together with the monuments of the Pallava period, constitute the most varied, the most numerous and the most significant collection of Hindu temples in the post-Mauryan period of ancient Indian History. Still, these monuments have not received the attention that they deserve and there is a lot of confusion about their classification. Fergusson and following him, Cousens, ascribed such of these temples as have a curvilinear tower or *vimāna* crowned by an *āmalaka śikhara* to the Indo-Aryan style and the other monuments to the *Drāviḍa* style. Both these terms are misleading. Recent writers, who have studied the Orissan and north Indian temples having a similar *vimāna* and *śikhara*, ascribe these temples to the *Nāgara* style and either include the Early Cāḷukyan temples with similar *vimānas* and *śikharas* under the *Nāgara* style or dismiss them cheaply as buildings of a hybrid or mixed style. The label *Nāgara* stuck on to these temples is incorrect and misleading and in direct conflict with the terminology suggested unanimously by Sanskrit texts on temple architecture. Further, the Cāḷukyan temples having the curvilinear *vimāna* and *āmalaka śikhara* do not possess the fundamental features said to characterise the temples of Orissa and northern India and differ from the latter radically. The Sanskrit texts mention three main Orders of temples—*Nāgara*, *Drāviḍa* and *Vēsara* with a few varieties inside each. It appears from the evidence of these texts that the so called *Nāgara* style of recent writers and the Indo-Aryan style of European writers is really one variety of the *Vēsara* Order of the texts and that the temples assigned by all those writers to the so called *Drāviḍa* style are really of the *Nāgara*, *Drāviḍa* and *Vēsara* Orders of the texts.

A careful examination of the information given by the texts and of the arguments advanced by advocates of the so called *Nāgara* style is necessary for a proper understanding of the nature of these Early Cāḷukyan temples and their proper classification.

I. *Classification of Hindu temples*

Numerous Sanskrit texts like the *Mānasāra*, *Suprabhēdāgama*, the *Śilparatna* and the *Iśānaśivagurudēvapaddhati* describe the method of construction of Hindu temples or *Prāsādas* and classify these temples on two bases—stylistic and geographical.

A. *Stylistic classification*—According to the *Suprabhēdāgama*,[1] there are three styles or Orders, *Nāgara*, *Drāviḍa* and *Vēsara*. That *vimāna* which is round from the *kanṭha* or neck is Vēsara; that which is eight-sided from the neck is *Drāviḍa* and that which is four-sided in its entirity is *Nāgara*. Two points are clear from this, viz, that it is the *vimāna* that has to be taken into consideration and not the whole *Prāsāda* and that it is the portion above the neck that forms the basis for the determination of the Order.

The *Śilparatna* too mentions the threefold classification.[2] According to it, that building which is four sided from the *mūla* or base to the *śikhara* is *Nāgara;* that which is six or eight sided from the base to the *ṣikhara* is Drāviḍa and that which is round either from the base or from the neck is *Vēsara*. It is also said that the temple whose *śirsa* or *śikhara* and *kanṭha* or neck are eight-sided is *Drāviḍa*, that which has a round *kanṭha* or neck and *śira* or *śikhara* is *Vēsara* and that the building which is four-sided from the base to the *stūpī* or *śikhara* is Nāgara. Here too the emphasis is on the *śirṣa*, *śira* or *śikhara* as the ultimate determinant of the Order.

The Mānasāra[3] gives more details and more varieties. According to it, temples can be classified on two bases, the shape from the base to the *stūpi* or *śikhara* and the shape of the *grīvā* or neck and the *śikhara*. These shapes are said to be four-sided, having elongated sides, two sided and round. It is then stated that that which is four-sided is *Nāgara*, this qualification applying obviously to either the portion from the *mūla* or base to the *stūpī* or *śikhara* or to the *grīvā* or neck and *śikhara* or to the portion above the *gaḷa* or neck; that the building which from the base to the *agra* or *śikhara* is round is *Vēsara*. Here too, the portion above the *gaḷa* or neck figures as the alternative basis for the determination of the Order.

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[1] *Adhyāya* 30, vv. 40-42.

[2] *Adhyāya* 16, vv. 50-53.

[3] *Adhyāya* 18, lines 90-100.

Most of the temples now extant are four-sided from the *mūla* or base to the *śikhara*. Even the *vimāna* above the *garbhagṛha*, whether it be of the curvilinear variety or stepped variety or of the variety of diminishing storeys, is always four-sided. Therefore no purpose will be served by taking the expression *Mūlādi stūpiparyantaṁ* as the basis for the classification. All the texts mention the portion above the neck and *śikhara* as the alternative basis. Even a cursory examination of the extant monuments shows that temples differ from one another on account of the shape of the *śikhara* that they have. For these reasons, the *śikhara* must be taken as the primary determinant of the Order or style of a temple. We find several main varieties of the *śikhara*—four-sided, six-sided, eight-sided, plainly round, round like an *āmalaka*, oblong and apsidal. There is thus perfect accord between the descriptions of the texts and actual extant examples.

B. *Geographical classification*[4]—The texts divide India into three geographical areas and assign the three main styles to these areas. They state that the *Nāgara* style is to be seen in the region between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas, the *Vēsara* style in the area between the Vindhyas and the Krishna and *Drāviḍa* style between the Krishna and the Kanyākumāri. But this classification creates serious difficulties. In the area between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas which is said to be the home of the *Nāgara* style we find Gupta temples which are said to belong to both the so called *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* styles. Similarly, in the second region we find temples with a curvilinear tower and *āmalaka* *śikhara* assigned by some writers to the so called *Nāgara* style and temples which have *vimānas* of both stepped and diminishing storeys varieties which are assigned to the so called *Drāviḍa* style. In the third region, again, we find temples with round, four-faced six-faced and *āyatāsra* and apsidal *śikharās*. This shows beyond doubt that this geographical classification does not accord with facts and is therefore completely unreliable for purposes of classification of temples. This is obviously the reason why the texts themselves add the rider "Some say that all types are found in all places."

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[4] *History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Publication) Vol. V, p. 530.

II. *Views of recent writers*

A. *The Nāgara style*—There is a deplorable misunderstanding of the texts among several writers on Indian architecture and their views create a lot of confusion, particularly with regard to the classification of temples and determination of their styles. One writer says that the description of the three main Orders in the texts is vague and inadequate and that it is not possible to equate them with any extant examples. He dismisses the *Vēsara* Order of the texts as meaningless and as a hybrid between the *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* and asserts that the three main styles can be resolved ultimately into two, *Nāgara* ad *Drāviḍa*.[5] This writer and others take their stand on the geographical classification of the texts and ascribe all temples of Orissa and northern India having a curvilinear *vimāna* and *āmalaka śikhara* to the *Nāgara* style and assign the temples with similar *vimānas* and *śikharas*, raised during the Early Cāḷukyan period to that style, considering these temples as mere local variations and as not altering the basic characteristics of the *Nāgara* temple.[6] These basic characteristics are said to be (1) a number of graduated projections on the outer side of each wall of *garbhagṛha* (2) buttress-like projections with niches inside them whose tiered tops are carried above on to the face of the *vimāna* above (3) the cruciform plan and (4) a curvilinear *vimāna* with side or *bhūmi āmalakas* crowned by an *āmalaka śikhara*.[7] It is said that the Orissan temples show the pure form of the *Nāgara* style and that the Paraśurāmēśvara temple of Bubanēsvar is the starting point of the evolution of this type of temple.[8] This temple has the *Janghā* or wall part of the *garbhagṛha* containing three buttress-like projections each capped by a tiered superstructure which goes up on to the *vimāna* and merges in the central *Rāhīpāga*. There is a square step on the top of the curvilinear part containing a lion projecting into each cardinal direction. Above the *āmlaśilā* or *āmalaka śikhara* there is another part named *khapurī*.

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[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 530-534.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 535.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 531.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 535-538.

B. *The so called Drāviḍa Style*—These writers have equally peculiar views about the Drāviḍa Order. The distinguishing features of the Order or style are said to be a *vimāna* of diminishing storeys, a square cella, *Pradakṣiṇa* on the four sides of the cella, cornice adorned with gables and pilasters and niches on the outer side of the walls. All temples possessing these features are assigned to the *Drāviḍa* style irrespective of the shape of their *śikhara*.[9]

C. *So called Gupta origins*—The third remarkable view of these writers is that the temples of both the so called *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* styles were derived from Gupta models. The simplest and earliest examples of this so called *Nāgara* style are said to be the Daśāvatāra temple of Deogarh and the brick temple of Bhitargaon. The temples of Nāchnakuṭhāra and Sirpūr are said to be the Gupta examples of the so called *Drāviḍa* style. The Laḍ khan, Konṭ guḍi and Mēgutti temples and the Durgā and Hucchimalliguḍi temples, of the Early Cāḷukyan period and the apsidal temples of Ter and Chēzerla are all included under the Gupta style.[10]

All these three views are untenable. They are the result of a fundamental misunderstanding of the evidence of the texts and of complete and unjustifiable reliance placed upon the geographical classification of the texts. They are also the result of the unjustifiable anxiety to trace every style of architecture to Gupta origins and a grievous failure to recognise the existence and progress of independent architectural movements in the regions to the south of the Vindhyas. These views require careful examination in the light of the evidence of the texts and the evidence adduced by a large number of extant monuments.

D. *Examination of the so called Nāgara style*—The following are said to be the main features of the temples of the *Nāgara* style found in Orissa and northern India—(1) a square sanctum with a curvilinear *vimāna* crowned by an *āmalaka śikhara* (2) a number of graduated projections in the middle of the outer side of the walls of the *garbhagṛha* (3) cruciform plan on the axis (4) projections on the side walls of the sanctum carried up on to the Vimāna. Two of these features, the cruciform plan and tiered top of buttress-like projections on side walls going up on to the *vimāna*, are not seen in the Early Cāḷukyan temples which have a curvilinear *vimāna* crowned by an *āmalaka śikhara*. In all examples in which there is a *kōsṭa* or niche in the wall, there is empty wall space between the top of the niche and the *kapōta* of the wall above. These niches are not inside buttress-like projections. Similarly, some temples have the *garbhagṛha* only, others have a porch before it, some have *garbhagṛha, antarāḷa* and porch either enclosed or open. All these parts of the temple are enclosed by four walls. They do not have the series of *Deul, Jagmōhan, Bhōgamanṭap* and *Nāṭyamanṭap* on the axis as in the case of the north Indian and Orissan temples. The texts assign any temple with a round *śikhara* to the *Vēsara* Order. Thus, the ascription of the Cāḷukyan temples with a curvilinear *vimāna* and *āmalaka śikhara* to the *Nāgara* Order is untenable.

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[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 533-535.
[10] *Ibid*, Vol. V, Sec. ii., Ch. IX.

E. *Examination of the so called Drāviḍa style*—The views of recent writers regarding this style are equally untenable. The *Pradakṣiṇa*, which is said to be one of the fundamental features of this style, is also found in a number of temples having the curvilinear tower crowned by an *āmalaka śikhara*[11] which these writers assign to the so called *Nāgara* style. Secondly, the pilasters and niches on the outer side of walls are also found in the Cāḷukyan temples of above description. In the third place, their mention of the *vimāna* of diminishing storeys is very vague. There are temple *vimānas* of this description which have four faced, six faced and round *śikharās*. All these varieties cannot be classed as of the *Drāviḍa* style because they differ from one another and because they are differently classified by the texts. These writers ignore, without any justification, the plain round or *vṛtta śikhara* which is found on the *vimānās* of many temples.[12] Further, there are a number of *vimānās* which contain a number of steps in the place of the *pāgas* and the diminishing storeys and these do not fit into the description of the *Drāviḍa* temple given by these writers. In later temples the *pradakṣiṇa* disappears altogether, the moulded *kapōta* is not to be seen and the diminishing storeys of rows of *kūṭa, pañjara* and *śālā* are replaced by vertical ribbon-like parts covering the entire face of the *vimāna*. These temples do not also possess the *Drāviḍa* features enumerated by these writers.

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[11] See under *Vēsara* temples below.

[12] Cf. The Mallikārjuna temple of Paṭṭadakal.

F. *Examination of the so called Gupta origin*—One substantial argument that can be advanced against this theory of Gupta origin is that it is against facts of political history. The spread of a style from one place to another generally presupposes the spread of political influence. There is no evidence to show that Gupta rule extended over northern Karṇāṭaka or Āndhradēśa. Secondly, the temple builders of the south need not have gone to Tigāwa, Bhumāra, Bhitargaon, Deogarh and other Gupta centres for borrowing architectural styles. A careful examination of the Buddhist sculptures from Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa of the second and third centuries A.D. reveals the existence, in those times, of numerous buildings[13] with round, oblong and four faced roofs and with pillars[14] which are the prototypes of pillars that appear in the buildings of the post-Buddhist period. These suggest the *āyatāsra*, *Vēsara* and *Nāgara* types of temple *śikharas*. The Vrikṣacaitya of Amarāvati is highly suggestive of the *vimāna* of diminishing storeys. The shrine with an oblong roof is the prototype of the *vimāna* with an *āyatāsra śikhara* and the *gōpura*. The *rathas* of Mahābalipuram are reproductions in stone in one place of numerous types of temples that must have been existing at the time all over south India. Early Pallava inscriptions[15] refer to various temples existing in the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries and record gifts made to them. Recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have brought to light several temples dedicated to Kārtikeya, Śiva under the name of Puṣpabhadrasvāmin and Viṣṇu under the name of Aṣṭabhuja-Nārāyana and Hārītī.[16] These temples must have been the source of inspiration for the architects of south India and not distant Gupta structures.[17] Fourthly, early Cāḷukyan temples like those of Lāḍ khān and Kōnṭ guḍi group are contemporaneous with, if not earlier than, the early Gupta temples[18] and it was the Early Cāḷukya that ruled over the region in which they are found and not the

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[13] Sivaramamurti—*Amaravati Sculptures*, Pl. XV, fig. 1 for the Vṛkṣa-caitya; XXIV for a building with *kūṭāgāra* at one end of the first floor; XLI for a house with round dome shaped roof; XLVI & XLVII for huts with round and oblong roofs. See also *Ancient India* No. 16, Pl. XLVI for a Buddhist shrine with a round *śikhara* and P. R. Srinivasan—*Beginnings of the Tradition of South Indian Temple Architecture*, Madras Museum Bulletin, Gen. Sec. Vol. VII, No. 4.

[14] Longhurst—*Buddhist antiquities of Nagarjunakonda*, Pl. XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXIV & XLI.

[15] The British Museum plates of Cārudevi in *E.I.I.*, pp. 1-10, which mentions a gift made to the Kulimahātāraka temple of Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa;

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the Urvapalli plates, I.A. V, pp. 50-53 of *Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa* which record a gift made to the temple of Viṣṇuhāra built by the general Viṣṇuvarman at Kandukūru and the Gōranṭla plates, *I.A.* IV, pp. 102-193, which refer to the temple of god Śambhu of Vaṁkēśvara. The Śālaṅkāyanas were the devotees of god Chitrarathasvāmin of Vēṅgi and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were the devotees of the Lord of Śrīparvata.

[16] *Indian Archaeology*, 1956-57, pp. 36-37 and article on Nāgārjunakoṇḍa excavations by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam in the *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Souvenir* edited by Dr. M. Rama Rao.

[17] According to one tradition regarding the origin of the Cāḷukyas, Vijayāditya of Ayōdhya invaded Dakṣiṇāpatha and was killed in a battle with Trilōcana Pallava. His wife, who was pregnant, was given refuge in the village of Muḍivēmu, situated in the Cuddapah district of Āndhra Pradesh, by a brāhman named Viṣṇubhaṭṭa sōmayājin, and begot a son who was named Viṣṇuvardhana. This Viṣṇuvardhana is said to have done penance on the Cāḷukyagiri and obtained a kingdom by divine grace. The Tummayanēru grant of Pulakesin II (C.p. grants in the Hyderabad Museum, pp. 40-45) found on the border between the Mahabūbnagar and Kurnool districts of A.P. mention the gift of a village in the *Cāḷukya-viṣaya* made before god Saṅgamēśvara at Kūḍalsaṅgamēśvaram or the confluence of the Krishna and Tungabhadra, a few miles from Alampūr, in the Mahabūbnagar district. Obviously, the *Cāḷukya-viṣaya* was so called because it was the original home of the Cāḷukyas. The c.p. grant shows clearly that the *viṣaya* included the Mahâbubnagar and Kurnool districts and suggests the origin of the Cāḷukyas of history in Āndhradēśa.

[18] Brown—*Indian Architecture*, p. 63, assigns the Lāḍ Khān and Kōnṭ guḍi group of temples to about 450 A.D. and the Gupta temples of Bhitargaon to about 400 A.D. and of Deogarh and Tigāwa to some time in the fifth century and the Bhumāra and Nāchna Kuṭhāra to about 500 A.D. (*Ibid.*, Ch. x).

Guptas. These early examples seem, beyond doubt, to have been the source of inspiration for the construction of the later temples of the Cāḷukyas at Bādāmi, Aihole and Paṭṭadakal. In the Bhitargaon temple the side walls of the sanctum contain projections the tops of which are continued on to the *vimāna* above. The *śikhara* seems to be of the *āyatāsra* type and not the *āmalaka* type.[19] The side walls of the Deogarh temple are similar and its *vimāna* is of the stepped variety. There is also the prototype of the *khapuri* above it.[20] The porch before the *garbhagṛha* is a necessary part of the Gupta temple but this is not necessarily found in the Cāḷukyan temples. There is a similar difference in the nature of the pillars. The pillars in the Bhitargaon temple have a *pūrṇakalaśa* or vase and foliage at the base, a sculptured *paṭṭa* with a semi-circular arch above it, an octagonal part, another *pūrṇakalaśa* and a square abacus at the top. The pillars in the Tigāwa temple have a rectangular block, octagonal part in two sections, an inverted bell, a round fillet, a square block, a narrow fillet and the square abacus. All these pillars have on the abacus two lions standing facing opposite directions.[21] Early Cāḷukyan pillars are altogether different. Most of them have no base, are square and heavy and their capitals have the *taraṅga* or wave ornament on the under side. Starting with the Lāḍ khān and the Konṭ guḍi group these pillars continue almost until the end and are seen in the well known temples of Virūpākṣa, Saṅgamēśvara and Mallikārjuna at Paṭṭadakal and in numerous shrines in Aihole and examples at Bādāmi.[22] Thus, there is no justification for the theory that the Eary Cāḷukyan style was derived from the Gupta style.

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[19] There are buttress-like projections on the walls of the sanctum of this temple whose tops go up on to the *vimāna* and the *vimāna* itself is of the stepped variety and not curvilinear and is crowned by an *āyatāsra śikhara* and not by an *āmalaka śikhara*. (*Ibid.*, Pl. XXXIII, fig. 5).

[20] M. S. Vats—*The Gupta Temple of Deogarh*, Pl. IV. The *vimāna* is shown as containing diminishing steps and not as a curvilinear structure. The *śikhara* is missing. In Pl. V, the author conjecturally reconstructs the *vimāna* on the basis of miniature shrines found on the doorway beams and places an *āmalaka śikhara* on the top of the reconstructed *vimāna*.

[21] Brown—*Indian Architecture*, Pl. XXXIV.

[22] *Ibid.*, Pl. V, VII and VIII.

III. *Review of Early Cāḷukyan temples*

These temples are found at Bādāmi, Aihole and Paṭṭadakal, in northern Garṇāṭaka and Alampūr,[23] Satyavōlu[24] and Mahānandi in Āndhradēśa. These will now be examined[25] on the basis of the textual classification of temples into the *Nāgara*, *Vēsara* and *Drāviḍa* Orders.

1. *Early examples*

1. *The Lāḍ khān temple.* This shrine consists of a porch, *maṅṭapa* and *garbhagṛha* built against the back wall of the *maṅṭapa.* The two front pillars contain, at their base, the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The outer side of the low parapet in the front is adorned with a row of *pūrṇakalaśas.* The outer side of the enclosing walls of the *maṅṭapa* is adorned with pilasters and perforated screens. The pillars of the *maṅṭapa* contain the *taraṅga* ornament with an ornamented *paṭṭa* in the middle on the under side of their capitals and those of the porch have simple bracket capitals.[26] There is the bottom part of the *vimāna* on the roof.

2. *The Kōnṭ guḍi group.*—This is a group of three shrines almost similar and obviously of the same time. This Kōnṭ guḍi consists of a porch, a *maṅṭapa* and the *garbhagṛha* built against the back wall of *maṅṭapa* enclosure. The *maṅṭapa* is in three sections, the front section having a sloping roof above. On the underside of these sections are sculptured the figures of Viṣṇu lying on Śēṣa, Śiva as *āliṅganamūrti* and Brahma seated on a lotus. There are four projecting lions supporting the roof above the four central pillars of the *maṅṭapa.* The entablature above the hind pillars contains the series *kūṭa, pañjara* and *śālā.* The architrave above the *garbhagṛha* is adorned with *kūṭa, kūṭa, pañjara, śālā, pañjara, kūṭa* and *kūṭa.* At each end of the architrave there is a lion projecting into the interior supporting the roof. The lintel has the

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[23] For a detailed description of the temples in this place see my article in the *Journal of Indian History* XXXIX, pp. 369-391.

[24] For a detailed description of the temples in this place see my article in the Trans. Arch. Soc. S. Ind. 1959-60, pp. 72-78.

[25] I studied the Cāḷukyan monuments at Bādāmi, Paṭṭadakal and Aihole in September, 1962.

[26] Cousens—*Chalukyan Architecture,* Pl. V, VI-VII & VIII.

figure of Garuḍa carrying snakes in his hands. The outer side of the walls is plain and there is a moulded *kapōta* above them. There are traces of *kūṭa, pañjara* and *śālā* on the top of the walls. On the roof above the *garbhagṛha* is to be found the first *tala* of a *vimāna* containing a row consisting of *Kūṭa*, two *pañjaras* and *śālā.*

The second shrine of this group is similar. It has an open *maṅṭapa* the front part of which is covered by a sloping roof. It has four massive pillars in the centre with capitals containing the *taraṅga* with *paṭṭa* on the underside. There are two sanctums built against the back wall. The entrance of the main shrine is finely carved and has the *pūrṇakalaśa* at the base of the jambs. There is a *kapōta* above the doorway adorned with *siṁhalalāṭa* gables. The architrave above contains the series *kūṭa, kūṭa, pañjara, śālā, pañjara, kūṭa* and *kūṭa,* all adorned with *siṁhalalāṭa* gables. On the roof of this shrine is to be seen the first *tala* of a *vimāna* containing *kūṭa, pañjara, śālā, pañjara* and *kūṭa,* with the figure of Naṭarāja inside the *śālā.*[27]

The third shrine is adjacent to the above. It has a pillared porch in the front and a closed maṅṭapa behind it, containing the *garbhagṛha* built against the back wall. The pillars of the porch have peculiar capitals with their sides showing an angle of 45 degrees. The pillars in the *maṅṭapa* have bracket capitals with a protruding block at the bottom, reminiscent of Cōḷa pillar capitals. The entrance of the *garbhagṛha* is finely carved and adorned with rows of dwarfs and musicians. The architrave above it contains the series *kūṭa, pañjara, śālā, pañjara* and *kūṭa* and projecting lions at each end. The outer side of the parapet of the porch is decorated with a row of *pūrṇakalaśas.*

3. *The Mēgutti temple*—This temple of Aihole consists of a closed *maṅṭapa* in the front and an enclosed part behind it containing the *garbhagṛha, aṅtarāḷa* and *pradakṣiṇa.* The temple stands on an *adhiṣṭāna* which contains *upāna, gaḷa, tripaṭṭa,* another *gaḷa* cut into compartments with sculptures, *kapōta* decorated with gables and *āliṅgapaṭṭikā.* The walls above the *adhiṣṭāna* contain screen windows and empty *kōṣṭas* between two pilasters each. There is a moulded *kapōta* above the walls and there are traces of

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[27] Ibid., Pl. V & VIII.

kūṭa, pañjara and *śālā* series on their top. There is the first *tala* of the *vimāna* on the roof with a single *kōṣṭa* on each side.

2. *Vēsara Temples*

The main features of these temples are the curvilinear *vimāna* crowned by an *āmalaka śikhara* with varying plans. Some *vimānas* of this variety are of diminishing storeys but are crowned by plain round *śikharās*. Others are stepped and crowned either by an *āmalaka śikhara* or a plain round *śikhara*. In all cases the *śikhara* is round. Temples of these three varieties of *śikharas* will be reviewed on the basis of their plans.

1. *Only garbhagṛha*—The Bhīmalingēśvara temple of Satyavōlu is a very good example of this type having a curvilinear *vimāna* and *āmalaka śikhara*. It stands on a high *adhiṣṭāna*, the centre of which is decorated with sculptures. There is a *kōṣṭa* on each wall of the *garbhagṛha* containing figure sculptures. There is a moulded *kapōta* above the walls with the *bhūtamālā* above it. The jambs of the entrance of the sanctum have sculptures at their base and the lintel contains the figure of Kubēra. The *vimāna* is of *dvitala* type. A *śukanāsa* projects from its base in the front and has the Naṭarāja frontispiece.

The Arkabrahma temple of Alampūr is another example. The *vimāna* of this temple has fallen and disappeared but must have been curvilinear and crowned by an *āmalaka śikhara* like other temples in this locality.

2. *Garbhagṛha, maṅṭapa and porch*—The Kāśiviśvanātha temple[28] of Paṭṭadakal is of this variety. There are four pillars in the porch with corresponding pilasters on the front wall of the sanctum. The capitals of the pillars are decorated with the *taraṅga* ornament with a *paṭṭa* in its centre decorated with animal figures. The two hind pillars have elephants projecting to the sides while the corresponding pilasters have *yāḷis* in the same position. The jambs of the doorways are well carved and have fine female figures at their base. There are nine *kōṣṭas* or niches on each of the side walls and three on the back wall of the enclosing *maṅṭapa* on the outer side. There is a garland supported by dwarfs running al-

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[28] *Ibid.*, Pl. LII.

round. Above on the roof is a *pañcatala vimāna* with a *śukanāsa* projecting from the base in the front containing the Naṭarāja frontispiece.

The Nārāyaṇadēvara guḍi of Aihole is another example. The porch contains four pillars and there are corresponding pilasters on the front wall of the sanctum. The upper beam of the doorway of the sanctum contains a double gable over each vertical post below and a broad gable in the centre. The lintel has the figure of Garuḍa. Inside the *garbhagṛha* is an image of Viṣṇu on a low *vēdi* situated among four pillars.

3. *Garbhagṛha and antarāḷa*—There is a small shrine behind the Gaḷaganātha temple at Paṭṭadakal which has only these two members on the axis. The outerside of the walls is plain. This shrine has a *vimāna* of three *talas* and a projecting *śukanāsa* at the front base of the *vimāna*, adorned with the Naṭarāja frontispiece.

The Gaḷaganātha temple[29] in the same place is another example. The base of the jambs of the entrance of the *garbhagṛha* contains the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamuā and the lintel has the figure of Naṭarāja. There is a polished granite linga inside the sanctum planted directly in the floor. The *vimāna* is of the *catustala* variety and the *śukanāsa* has fallen.

4. *Garbhagṛha, antarāḷa and porch*—The Vīrabrahma temple of Alampūr is a good example of this variety. The three parts on the axis are enclosed by four walls. The outer side of the north and south walls contain, in order, an empty *kōṣṭa, kōṣṭa* with a perforated screen and an empty *kōṣṭa*. The outer side of the walls of the *garbhagṛha* and *antarāla* is decorated with a *kōṣṭa*. The *vimāna* of this shrine is of the *catustala* variety.

5. *Garbhagṛha, antarāḷa and two pradakṣiṇas*—There are two examples of this variety, the Mahānandīśvara temple of Mahānandi and the Bālabrahma temple of Alampūr. The Mahānandīśvara temple has a pillared *maṇṭapa* in the front with a low parapet on the edge of the *adhiṣṭāna* containing short pillars supporting the roof above. There are four stout pillars in the centre of this *maṇṭapa* profusely sculptured. There is an open pillared *maṇṭapa* on

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[29] *Ibid.*, Pl. LII.

three sides connected with this *maṅṭapa* forming the outer *pradakṣiṇa*. Beyond this is a closed *pradakṣiṇa* enclosing the *garbhagṛha* and *aṅtarāḷa*. The walls of the *garbhagṛha* have a *kōṣṭa* each on the outer side. Inside the *garbhagṛha* is a linga on *vēdi* set up among four pillars. The *vimāna* of the shrine is of the *catustala* type with a *śukanāsa* at its base.

The Bālabrahma temple of Alampūr is similar. The outer *pradakṣiṇa* is open and contains a low parapet on the edges of the *adhiṣṭāna* supporting a row of pillars. There is another parallel row of pillars inside. This encloses another closed *pradakṣiṇa*. The outer side of the north and south walls of this *pradakṣiṇa* contains, in order, a *kōṣṭa,* a pavilion, a pilaster, empty *kōṣṭa,* another pilaster, two perforated screens, a pilaster, another screen, a pilaster, an empty *kōṣṭa* and a pilaster. The walls on the east and west contain a *kōṣṭa,* a pilaster, another *kōṣṭa* and another pilaster. On the outer side of each wall of the *garbhagṛha* there is a *kōṣṭa* containing a deity figure. The *vimāna* above is of the *catustala* variety and contains a projecting *śukanāsa* with the Naṭarāja frontispiece at the base.

6. *Garbhagṛha, aṅtarāḷa, porch and pradakṣiṇa*—The Vīrabrahma temple of Alampūr is of this variety. The outer side of the enclosing walls of this shrine is highly decorated. The wall in the east contains two empty *kōṣṭas,* a pavilion and two empty *kōṣṭas,* a pavilion, four empty *kōṣṭas* and a *kōṣṭa* containing a deity figure. The northern wall contains a *kōṣṭa* with a deity figure, an empty *kōṣṭa,* a pavilion, an empty *kōṣṭa* and a *kōṣṭa* with a deity figure. The pillars of the porch before the *aṅtarāḷa* are of two varieties—two containing the figure of a lion on the *pāda* or base of the pillar and two decorated with the *pūrṇakalaśa*. There is a shallow pavilion on each wall of the *garbhagṛha* and the two walls of the *aṅtarāḷa*. Inside the sanctum is a linga on vēdi situated among four pillars. The *vimāna* is of the *catustala* variety and there is a *śukanāsa* projecting from its base.

The Padmabrahma temple of the same place is similar. The outer side of the enclosing walls in the north and south contains seven empty *kōṣṭas* while on the eastern and western walls there are four such *kōṣṭas*. The porch before the *aṅtarāḷa* contains two rows of three pillars each on each side. There is a shallow pavilion on each wall of the *garbhagṛha* and *antarāḷa*. The *vimāna* of this shrine has fallen and disappeared.

7. *Garbhagṛha, porch, pradakṣiṇa and porch*—There are three examples of this variety. In the Svargabrahma temple of Alampūr, there is an entrance porch before a walled enclosure containing a *pradakṣiṇa* round the sanctum and a porch. The outer side of the walls of this enclosure is decorated with a *kōṣṭa* with celestials above and a mithuna at the bottom, a portico of two pillars, another *kōṣṭa,* a perforated screen, two *kōṣṭas* and another portico. The front wall has a *kōṣṭa* on either side of the porch in the centre. The pillars of the porch before the *garbhagṛha* contain lions which project to the sides. The architrave above is decorated with *kūṭa, śālā* and *kūṭa* in one row and *āmalaka, śālā* and *āmalaka* in anoher row above. Each wall of the *garbhagṛha* has, on the outer side, a shallow pavilion flanked by a *kōṣṭa* on either side. There is a linga on *vēdī* inside the sanctum set up between two rows of three pillars each.

The Huchchimalli guḍi of Aihole is another example.[30] This shrine is on a high *adhiṣṭāna* crowned by a *kapōta* adorned with *siṁhalalāṭa* gables. The walls are plain and have a low cornice at the top. There is a projecting porch before the shrine with a low parapet, the outer side of which is decorated with a row of *pūrṇakalaśas*. The enclosure before this porch contains the *garbhagṛha* and a porch before it with a *pradakṣiṇa* on the three sides. This inner porch contains four pillars with corresponding pilasters on the front wall of the sanctum. The pillars are decorated with semicircular medallions and distended bracket capitals ending in lotus buds. The entablature above the pillars contains gables and running animals. A perforated screen with an entrance in the middle is attached to the two hind pillars, giving the false impression of the existence of an *antarāḷa* beyond. The top part of the *adhiṣṭāna* of the *garbhagṛha* is decorated with alternate rows of *siṁhalalāṭa* gables and running animals. There is a *kapōta* above the walls similarly decorated. The jambs of the doorway of the sanctum contain *nāginis* at the base and the lintel has the figure of Garuḍa. The architrave above the entrance is decorated with the series-

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[30] *Ibid.*, Pl. XII & XIII.

kūṭa with *āmalaka śikhara, siṁhalalāṭa* gable and *kūṭa* with *āmalaka śikhara*. Inside the sanctum is a tall granite linga set up in the floor. The *vimāna* of this shrine is of the *tritala* variety.

8. *Garbhagṛha, porch, pradakṣiṇa, pradakṣiṇa and porch*—The Durgā temple of Aihole is the only example of this variety[31] and is peculiar in many respects. It is apsidal in plan and has a curvilinear *vimāna* above the sanctum. It has five distinct parts—an entrance porch, an apsidal outer *pradakṣiṇa*, a porch, and a closed *pradakṣiṇa* beyond containing the *garbhagṛha* with a porch before it. The temple stands on a high *adhiṣṭāna* containing *upāna*, moulded *paṭṭa*, fluted *tripaṭṭa*, narrow *gaḷa, kapōta* adorned with gables containing human heads inside and a row of *yāḷis* above. There is a rectangular projecting entrance in the front reached by a flight of steps on either side. It has a low *vēdī* on either side with pials in the inner side. On the *vēdī* are short pillars supporting the roof above. All these pillars have plain bracket capitals. There is a diagonal lotus scroll bracket connecting the body of the two front pillars and the roof above. The two hind pillars contain bold *mithuna* figures. There is a porch beyond this entrance the pillars of which have capitals the underside of which is decorated with the *taraṅgapaṭṭa* with an animal on the *paṭṭa* part. The right front pillar contains the figure of Narasiṁha killing Hiraṇyakaśipu and the left front pillar, the figure of Ardhanārīmūrti. The two hind pillars have bold *mithuna* figures. The entablature above these pillars has niches containing small deity figures. The under side of the ceiling of this porch contains lotus in one section and a fine Nāga figure in another section, both of them painted. The entrance of the walled enclosure at the back of this porch has jambs containing *mithuna* figures at the bottom and the lintel has the figure of Garuḍa flying, holding snakes. The architrave above the entrance is adorned with *kūṭa, pañjara, śālā, pañjara* and *kūṭa* each with a gable on its face. The open outer apsidal *pradakṣiṇa* has a low parapet with plain pillars on it supporting the roof. The outer side of the walls of the inner *pradakṣiṇa* has fourteen *kōṣṭas* containing the figures of Viṣṇu, Mahiṣamardanī, Varāha, Cakra, Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, Narasiṁha, Vṛṣavāhanamūrti and four perforated screens. Inside the enclosure is the *garbhagṛha* with a porch before it. The porch has two

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[31] *Ibid.*, Pl. IX, X & XI

rows of four pillars each. The entrance of the sanctum is plain and its architrave is adorned with *kūṭa, pañjara, śālā, pañjara* and *kūṭa*. Part of the *vimāna* of this shrine is fallen.

9. *Garbhagṛha, aṅtarāḷa, porch, pradakṣiṇa and porch*—The Garuḍabrahma temple of Alampūr is the only example of this variety. The entrance porch is plain and contains four pillars with simple bracket capitals. The outer side of the walls of the enclosure is decorated. The two side walls contain a pavilion between a *kōṣṭa* on either side. The front and back walls contain two empty *kōṣṭas*. The walls of the *garbhagṛha* and *aṅtarāḷa* contain four shallow pavilions. The pillars of the inner porch before the *aṅtarāḷa* are decorated with the *pūrṇakalaśa*. The architrave above the entrance of the *aṅtarāḷa* contains *kūṭa, pañjara, śālā, pañjara* and *kūṭa*, each crowned by an *āmalaka śikhara*.

10. *Garbhagṛha, aṅtarāḷa, maṅṭapa and maṅṭapa*—The Rāmalingēśvara temple of Satyavōlu is the only example of this variety. The first three members stand on the same *adhiṣṭāna* while the *mahāmaṅṭapa* in the forefront seems to be a subsequent addition. This *maṅṭapa* has a low *vēdī* on the edges of the *adhiṣṭāna* with three openings. There are short pillars on this *vēdī* supporting the roof above. There are four pillars in the centre finely sculptured. There is one *kōṣṭa* on the outerside of the walls of the *garbhagṛha* and three on each wall of the *aṅtarāḷa*. There is a *kōṣṭa* with a deity figure on either side of the entrance of the walled enclosure beyond. There is a linga on *vēdī* inside the sanctum situated among four pillars. The *vimāna* of this shrine is of the *catustala* variety.

The following examples do not have a curvilinear *vimāna* crowned by an *āmalaka śikhara* but have either a stepped *vimāna* or a *vimāna* of diminishing storeys with either an *āmalaka śikhara* or a simple plain round *śikhara*.

11. *The Mallikārjuna temple, Paṭṭadakal*—This temple[32] resembles the Virūpākṣa and Saṅgamēśvara temples in the same place with regard to the general plan. It consists of a big maṅṭapa with porches and four rows of four pillars each and a *pradakṣina* behind the *maṅṭapa* enclosing the *garbhagṛha* and *aṅtarāḷa*. The outer side of the walls of the *pradakṣiṇa* and *maṅṭapa* is adorned with

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[32] *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVIII, XXXVIII & XXXIX.

screen windows and sculptures representing Naṭarāja, Bhairava, Umāsahitamūrti and Lakulīśa. The walls have at the top a heavy moulded *kapōta* running on all sides decorated with gables and above this *kapōta* is to be seen a running series of *kūṭa*, *pañjara* and *śālā*. The pillars in the *maṅṭapa* contain numerous mythological sculptures and the under side of their capitals is adorned with the *taraṅga* or wave ornament. There are two subsidiary shrines at the rear end of the *maṅṭapa*. The architrave above the doorway of the *garbhagṛha* contains sculptures showing Śiva, Dēvī and Nandi. The *vimāna* contains two rows of the series—*kūṭa*, *pañjara* and *śālā* and has two *talas*. It has a high neck or *gaḷa* surmounted by a round or *vṛtta śikhara* with four gables in the cardinal directions. A *śukanāsa* with the usual Naṭarāja frontispiece projects from its base in front, covering the *aṅtarāḷa* below.

12. *Minor shrines*—At Pāpanāśanam situated about a mile above Alampūr on the bank of the Tungabhadra, is a group of small Early Cāḷukyan shrines of various orders. No. 7 of this group contains the *garbhagṛha* and *aṅtarāḷa* and *vimāna* of five steps including *phalaka*, *gaḷa* and a round *śikhara*. No. 12 has a *vimāna* of six steps also crowned by a round *śikhara*. No. 13 has a *vimāna* of six steps, round *śikhara* and a stone *kalaśa*. No. 14 is similar but its *vimāna* has four steps.

In the courtyard of the Rāmalingēśvara temple at Satyavōlu there is a small shrine with a low *adhiṣṭāna*, plain walls and flat *kapōta*. The *vimāna* contains six steps, a low neck and an *āmalaka śikhara*.

There is a row of four small shrines behind the main shrine at Mahānaṅdi. Three of these shrines have stepped *vimānas* crowned by *āmalaka śikharas*.

13. *Miniature stone cut shrines*—Several of these are to be found in the courtyards of the temples of Satyavōlu, Alampūr and Mahānaṅdi. Three of these at Mahānaṅdi, one at Satyavōlu and one at Alampūr have a *vimāna* of three or six steps crowned by an *āmalaka śikhara*.

14. *Other Vēsara varieties*—The texts include, as stated previously, other varieties of *śikharās* besides the round, like the *āyatāsra* or oblong and *Gajapṛṣṭa* or apsidal, under the *Vēsara* Order. Early Cāḷukyan temples containing these varieties of the

Vēsara Order are to be found in both northern Karṇāṭaka and Āndhradēśa.

There is a small apsidal temple in the courtyard of the Rāmalingēśvara temple at Satyavōlu. It has an *adhiṣṭāna* with a narrow *upāna*, a moulding and narrow *paṭṭa*. The walls are of large blocks of stone and plain. The *vimāna* consists of two plain steps, a narrow *gaḷa* cut into compartments by short pilasters and an apsidal *śikhara*. It has only the *garbhagṛha* the entrance of which is plain, the jambs having a linga on *vēdī* at the base. The gable arch is plain but for a row of rafter ends along the edge.

Among the many miniature stone cut shrines in the court yard of the Mahānandīśvara temple of Mahānandi, there is one apsidal shrine which has an *adhiṣṭāna* and plain walls, a moulded *kapōta* and an apsidal *śikhara*. The gable in the front part of the *śikhara* contains a smaller gable with a human figure inside it. There are, besides, four small shrines with *āyatāsra śikharas*.

Many more examples can be seen in the group of shrines at Pāpanāśanam, near Alampūr. No. 1 is an apsidal shrine having an *adhiṣṭāna* and plain walls. The jambs of its doorway are decorated with the lotus leaf design. It has an apsidal *śikhara*. Shrines Nos. 2 and 3 in the same place have *āyatāsra śikharas*.

3. *Nāgara Temples*

The main feature of this type of temples is the *śikhara* which has four faces and which, according to the texts, must be assigned to the *Nāgara* Order. Several temples of this type are available.

1. *The Virūpākṣa temple of Paṭṭadakal*—This is one of the best and grandest temples built by the Early Cāḷukyas.[33] It was built by Lōkamahādēvī, the senior queen of Vikramāditya II and dedicated to god Lōkēśvara. It consists of an open rectangular courtyard with rows of small shrines on the inner side of the *prākāra*. There is a *gōpura* entrance for this court yard at one end and before it is a beautiful Nandi pavilion. The temple proper consists of a closed rectangular enclosure containing the *garbhagṛha*, *aṅtarāḷa*, porch and *pradakṣiṇa*, and a big *maṅṭapa*. There are three entrance porches for this *maṅṭapa*. The *adhiṣṭāna* of the

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[33] *Ibid.*

enclosure has *upāna, tripaṭṭa, gaḷa, kapōtā* adorned with gables containing human heads inside, a row of *Yāḷis* and *āliṅgapaṭṭika*. The pillars of the porches have capitals containing the *taraṅga* with *paṭṭa* on the under side. The walls are well decorated. The southern part of the east or front wall contains, in order, a screen window, a *kōṣṭa* with Lingōdbhavamūrti, another screen window and a *Kōṣṭa* with Lingōdbhavamūrti, another screen window and a *kōṣṭa* with Śiva standing on *apasmārapuruṣa*. The northern part of the same wall contains a *kōṣṭa* with the figure of Haryardhamūrti, a screen window, the figure of Trivikrama and another screen window. The southern wall is in three parts—that up to the southern porch, the portion after the porch and the portion enclosing the *garbhagṛha* and *antarāḷa*. The first part contains the figure of Naṭarāja, a screen window, Śiva and Dēvī standing in the *āliṅgana* pose, and a screen window. The second part contains a screen window, and a sculpture showing Rāvaṇa killing Jaṭāyu. The third part contains Nṛtta-Gaṇapati, Naṭarāja, a screen window, Śiva standing in *dvibhaṅga*, Naṭarāja standing on *apasmārapuruṣa*, Bhikṣaṭanamūrti, Śiva lifting up a woman on the point of a spear, two handed Śiva standing in *dvibhaṅga*, a screen window and *Bhairava* with two hands. The back or west wall contains Bhairava with two hands, a screen window, standing deity with two hands, Naṭarāja, Śiva standing, Śiva standing with one foot resting on a man's head, Viṣṇu standing, a screen window and Śiva standing with two hands. The north wall is also in three sections. The first section enclosing the *garbhagṛha* and *antarāḷa*, contains a four handed standing figure of Śiva, a screen window, Bhairava, Śiva standing with his right foot resting on the shoulder of a dwarf, Haryardhamūrti, Bhūvarāha, two-handed Śiva standing on *apasmārapuruṣa*, a screen window and Candraśēkhara. The second section contains Vriṣavāhanamūrti, Śiva standing before nandi, a screen window, Ardhanārīmūrti and a screen window. The third section contains a screen window, Śiva and dēvī standing in *āliṅgana* pose, Naṭarāja, and a screen window. On the top of the walls is to be seen a heavily moulded *kapōta* running on all sides and a similar row of *kūṭas, pañjaras* and *śālās*. Above the sanctum rises a majestic *vimāna* containing three tiers of *kūṭas, śālās* and *pañjaras* and a four sided *Nāgara śikhara* each face of which is adorned with a gable. A *śukanāsa* projects from the base of the front side of the *vimāna*.

The *maṅṭapa* which is reached through the three porches on the sides is big and contains five rows of four pillars each with corresponding pilaster on the walls. These pillars are square and without base and adorned with sculptures of events in Hindu mythology. Their capitals are peculiar and have the *taraṅga* or wave ornament on the under side with a protruding block at the bottom on each side. In a few cases a lion with the paws of the forelegs raised is to be found on the face of this portruding block. There is a small shrine on each side of the western end of this *maṅṭapa* and one of them contains the image of Mahiṣāsuramardanī. There is a porch of four pillars before the *aṅtarāḷa* with corresponding pilasters on its front wall. The jambs of the entrance of the *aṅtarāḷa* contain the figure of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and above the upper beam there is a hanging *makaratōraṇa*. The architrave above has projecting lions at the ends and the figure of Śiva as Mahāyōgi in the centre. The outer side of the walls of the *aṅtarāḷa* is plain while each wall of the *garbhagṛha* has an empty *kōṣṭa* surmounted by a *makaratōraṇa*. There is a granite linga in the centre of the sanctum and its back wall contains three empty niches.

2. *The Saṅgamēśvara temple of Paṭṭadakal*—This temple,[34] built by Cālukya Vijayāditya and named Vijayēśvara, is almost similar to the Virūpākṣa temple. This is a simple massive structure with a large open pillared *maṅṭapa* with only one entrance, and a *pradakṣiṇa* containing the *garbhagṛha* and *aṅtarāḷa*. The outer side of the walls is decorated with screens and niches with sculptures most of which are worn out. The north wall contains Varāha, a screen window, Śiva standing, two screen windows, a standing figure of Śiva, a screen window and a figure of Śiva. The back wall contains four figures of Śiva and three screen windows. A heavy moulded cornice runs on the top of the walls along with a continuous row of the series-*kūṭa*, *pañjara* and *śālā* above it. The *vimāna* is of diminishing storeys variety and is of the *dvitala* type. The *śikhara* stands on a high *gaḷa* and has a gable on each of its four faces. The pillars in the maṅṭapa inside are square and without base and contain simple bracket capitals. The outer side of the walls of the *garbhagṛha* is plain.

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[34] Ibid., Pl. XXXVII.

3. *Ruined temple at Bādāmi.* This temple[35] is situated in the northern fort and is a massive structure. The outer side of its walls contains alternately single pilasters and double pilasters with an empty and shallow *kōṣṭa* between them. The top of the walls contains a heavily moulded cornice and a continuous row of the series-*kūṭa, pañjara* and *śālā*. The *vimāna* is of the *dvitala* type containing two rows of *kūṭa, śālā* and *pañjara* series, and a four faced *śikhara* with a gable on each face.

4. *Shrine before temple No.* 11 *at Aihole.* This is a small detached shrine containing only the *garbhagṛha.* The *adhiṣṭāna* is buried in the ground and the walls are plain. The jambs of the doorway are carved with the lotus scroll. This shrine has a *vimāna* of three steps, *gaḷa* cut into compartments and a *śikhara* of four faces. The *kalaśa* is missing.

5. *Temples at Pāpanāśam.* Shrine No. 19 in this place has the *garbhagṛha* and *aṅtarāḷa* enclosed by two walls constituting a *pradakṣiṇa.* Its *vimāna* has seven steps, *phalaka, gaḷa* and a *śikhara* of four faces. Shrine no. 15, which is comparatively bigger, has a carved entrance for the *aṅtarāḷa* and nandis on the roof. The *vimāna* contains three steps, *gaḷa* and *śikhara* of four faces. Shrine no. 22 has just the *garbhagṛha* and its *vimāna* contains six steps, *gaḷa* and *śikhara* of four faces.

6. *Small shrine at Mahānaṅdi.* This is one of a row of shrines situated behind the Mahānaṅdīśvara temple. It has a stepped *vimāna* crowned by a *śikhara* of four faces.

7. *Miniature shrines.* Among thirteen of these shrines found in the court yard of the Mahānaṅdīśvara temple at Mahānaṅdi, six have a low *adhiṣṭāna,* flat *kapōta* and *vimāna* of two steps crowned by a *śikhara* of four faces.

There are seven miniature shrines of this type in the court yard of the Rāmalingēśvara temple at Satyavōlu. One of them has a *vimāna* of three steps and another of four steps both being crowned by a *śikhara* of four faces.

There are six such shrines in the court yard of the Bālabrahmēśvara temple at Alampūr.

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[35] *Ibid.,* Pl. XXX.

4. *Drāviḍa Temples*

The distinguishing feature of temples of this Order is the *śikhara* which may be six or eight faced. Very few examples of this order are to be found among the Early Cāḷukyan temples.

1. *The Malegitti temple at Bādāmi.* This temple[36] is situated on one arm of the semicircular hill at Bādāmi, and can be seen easily from the village below. It is a temple of massive proportions. It consists of a pillared porch and a rectangular enclosure behind it containing the *garbhagṛha* and *aṅtarāḷa.* The four pillars of the porch are square and plain and have simple bracket capitals. There is a plain moulded *kapōta* above. The temple stands on an *upapīṭha* and an *adhiṣṭāna* containing *upāna, paṭṭa, paṭṭa, vājana, gaḷa* cut into compartments with sculptures, *kopōta* having human heads inside, a row of *yāḷis* and *āliṅgapaṭṭikā.* The walls on the sides and at the back contain, in order, two pilasters, a perforated screen, *kōṣṭa* with sculpture, a perforated screen, and two pilasters. There are simple bracket capitals above the pilasters. The front wall contains an empty *kōṣṭa* and a *kōṣṭa* with sculpture on either side of the porch. A moulded *kapōta* runs on all the four sides adorned with *nāsikas* containing human heads inside. There is a continuous row of the series—*kūṭa, śālā* and *kūṭa* above the *kapōta.* Above the sanctum is a *tritala Drāviḍa vimāna* adorned with three diminishing storeys containing the series-*kūṭa, śālā* and *kuṭa.* The *aṅtarāḷa* is shallow and the plain doorway has Garuḍa on the lintel.

5. *Shrines of doubtful ascription*

There are some shrines in the Early Cāḷukyan centres which cannot be ascribed to any particular Order because their *śikharās,* which are the basis for classification, have fallen. The following are a few examples—

1. *Temple no.* 10 *of Aihole.* This shrine consists of the *garbhagṛha* and a *maṅṭapa* before it enclosed by four walls. The pillars in this *maṅṭapa* are square and massive and have the *taraṅga* with *paṭṭa* on the under side of their capitals. The architrave above the entrance of the sanctum is decorated with *śālā, pañjara, kūṭa, śālā,*

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[36] *Ibid.,* Pl. XXIX.

pañjara and *śālā*, all containing gables on their faces. There are sculptures at the base of the jambs. A polished granite linga is set up in the floor. The *vimāna* of this shrine contains seven steps. The pillars and their capitals indicate an early date.[37]

2. *Temple no.* 53 *of Aihole.* This shrine consists of an open pillared porch of four pillars in the front and a hall behind enclosing the *garbhagṛha* and *aṅtarāḷa*. The pillars of the porch contain capitals resembling Cōḷa capitals. The outer side of the enclosing walls is decorated with a number of pilasters. There is a heavily moulded *kapōta* above the walls. Most of the *vimāna* is fallen but two of its *talas* containing the series—*kūṭa, pañjara* and *śālā* can be seen.[38]

3. *Temples nos.* 37 *and* 38 *of Aihole.* These consist of a walled enclosure containing the *garbhagṛha, aṅtarāḷa* and *maṅṭapa*. The outer side of the walls is plain. There is a *vimāna* of nine steps above each sanctum.[39]

4. *Temple no.* 1 *on the east bank of the lake at Bādāmi.* This shrine consists of a rectangular enclosure containing the *garbhagṛha, pradakṣiṇa* and *maṅṭapa*. There is no *aṅtarāḷa*. The outer side of the walls is plain. Of the *vimāna* only the first *tala* containing a row of *kūṭa, pañjara, śālā* series remains.

5. *Temple no.* 2 *in the same place.* This shrine contains the *garbhagṛha*, and a porch before it enclosed on the sides. There is a figure of Mahiṣamardanī to the right of the entrance of the sanctum. The *vimāna* has fallen and the bottom *tala* that can be seen contains a row of *kūṭa, pañjara, śālā* series.

6. *Temple no.* 3 *in the same place.* This temple consists of *garbhagṛha* and an open *maṅṭapa* before it. It has a *vimāna* of five steps but the *śikhara* is missing.

7. *Temple no.* 4 *in the same place.* This is similar to the shrine described above. Only the first *tala* of the *vimāna* remains and it contains a *simhalalāṭa* gable on each face.

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[37] *Ibid.*, Pl. XIX & XX.

[38] *Ibid.*, Pl. XXII.

[39] *Ibid.*, Pl. XXV.

8. *Temple no.* 5 *in the same place.* This shrine contains *garbhagṛha, maṅṭapa* and a porch of four pillars in the front. There are traces of the *kūṭa, pañjara, śālā* series on the tops of the walls. The *vimāna* has fallen.

IV. *Conclusions*

The foregoing review of early Cāḷukyan architecture brings to light several important features some of which are commonly seen in contemporary Pallava temple architecture, some which are not to be found in the latter in spite of many similarities, some which mark the Cāḷukyan temple with curvilinear *vimāna* and *āmalaka śikhara* as radically different from the Orissan and north Indian temple and many, which are peculiar to Early Cāḷukyan architecture. These features may be briefly stated here by way of conclusion.

1. *Plan.* The *Vēsara* temples of this style with curvilinear *Vimānas* and *āmalaka śikharas* reveal quite a variety of plan ranging from the simple structure with the *garbhagṛha* alone to the complex containing *garbhagṛha, aṅtarāḷa,* porch, *pradakṣiṇa,* walled enclosure and porch. Most of the shrines are inside walled and roofed enclosures and constitute a single structure while the temples of Orissa and north India are composites of four more or less independent structures on the axis. Secondly, the *Pradakṣiṇa* is common to most examples and this is conspicuously absent in the temples of the north. Thirdly, the decoration of the under side of the ceiling with big figure sculptures is also peculiar.

2. *Walls.* The enclosing walls are both plain and decorated. They are straight and have no angles. Even the walls of the *garbhagṛha* are square and do not have angles and recesses of the *Triratha* or *Pañcaratha* patterns, as is the case with the temples of northern India.

3. *Doorways.* These have well carved jambs with figure sculptures at the bases. Many have the *kūṭa, śālā* and *pañjara* above the top beam and lions projecting into the interior on the architrave above.

4. *Kōṣṭas or niches.* These are often plain and some times project a little forward but are not situated inside buttress-like projections. The same is the case with the pavilions. Some have the *kapōta* above and others do not have it. They do not have tiered

tops going up on to the *vimāna*. There is always some empty wall space between the top of the niche and the *kapōta* on the wall.

5. *Vimānas.* The *Vēsara vimānas* have *kōṇika* and *Rāhā pāgās* decorated with vertical rows of gable arches and not with similar rows of miniature *vimānas* resembling the main *vimāna*.

6. *Pillars.* Pillars are conspicuous by their absence in the north Indian temples while they are necessarily found in all types of Early Cāḷukyan temples. There is an appreciable variety among these pillars relating to their shapes and capitals. There are, for example, the square massive pillar with an equally massive capital, some times having simple brackets, some times having sculptured brackets, some times having a *taraṅga* alone and at others the *taraṅga* with a *paṭṭa* in the centre, plain or with an animal figure. Then there is the capital with distended brackets and rounded ends. There is the ornate pillar with a lion on the *pāda, Pūrṇakalaśa* at bottom and top, fluted shaft and sculptured fillets, some times with lions projecting from the ends and supporting the roof above. Another variety of pillar is the square massive pillar with circular and semi-circular medallions. Finally, there is the pillar with bold figure brackets, the figures being either of deities or of *mithunas*.

7. *Temples of the southern type.* Some of these Early Cāḷukyan temples which do not come under early examples or under the *Vēsara* variety having a curvilinear *vimāna* crowned by an *āmalaka śikhara* or stepped *vimāna* crowned by a similar *śikhara*, have many features which are in common with contemporary Pallava temples of the south. They have all the three varieties of *śikhara, Nāgara, Drāviḍa* and *Vēsara*. Secondly, the *pradakṣiṇa* is common. Thirdly, there is the running series of *kūṭa, pañjara* and *śālā* on the tops of walls. Fourthly, the simple bracket capital and the capital with *taraṅga* and *paṭṭa* are common. Then there is the *vimāna* of diminishing storeys containing *hāras* or rows of *kūṭa, pañjara* and *śālā* series. The *gajapṛṣṭa* type of temple is another common feature. The *makaratōraṇa* over the *kōṣṭa* is seen in both varieties of temples. Lastly, there is the *simhalalāṭa* gable and the *kapōta* adorned with gables containing human heads inside.

8. *Features not found in contemporary southern temples.* There are some features of the Cāḷukyan temples described above which are not found in contemporary Pallava temples. In the first

place, the pillars are altogether different. There is no comparison between the slender, refined lion based pillars of the Rājasiṁha period and the massive square blocks of the Paṭṭadakal temples. Lions projecting from pillars on the under side of the roof are not to be seen in the southern temples. Similarly, Pallava pillars do not contain the *pūrṇakalaśa* motif. In all major Pallava temples the outer side of the walls is decorated with large size sculptures but in the Cāḷukyan temples they are adorned with shallow niches and windows with perforated screens. Then again there is no Pallava temple in which the linga is planted in the floor and not set up on a *vēdī*.

The foregoing review of Early Cāḷukyan temples makes it clear that these temples deserve greater attention on account of their variety and numbers and that they cannot be classified as *Nāgara* temples. They are of the *Vēsara* Order and may be designated as temples of the southern *Vēsara* Order as distinct from the temples of northern India which may be designated temples of the northern *Vēsara Order*.

Military Strategy of the Ahoms

BY

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In consolidating their rule in the Brahmaputra Valley the Tai Ahoms had to contend against various fierce and hostile tribes inhabiting the hills and plains of Assam. On its frontiers were such tribes as the Nagas, Abors, Miris, Duflas, Bhutias etc., and in the plains there were others such as the Morans, Borahies, Chutiyas and Kacharies who were wielding dominion in the country before them. As they extended their rule over Lower Assam in the 16th and 17th centuries they came into conflict with the Kings of Kamata and Koch Behar and soon found themselves engaged in hostilities with Muslim invaders from the west. The Ahoms, as we know, set a limit to the eastward expansion of the empire of the Mogul conquerors of India, and Assam thus became the last stronghold of Hindu independence in Eastern India. It was the ambition of several powerful Ahom monarchs to extend the boundaries of their kingdom to the Karatoya river in the west which was the boundary of the old Kamarupa kingdom. This ambition was realised once or twice, though for a short while. The Monas river usually formed the boundary between the Ahom kingdom and the imperial territories of the Moguls.

The power of the Ahoms was built on the successful working of an efficient military organisation that harnessed the available resources of the country to its use in times of war and conquest. While the Ahom soldiers and other recruits into their ranks from their fierce and hardy tribal allies provided excellent fighting material to the war-machine of the Ahoms, much of their success depended upon strategy and tactics of their generals including skilful diplomacy and espionage. Strategical manoeuvres sometimes won half the battle, baffling the enemy's plans of attack and facilitating offensive and defensive operations on a wide scale. A classic example of a clever ruse taken recourse to by an Ahom King was that of sending a horde of untrained Assamese, dressed as Brahmins with the sacred thread visible on their shoulders and seated on cows, against the powerful army of the Koch General Chilarai of Koch Behar who had invaded the Ahom kingdom, knowing that Chilarai would not *slay* either cows or Brahmins. That the Ahoms sometimes lost their battles against their adversaries was due, in most cases, to the timidity of their leaders and the incapacity of those in command to match the dash and strategy of their enemies. This was conspicuously the case on the occasion of Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam, as also on several other occasions. There are instances of condign punishment being meted out to such incapable and unsuccessful generals. On the other hand successful generals received royal patronage and presents in lands and paiks, and promotions in rank and status.

The strategy of the Ahoms consisted chiefly in taking full advantage of the natural topography of their soil. Extensive ranges of mountains and hills, deep ravines and gorges, numerous rivers, dense forests and jungles afforded natural protection to Assam to a considerable extent. The Assamese made every use of these natural barriers for the defence of their homeland. The great river Brahmaputra and its large tributaries afforded them opportunities to become excellent sailors and boatmen and the Assamese fitted out strong naval fleets to hurl back enemies advancing up the Brahmaputra. The damp tropical climate of Assam and natural phenomena like the monsoons and floods were also aids to the Assamese in their efforts to drive out the foreigner from their land.

The Assamese were experts in raising fortifications at strategic points and in turning hills into fortresses garrisoned by valiant troops. The whole land bristled with such forts and ramparts, stockades and embankments on every frontier; and these were more elaborate on the lines of defence against the Muhammadan invaders from the west. Gauhati and its neighbourhood, with hills on all sides, and similarly Tezpur and its environs were studded with such elaborate forts and ramparts erected to resist and repel the onrush of the Muslim conquerors. Traces of such forts and ramparts are still to be seen at different places which bear testimony to the military prowess and strategy of the Ahoms. When the use of cannon had become known to the Ahoms, cannon were mounted on batteries at convenient spots in the forts and armed sentries were posted at short intervals to guard the ramparts. Cannon were also mounted on war-vessels in the fleet. The forts were generally constructed of mud, but bricks were also used in building the walls of certain forts. Walls were often made proof against cannon fire. Breaches could be speedily repaired by experts put in charge of such work. The forts were surrounded by deep moats filled with water.

In the Fathiya-I-Ibriya we have the following description of the Ahom fort at Jogighopa which was evacuated on the approach of the formidable army of Mir Jumla in 1662. "It is a large and high fort on the Brahmaputra. Near it the enemy (the Assamese) had dug many holes for the horses to fall into and pointed pieces of bamboo (Panjis) had been stuck in the holes. Behind the holes, for about half a shot's distance, on even ground they had made a ditch, and behind this ditch, near the fort, another one three yards deep. The latter was also full of pointed bamboos. This is how the Ahoms fortify all their positions. They make their forts of mud. The Brahmaputra is south of the fort and on the east is the Monas".

We notice further accounts of Assamese fortifications at other places. The fortifications of Samdhora on the mouth of the Bharali and of Simlagarh on the opposite side of the Brahmaputra were strengthened and surrounded by trenches in front of which holes were dug and planted with punjis in order to resist the advance of Mir Jumla's forces. The Simlagarh fort occupied a very strategic position. It lay between the Brahmaputra on the north and a range of hills on the south and was protected on the other two sides by walls with battlements on which numerous cannon were mounted. Outside the walls were the newly excavated trenches and pits studded with panjis. The walls of the fort were so thick that cannon balls fired by the enemy made but little impression. The strength of these fortifications was an object of wonder even to Mir Jumla who later succeeded in carrying this fort by assault. Sir Edward Gait remarked, 'In view of the bravery of the Ahom soldiers at this period it is difficult to explain why a more stubborn defence was not made. Possibly it was because, on this as on several other occasions, they had the misfortune to be under inefficient or timid leaders'. In the Padishanama we have the following eloquent tribute to the capacity of the Assamese soldiers for erecting fortifications. "On the march they quickly and dexterously fortify their encampments with mud walls and bamboo palisades and surround the whole with a ditch.'

The Ahom military organisation lacked a cavalry to match with the trained cavalry of the Moguls. Shihabuddin Talish who accompanied Mir Jumla to Assam says, "If a single trooper charges a hundred well-armed Assamese they all throw their arms and run away. But if one of them encounters ten muslim infantrymen, he fearlessly tries to slay them and succeeds in defeating them". In their encounters with Moguls, the Assamese therefore avoided pitched combats on the open as far as possible. Instead they made sudden sallies out of their strongholds and often made night attacks on the enemy's camps. In fact night attacks on enemy's camps constituted a special feature of Ahom strategy. Trained spies, usually recruited from intelligent and astute Brahmins, were employed by the Ahom generals to be forewarned of the enemy's plans of attack, troop movements, and other military dispositions. The Ahom generals always studied enemy dispositions with care and devised their strategy accordingly. Learned astrologers were also consulted in all offensive operations. Posted with necessary information they took recourse to guerilla warfare and harassed the enemy from all sides by ambushes and surprise attacks. Sometimes they sent out fillibustering expeditions to divert the enemy's attention from their main objectives. Negotiations for peace were also often opened and diplomatic manoeuvres tried with a view to gain time for perfecting their preparations for war. Such clever ruses and stratagems often deceived the enemy and deprived them of advantages which they might otherwise have gained.

There are also instances of a 'scorched-earth' policy adopted by the Ahom Generals to present obstacles on the way of an advancing enemy force. During the operations against Mir Jumla's campaigns in Assam, the Ahom force under the Bar Gohain on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, after evacuating the fort of Samdhara, retreated eastwards laying waste the country and forcing the inhabitants to leave their villages so as to deprive the Muhammadans of supplies in the event of their attempting to follow him, and the Bar Gohain is said to have won victories over detachments sent against him.

It was in naval strategy that the Ahoms excelled their muslim adversaries. The Assamese were reputed to be very brave in naval engagements. The great naval victory at Saraighat near Pandu over the Mogul forces led by Raja Ram Singh of Amber at the instance of Aurangzeb has immortalised the name of the gallant Ahom general, Lachit Barphukan. The humiliation of king Jayadhwaj Singha's armies at the hands of Mir Jumla in 1663 was more than avenged at Saraighat in 1670 by the efficient generalship of Lachit Barphukan, and the dream of a Muslim conquest of Assam seemed to vanish into thin air. Lachit Barphukan was a typical Ahom military genius, farsighted in his strategic plans, keen-eyed and quick in his tactical decisions, cool in holding his strength in reserve, and fearless of danger in encouraging his troops to fight by his personal example. It was this kind of efficient generalship that, combined with the skill and bravery of the Assamese soldiery, reduced to impotence the fully equipped Moghul army with its heavy cavalry and continued to preserve the independence of Assam well into the nineteenth century. When Assam finally lost her independence at the hands of the ruthless Burmese invaders and was compelled to transfer her allegiance to the British as a result of the treaty of Yandabu in 1826, it was due to the fact that internecine quarrels and civil war had already brought the Ahom administration into the verge of collapse and the Ahom soldiery had lost both their valour and leadership.

Perumchorru Udiyan Cheral Adan

BY

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The Tamil Śaṅgam literature is an acknowledged source of historical material shedding considerable light on the social conditions and letting in limited light on the political history of the Tamils of the few centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the commencement of the Christian era. The warlike and peaceful activities of the Chēras, the Chōḻas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Vēḷirs and the large number of other feudatory princes who ruled in different parts of Tamiḻaham constituted the political history for that country of those centuries; and the Chēras, of all the princes, were particularly lucky in getting more material relating to their political history preserved than was the case with any other dynasty of Tamil princes of the contemporary age. This is because Padiṟṟuppattu, one of the eight anthologies[1] and Śilappadikāram, one of the two epics,[2] devote much attention to Chēra history though neither of them was written with a professedly historical purpose. The Paṇḍyan and the Chōḻa areas of Tamiḻaham do not enjoy this advantage. So anything like a political history for at least the few generations of the Śaṅgam epoch can be attempted only for the Chēra land. But even so, there are many problems which require restating and fresh attempts at solution. One such relates to the Chēra king, Perumchōṟṟu Udiyan Chēral Ādan.

This king is mentioned in six places in Śaṅgam literature.[3] From these references we get the following information: A Śaṅgam poet, Murañjiyūr Muḍīnāgarāyar sings the praise of this king describing his extensive conquests and mentions that "the sun that rises in the eastern sea, bordering his kingdom, sets in the western sea, also bordering his kingdom; that he was tolerant of his enemies; cunning in his political deals; capable of sternly punishing intolerable foes; and merciful to those who surrender to him"; calls him "Vānavaramban'[4]; prays that he should live happily and long whatever mishaps might happen elsewhere and to others. The poet is not satisfied with having said this; he proceeds to describe the king as one 'who gave without distinction the Perum Chōṛu (the immense quantities of food) till 'Īraimpatinmar'[5] 'the twice fifty' (i.e. the hundred) fell fighting in their battle against 'Aivar'[6]—'the Five' who rode the maned horses.[7] This same thought finds echo in references in Śilappadikāram[8] and Ahanānūṛu.[9] Murañjiyūr Muḍināgarāyar and Iḷaṅgo Aḍigaḷ, both speak of 'the Five' and the 'twice-fifty' and the offer of 'Perum Chōṛu' by the Chēra on the occasion of the deadly struggle between these two. The Ahanānūṛu references mention 'the ceaseless culinary activity in the kitchen of Udiyan Chēral's Palace where the hungry were always fed'.

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[1] Eṭṭuttogai; 1. Naṟṟiṇai, 2. Kuruntogai, 3. Aiṅguṟunūṟu, 4. Padirruppattu, 5. Paripāḍal, 6. Kalittogai, 7. Ahanānūṟu, 8. Puṟanānūṟu.

[2] The two epics: Śilappadikāram and Maṇimēkalai.

[3] Puranānūṟu: 2; Śilappadikāram—Vāḻttu KKādai: 29.
Ahanānūṟu 65: -do- Ūsalvari; 23 : 55
-do- 168;
-do- 233;

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[4] This title was common to all Chēra rulers; it is not certain if Perum Chōṛṛu Udiyan was the first ruler to be so entitled. From Padiṛṛuppattu, it is known that other Kings (1. Kalangāikkaṇṇi Nārmuḍichēral: 38:12; 2. Aḍukōtpāṭṭu Chēral Adan: 58:12; 3. Do. VI ten Padiham: 6) were also called 'Vānavaramban'. Another such title is 'Imayavaramban' which is a special title usually associated with Neḍuñjēral Ādan, father of Chēran Śeṅguṭṭuvan. These two seem to be similar in meaning. Aśōka, the Mauryan Emperor refers to himself as 'Dēvānāmpriya'—'beloved of the Gods'; the words Vānavaramban and Imayavaramban can be split up into Vānavar + Anban and Imayavar + Anban, also meaning 'beloved of the Gods'. Though the tendency to conclude, on this account, that the Chēras of twenty centuries ago imitated the Magadhan emperor or that the title was a prevalent vanity of those times is normal it would be safer to hold that they are simpler and more natural than the Mauryan title. Imayam (the snow-capped mountains) and Vān (the very Heavens) were the only limits to the limitless ability of the Chēra (Varambu: limit).

[5] Iraimpadinmar' Puranānūru, 2: 15.

[6] 'Aivar' Puranānūru, 2: 13.

[7] Puranānụru: 2.

[8] Śilappadikāram: 23:55; 29: ūśalvari.

[9] Ahanānūṛu: 233: 8, 9.

Mention of the struggle between the 'Five' and the 'Hundred' which led to the defeat of the latter at the hands of the former has most naturally persuaded later day commentators and other scholars to think that the 'Five' refers to the 'Pāṇḍavas' and the 'twice-fifty' (the 'Hundred') refers to the Kauravas. The anonymous commentator on the Puṟanāṉūṟu perhaps first stated this tradition of commentary; later this interpretation had been taken so much for granted that Mailaināthar, the earliest commentator on Nannūl says 'The Five' means the 'Pāṇḍavas' by implication.[10] Sankaranamasivayar,[11] Sivagnana Munivar[12] and Vaidyanatha Navalar[13] repeat this idea. But this interpretation requires a fundamental re-examination.

The author of Śilappadikāram purports to be a contemporary (nay, the younger brother) of Chēran Śeṅguṭṭuvan and refers to Perumchōṟṟu Udiyan as a possibly remote ancestor of that Chēra.[14] There is no reference elsewhere to this Chēra's association with the 'Five' and the 'Hundred' except the famous reference in Puṟanāṉūṟu (2). Murañjiyūr Muḍināgarāyar, the author of this poem is generally considered to be a poet of the first Śaṅgam[15], i.e., at least, it seems certain that he was one of the earliest among Tamil poets.

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[10] Nannūl: Sutram 268; Mailaināthar's Commentary.

[11] Nannūl: Sutram 269: Śankaranamaśivāyar's Commentary.

[12] Nannūl: Sutram 269: Śivagnāna Munivar's elaborate Commentary

[13] Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam: Sutram 170; author's Commentary.

[14] Silappadikāram: 23:55.

[15] Iṟaiyanār Kaḷaviyaḷ: Sutram 1 — Commentary; the controversy regarding the 'three Śaṅgams' need not detain us here. For purposes of discussion in this paper, that controversy is irrelevant. The commentary on the Iṟaiyanār Kaḷaviyal, which is the earliest authority to mention Murañjiyūr Muḍināgarāyar as a poet of the first Śaṅgam does not associate that poet with Perum Chōṟṟu Udiyan Chēran (who by the way was a Chēra King while the founders and patrons of the Tamil Śaṅgam were invariably Pāṇḍyan Kings), and does not throw any light on the contemporaneity of this Udiyan Chēral with the Mahābhārata heroes, nor even on the prevalence of such a belief in his days. So it would appear that the commentator on the Puṟanāṉūru was the first to mention this contemporaneity. Later scholars, however, accepted that suggestion and as usual treated an opinion as an established fact.

The language of Puṟanānūṟu (2) clearly shows that the poet and Perum Chōṟṟu Udiyan Chēral were contemporaries, for the former prays for a long and prosperous career for the latter. If Perum Chōṟṟu Udiyan Chēral fed the armies that fought at Kurushētra and if Murañjiyūr Mudināgarāyar was a poet of the first Śaṅgam, that Śaṅgam is to be deemed a contemporary of the Mahabharata heroes. The synchronism, *prima facie,* is incredible; not because of any inherent impossibility of such an antiquity for a Tamil king or institution, but because (1) there is no local reference to such a synchronism in explicit terms; (2) there is no external reference to the Chēras earlier than the Aśōkan edicts;[16] (3) in the Mahābhārata itself there is reference to Arjuna's peregrinations in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom,[17] but whether this reference really belongs to the core of the Mahābhārata is not certain; (4) there should not have been any need for a king in distant Tamiḷaham to feed the armies of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas (though, perhaps, there is a view that most of the non-Kshatriya kings, including Krishna of Dvāraka, were neutrals in that war); (5) above all, if one accepts the generally held view that the Kurushētra battle was fought in C. 1000 B.C., that was a period when communication between the extreme north and the extreme south must have been next to impossible; and (6) one fails to see what interest the Chēra king could have had in the fortunes of the Pāṇḍavas or the Kauravas. Thus the usual interpretation put upon the references in Puṟanānūṟu (2), Śilappadikāram and Ahanānūṟu seems to be defective and to need revision.

Of course, it is true that Perum Chōṟṟu Udiyan gets only one strictly contemporary reference and that is made by Murañjiyūr Muḍināgarāyar; and that the poet sings the praise of only one patron and he is Perum Chōṟṟu Udiyan Chēral.[18] This might, along with the fact that this poem is the first in the Puṛanānūṛu collection, suggest that this patron and this poet do not belong to any later generation of the Śaṅgam epoch but to the earliest. The association of Murañjiyūr Muḍināgarāyar with the first Śaṅgam can suggest only some comparative antiquity but cannot take it to 1000 B.C. or so.

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[16] That Megasthenes mentions only the Pāṇḍyas and not the other two Tamil Kingdoms is, though negative, still significant; and the identification of the Chēras with the 'Kēraḷaputras' of Aśōkan edicts has not been seriously doubted.

[17] Mahābhārata: Drōṇa Parva: 23rd Chapter.

[18] Of course, this is only in so far as the extant Śaṅgam literature is concerned; the contention that there might have been references in such poems as were not included in the anthologies and so are lost to us is neither here not there.

The expression 'Perum Chōṛu' can have three meanings; in the first place, it would mean the feeding of armies[19] after their victorious return from battle; secondly, it could mean the offering of the 'big balls of rice' to the manes;[20] thirdly, it could mean the symbolic offering of food in the shape of rice ball, this practice superseding the older one of actually feeding all the soldiers of the army before they march out to battle and the king himself participating in that ceremonial dinner.[21] As none of these things could be relevant to the context of the Mahābhārata and would offend the most plausible chronology of the Śaṅgam age, some scholars have suggested that the Perum Chōṛu was offered by Udiyan Chēral on the occasion of a dramatic representation of the Mahābhārata battle. But the tone of the reference in Puṛanānūru (2) as also in Śilappadikāram is clearly that of reference to a contemporary event and not merely a dramatic representation of a bygone event; again, that of all the scenes in the Mahābhārata, the battle scene (which would be most taxing to the actors and least entertaining to the audience) should have been chosen seems somewhat odd; and so the least that can be said about that interpretation is that it is highly improbable. Though a dramatic representation of the events of the Mahābhārata could not have been an unfamiliar or infrequent practice among the Tamils, still this interpretation passes the point of credibility.[22]

There is grammatical sanction for the third meaning only, namely, that 'Perum Chōṛu' was the symbolic offer of a ball of rice standing for royal participation in a dinner in honour of the soldiers. Puṛanānūru (2), and Śilappadikāram following it, must be supposed to refer to an occasion on which Udiyan Chēral offered the symbolic ball of rice[23] to his men when a group of 'Five' warriors fought a group of 'Hundred' or 'twice-fifty' and continued doing it till the 'Hundred' fell.

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[19] The gloss supplied by the commentator on Puṛanānūṛu (2) and on Śilappadikāram (29: Ūśal Vari).

[20] Perum Chōru: R. Raghava Iyengar equates this with 'Boodha Bali'.—Tamil varalāṛu, p. 235; He thinks that this 'bali' was offered to the departed spirits in the field of battle.

[21] Tolkāppiam: Poruḷadikāram, 63; Nachchinārkkiniyar's commentary: 'Piṇḍam mēya Perum chōṛṛu Nilai'. Puṛapporuḷ Veṇba Mālai: Vañji—23.

[22] R. Raghava Iyengar does not approve of this interpretation and seems to be right in doing so: Tamil Varaḷāru, p. 236.

A historically more acceptable alternative interpretation should be considered in the light of the above analysis. At least one thing seems to be certain; and that is, the battle mentioned has nothing to do with the Mahābhārata or its heroes. It obviously refers to some battle fought in Tamiḻaham itself and more probably in its northern fringes; and only if that had been the case, the Chēra would have been directly interested in it. It would appear that the Chēra was not personally involved in the conflict but contented himself with encouraging one of the parties; and the party he encouraged and supported was the party of the 'Five'. If it was a battle between Tamil forces and non-Tamil hordes, surely the Chēra would have sided his compatriots; and so it will be right to suppose that the 'Five' were Tamil warriors and the 'Hundred' were non-Tamil.

In Śāṅgam literature we hear of a 'Five'. They were the five great vēḷir princes, known as the 'Aimperum Vēḷir'. They were Titian, Eḻini, Erumai Ūran, Irumko Vēḷmān, and Porunan. They are mentioned specifically and by name in Ahanānūṛu (36) by Madurai Nakkīrar; Nachinārkiniyar commenting on Māṅguḍi Marudanār's Maduraikkāñchi[24] informs us that Talaiyālaṅkānattu Seru Venra Neduñjeḻiyan defeated these Aimperum Vēḷir besides the Chēra and the Chōḷa (called Iruperum Vēndar) in the battle of Taḻaiyālaṅkānam. These Vēḷir were northern chieftains and we know that

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[23] This was irrespective of the rank of the soldiers, whether they were Enāḍi commanders or common soldiers; note the expression 'Pōṛṛādu': without discrimination.

[24] Maduraikkāñchi: 128-129, Nachchinārkkiniyar's commentary: Ahanānūṛu: 36: 15 to 20; Puṛanānnūṛu 19: 17 commentary. These five velir mentioned here were the contemporaries of Talaiyālankānattu Neḍuñjeḻiyan and descendants of the Five velir who were contemporaries of Perum Chōṛṛu Udiyan. This in a way explains why these five vēḷir (of all the vēḷir of Tamiḻaham) were traditionally known as 'the great five vēḷir' or the 'Aimperum Vēḷir'. In this context, Kapilar's expression 'Vēḷirul Vēḷ' (the vēḷ among vēḷir) referring to Iruṅgōvēḷ (Puṛanānūṛu 201) is noteworthy.

Erumai Ūran (of North Koṅguland), Iruṅko Vēḷmān (descendant of the Vēḷir of Dvārasamudram)[25] and Eḻini (of Tahaḍur)[26] at least belonged to the North western fringes of Tamiḻaham; the Chēra king was a sort of overlord or patron of these vēḷir chieftains. Naturally in the battle of Talaiyālankānam also the Chēra fought by the side of these Aimperum Vēḷir. These reputed five vēḷir must have been a thorn on the side of ambitious Tamil monarchs like Talaiyālam Kānattu Neḍuñjeḻiyan; but must also have protected Tamiḻaham for a long time, like a shield, from northern foes; but all the time in league with the indefatigable supporters of the Chēras, till Perun Chēral Irumpoṟai fell out with Adigaimān of Tahaḍūr.[27] These vēḷir guarded the northern frontier and set at naught the aggressive designs of the princes from the north. Bindusara who extended his kingdom right down to the southern fringes of the Deccan, stopped short of Tamiḻaham and Aśōka, his son, speaks of the Tamil states with commendable respect and mentions them as his independent neighbours to the south. Khāravēla of Kaliṅga, in his Hathingumpha inscription of the 2nd century B.C. mentions a league of Tamil princes defending the Tamil states and stoutly resisting northern aggressors. Khāravēla speaks of a Śātavāhana ruler, probably Śātakarṇi I or Śātakarṇi II whom he defeated and the eastern frontier of whose domains he pushed back. This Śātakarṇi who failed in his encounter with Khāravēla must have tried his hand against southern Tamil rulers also.

If as seems probable, Śatakarṇi II of the Śātavāhanas had attacked the Vēḷir confederacy and been defeated and thrown back, there surely was a case of the Hundred being destroyed by the Five: the 'Five' being the 'Aimperum Vēḷir' and the 'Hundred', the Śātavāhanas. Ilaṅgo Aḍigal speaks[28] of a 'Nūṟṟuvar Kannar' as allies of Chēran Śēṅguṭṭuvan and mentions the help they rendered to that Chēra king in the course of the latter's North Indian expedition; and some scholars at least believe that the 'Nuṟṟuvar Kannar' was the Tamil expression for 'Śatākarnis.'

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[25] Puṟanānūṟu: 201, 202.

[26] Puṟanānūṟu: 158.

[27] Padiṟṟupattu: 80 Padiham 4 to 9.

[28] Śilappadikāram: 26: 163.

The identification of these 'Nuṟṟuvar Kannar' with the Śātakarṇis or the Śātavāhanas was first suggested by V. Kanagasabhai.[29] But M. Raghava Iyengar has advanced certain arguments which he deems are enough to disprove this identification, and substitutes the Māḷvas for the Śātavāhanas. That the Nūṟṟuvar Kannar helped Śeṅguṭṭuvan to cross the Ganges and that the expression, Nūṟṟuvar Kannar, refers to a plurality of persons rather than one person as it ought to if it really referred to a particular king (Śātakarṇi) are his chief arguments to counter Kanagasabhai.[30] It is well known that the Śātavāhana empire was in a flourishing state in the second century A.D. particularly under Yagna Sri Śātakarṇi and that there was no worthwhile king ruling then in the Gangetic plains and that it could not have been difficult for the Śātakarṇi to help Śeṅguṭṭuvan across the Ganges and assist him in overpowering certain minor northern princes. Further, M. Raghava Iyengar has not explained quite satisfactorily how Nūṟṟuvar Kannar can be the Māḷvas; the presence of a pattini temple in eastern Māḷva adverted to by T. G. Aravamudan[31] cannot be conclusive, not even sufficient, proof of the identification suggested by the learned Pandit. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar discusses this point[32] but contents himself with saying that if the identification made by Kanagasabhai is correct, the Śātakarṇi referred to must be Siva Sri Pulumāyi (A.D. 163-170).[33] It is clear that V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar accepts, though not explicitly, this identification of Nūṟṟuvar Kannar with Śātakarṇi. K. Gopalachary does not approve of this identification as according to him Sata does not mean one hundred in that context, for it is sāta and not sata. But he is not able to suggest a satisfactory meaning for the word Śātakarṇi, which does not seem to be a personal name but a general dynastic title. But whatever it (Śātakarṇi) meant originally, the fanciful translation into Nūṟṟuvar Kannar is in keeping with Tamil tradition of rendering non-Tamil words in Tamil.[34] On the balance, it would seem that the Śātakarṇi—Nūṟṟuvar Kannar identification can hold till more substantial arguments render the identification difficult. Further, the interpretation of Puṟanānūṟu (2) that is suggested here would make this identification more than plausible.

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[29] The Tamils 1800 years ago, p. 7. K. Gopalachary in his 'Early History of the Andhras', p. 35 mentions Coomaraswami (Sic) as the first scholar to suggest this identification.

[30] Chēran Śeṅguṭṭuvan: pp. 112-114.

[31] The Kaveri, the Maukaris and the Sangam Age, pp. 41-42.

[32] V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar:: Śilappadikāram, introduction, pp. 27-29.

[33] This súggested identity of 'Nūṟṟuvar Kannar' of Śilappadikāram with Siva Sri Pulumāyi needs revision, but a detailed discussion of that point would be irrelevant to the present purpose.

Khāravēla claims that he pushed back the Mūshikas disregarding Śātakarṇi, and broke up the Tamil confederacy. The break up of the confederacy must have happened a few years after Śātakarṇi had himself tried his hand against the vēḷir and been defeated. The defeat of the Śātavāhanas is mentioned in the expression 'Īraimpadinmarum porudu[35] kaḷattoḻiya'. The weakened state in which the Śātakarṇi found himself after this misadventure in the south perhaps made it easy for Khāravēḷa to have his way for the victory in the west. After this event further extension of his military movements south-westwards must have witnessed or resulted in the dismemberment of the Tamil confederacy which Khāravēḷa mentions in his inscription.

These considerations lend additional force to (1) the identification of Śātakarṇi with Nūṟṟuvar Kannar, (2) the validity of the claims of Khāravēḷa against the Śātavāhanas; (3) the state of armed readiness in which the feudatory chieftains in Northern Tamiḻaham justifiably kept themselves; and (4) render the statements in Puṟanānūṟu (2) historically intelligible and (5) obviate the need to put the expression 'Perum Chōṟu' to the torture.

So there need be little doubt, as evidence at present stands, that the Śātavāhanas were the 'Nūṟṟūvar' or 'the Hundred' or 'Īraimpadinmar' (the twice-fifty); the Aimperumvēḷir were the 'Aivar' (the five); and in this war the Chēra king Udiyan Chēral was sufficiently interested to encourage the vēḷir forces to fight back the Śātavāhanas; and to that end offered the Perum Choṟu as if he was himself the leader of the Tamilian hordes.

Perum Chōṟṟu Udiyan Chēral was, therefore a Chēra king of the second century B.C., a contemporary of Murañjiyūr Muḍināgarāyar; he was a sort of overlord of the vēḷir ruling along the northern frontier of Tamiḻaham; he supervised the defence of the Tamil country organized by the Aimperum vēḷir against northern foes, particularly the Śātavāhanas of the Deccan. This led to the belief among northern princes (Khāravēla among the rest) that there was a strong league of Tamil states which made the Tamil northern frontier practically impregnable.

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[34] For example, the rendering of 'Chitraśēna' into 'Ōviyachchēna' (Maṇimēkalai, 21: 135) where the 'Chitra' in the original has nothing to do with 'painting'.

[35] Puṟanānūṟu: 2.

If the dismemberment of the Tamil confederacy took place in the 11th year of Khāravēla's reign it must have taken place in 165 B.C. (i.e. 176-11); and so Perum Chōṟṟu Udiyan Chēral must have belonged to the 3rd quarter of the 2nd cent. B.C. and participated in a struggle between the vēḷir and the Śātavāhanas which perhaps occurred in c. 170 B.C. (the Śātavāhana king being Śātakarṇi II).

The misinterpretation of Puṟanānūṟu (2) is due to the commentator whose knowledge of historical matters or even authentic tradition seems to have been somewhat deficient; e.g. 'Mōriyar' occurring in Puṟanānūṟu (175) instead of being explained as the 'Mauryas' has been explained as 'Chakravāḷa Chakravartis', 'Vidyātarar' or 'Nāgar'. The careful perpetuation of that error about the 'Five' and the 'Hundred' being the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas respectively has led to attempts at fantastic synchronisms in Tamil history. The alternative suggested here, it is hoped, will at least clear many historical improbabilities inherent in the older interpretation.

The Vijayanagara Pavilion in Govindarajaswami Temple at Tirupathi

BY

MISS Y. PADMAVATHI, M.A.

The Vijayanagar period contributed much to the rich legacy of art and architecture of two different schools—the Dravidian and the Indo-Saracenic. Some monuments even reflect the Hoysala style of art and architecture. With the rapid increase in the number of temple rituals and festivals need for more and more of additional structures was felt, one of them being the Kalyāṇa Maṇṭapa where the annual Kalyāṇōtsava or wedding ceremony of the deity and his consort takes place.

The Kalyāṇa Maṇṭapa in Sri Govindarajaswami Temple at Tirupati, has a pavilion of black granite stone (Fig. 1), which was used in the construction of monuments and buildings during the Vijayanagar period. The Dravidian style of architecture of those times is that of Maṇṭapas or Pillared halls. It is a unique example of Vijayanagar style of pavilion, sculpture and carvings, indicating the 'excess of display' emphasised by the monarchs and their patronage of art traditions. This edifice is rich in designs, cut patterns, varying geometrical shapes, sculptures of Hindu pantheon, and secular figures. The pavilion 10′6″ × 10′6″ in size is beautifully shaped, carved and polished like an artistic gem. It resembles hardened steel rather than stone. Many a visitor gets lost in admiration of profusely carved figures on the pavilion.

The adhiṣṭāna (Fig. 2) of the pavilion is rich with ornamentation. It has for its base Upāna decorated with the lotus creeper design. Above this is a patta with lotus petal design. More lavish display of design and ornamental details could be seen on the adhahpadma and Kumuda. The adhahpadma has rows of pearl hangings in between pairs of lotus petals. Above this is another patta with lotus petal carving. Over this is tripatta with ribbon cuttings on the surface and small medallions on the central patta. There is a narrow patta, above this with exceedingly neat and effective carved edge. Above this is a gala or kanta cut into compartments by pairs of lion faces or simhalalatas with figures in dance poses, and Gajalakshmi in between. The Kapota is decorated with a band of lotus petal carving at bottom, ribbon cuttings above with intervening pairs of simhalalatas in the order of three, two, two, three.

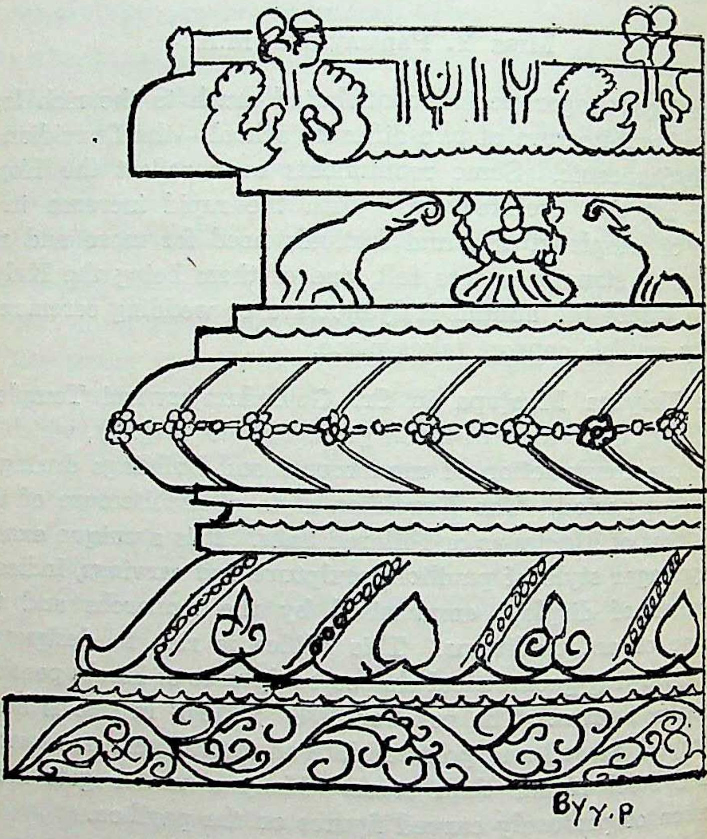

Fig. 2

The pavilion has four beautifully carved pillars at the four cardinal points. Each pillar has three graceful pillarets projecting on two sides of the main pillar (fig. 3). The pillar to the left differs from the others in having a row of sculptures in dancing pose, ½″ in size, on the topmost moulding of the pillar base or pāda. Perhaps it might have been the first pillar carved as a trial. The pillars have five sections with three cubical parts alternating with two octagonal sections of the shafts in between. On the cubical sections are to be found bas reliefs of scenes from Hindu mytho-

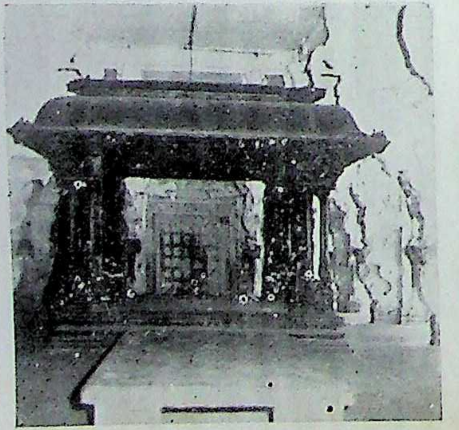

Fig. 1

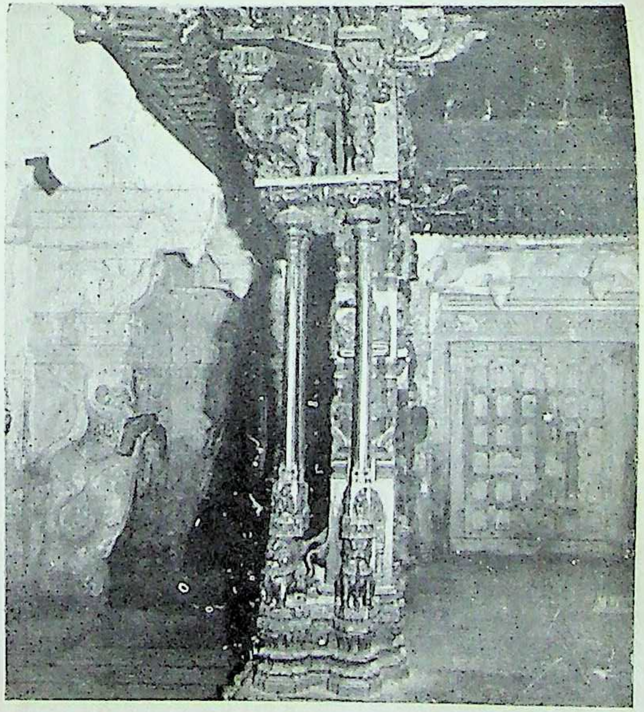

Fig. 3

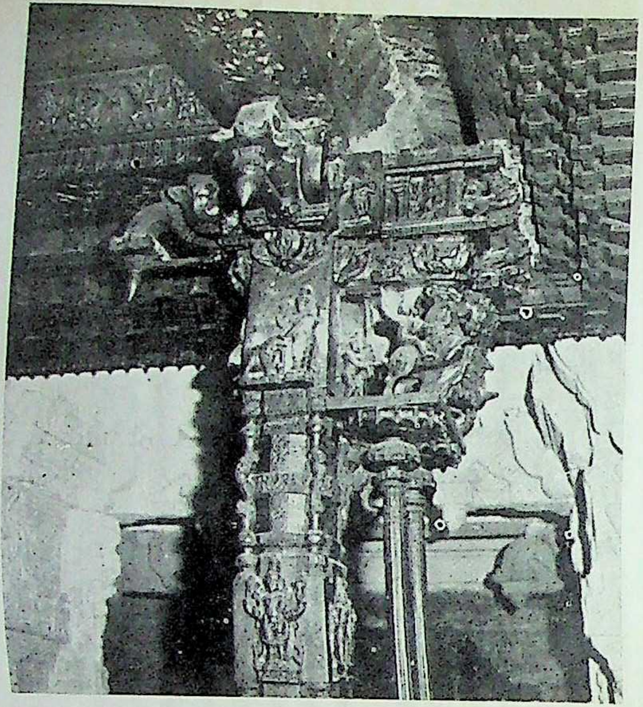

FIG. 4

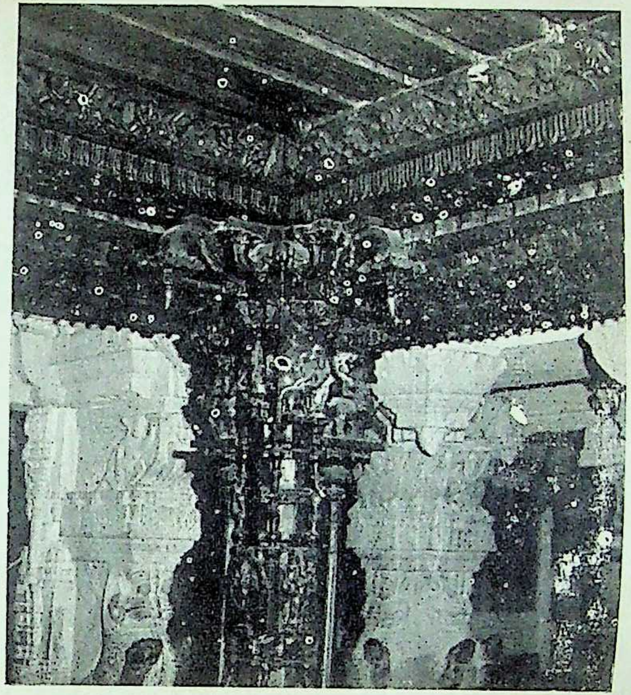

FIG. 5

logy. The corners of the lower cubical sections have been cut into dog's ears or nāgabandhās. The octagonal shafts have animal brackets on either side and sculptured bands in the centre horizontally and vertically. The band around the octagon has figures of dancers in different poses. The vertical band has a creeper with a sālabhanjika. The creeper runs across the band forming circles around the figures of Bālakrishna, Dasāvatārās and sedant lion. The top most cubical section contains at the top a double lotus. The lower one has an animal bracket on either side and the upper lotus has a sculpture, all supporting the capital above. The pillar corbel is elaborated into a volute breaking into two rows of three petals each. Behind it is a makara through the mouth of which emanates thick stalk terminating in two rows of three petals each, with a lotus bud below ending in an angle.

The pillarets projecting on two sides of the main pillar have a pāda similar to the pāda of the main block (fig. 3). There are short pillarets between the lower part and upper part supporting a couchant lion. Above that is a rectangular portion cut into four compartments with sculptures carved on it. Above the rectangular portion with dog's ears and sculptures is a fluted column. This delicately fluted shaft has three fillets, Kalaśa, tadi, gala, idai, padma, another padma and palagai. Above the palagai is a rampant lion with a rider on its back. There are as many animals as there are pillarets below. Each pillaret supports an entablature above. The pillars and the attached pillarets support four cross beams (fig. 4). The underside of the beams carries scroll work in the form of circles containing representations of Daśāvatārās. The innerside of the beam is ornamented with a series of pearl hangings (fig. 5). The entablature above the beams and below the roof has a row of petal mouldings with another row of Kōlāttam dancers and musicians on all the sides. On the exterior the pavilion has a heavily moulded cornice of double curvature with lotus medallions in the corners and in the centre. The underside is ribbed and cut into compartments by horizontal fillets and bent vertical fillets. The upper most horizontal fillet contains a lotus creeper design with lotus petal carving on the edges. Regarding the next two bands, there is a lotus of eight petals on all joints. The outermost fillet contains a row of lotus buds. The corners of the cornices have rings which might have been intended for hanging lamps. Above the cornice there is a band on all sides containing yālis.

The architect's love of variety of form, design and pose finds facile expression on this pavilion. As regards Gods and Goddesses Vishnu, Hanumān, and Lakshmi have the priority. There are peculiar forms of Varāha, Sudarśana, Narasimha, Venugōpāla and Vishnu carved on the pillars of this pavilion. The sculptor selected his specimens not only from the Hindu pantheon but also from day to day human life. The figures of attendants, maids, dwarfs, dancers, musicians, warriors and mendicants are carved out with dexterity. A novel example is the figure of a lady in tribhangi leaning on a danda while an attendant is trying to remove a thorn from the sole of her foot. Perhaps in those days women were not much used to foot-wear.

Some of the sculptures depict the brighter side of the life of the Vijayanagar times, relating to amusements, animal fights, dance and music. The figure of a man fighting with a tiger may be taken to indicate that gladiators received the liberal patronage of the rulers. An amusing figure of a dwarf with a funny cap is carved on the pillarets. Special attention is bestowed on the depiction of female dancers and drummers. It is evident that classical dances and Kōlāttam were very popular in those days. One of the finest specimens of dance sculptures is on the left pillar. There are sixteen figures ½″ in size forming a prabha behind the relief of Venugōpāla. These details justify the compliment 'never was dancing held in greater esteem in the history of South India than in the days of Vijayanagar Kings'. The dancers in the Kōlāttam panels have long and thick plaited hair with heavy dōrakams (tassels) and wear ardhōrukas, kundalās, hārās, valayās and nūpurās. The classical dancer wears 'dhammilla', ardhoruka with beautifully arranged pleats, jewelled necklaces, kundalās, vājibandhās, and nūpurās. The ornamentation of these dancing damsels is very imposing. These humans stand gracefully in different postures with an atmosphere of complete absorption. These figures have the drummers and dappu players nearby, indicating the co-ordination of time movement and rhythm.

Some of the men shown on the backs of animals in the brackets seem to be Moslems as shown by their beards and dresses. They have ornamented breast plates and carry swords of different shapes and sizes. Behind them are bearers of chauris indicating the high status of the riders. Some capitals have figures of women with a fly whisk or tambura, instead of the chauri bearers. These women have close-fitting antarīya containing beautiful folds in Kaccha fashion, an upper cloth (uttariya), dhammilla, kundalās, valayās, and nūpurās. Besides these, there are sculptures of mendicants, Haribhakthās and Kinnarās.

One of the interesting features of the pavilion is the detailed ornamentation of the adhistana. The top most moulding or Kapota has simhalalatas of different designs. The gala or kanta is divided into compartments by simhalalatas instead of pilasters, a common feature of the adhiṣṭana of South Indian temple. The workmanship in the execution of the mouldings is of high order and the mouldings are employed so tastefully that they render the pavilion beautiful. Of all the parts of the pavilion, the corbel seems to be most striking (fig. 4). The floriated munai turned upwards, has figures of kinnarās, gandharvās and beautiful yakshās. The semi-lotus in basrelief immediately below the capital has various secular and deity figures sculptured on it.

This small edifice has Gods and Goddesses of Vaishnavism alone as a symbolic expression of the fact that Vaishnavism received more attention from the later Vijayanagar royal houses. It also determines the fact that Tirupathi had been a centre of Vaishnavism and even today it is one of the most popular Vaishnavite pilgrim centres. The fine modelling, delicate details, the workmanship of the corbels, the fine finish, the classical qualities of the sculptures, the bas reliefs, the final expressions of the figures, the graceful postures and the vigour and liveliness of the sculptures, stand as a testimony to the skill of the stone carver and the refined testes of the royal patrons.

Restrictions on the Settlement of Europeans in India Till 1800

BY

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In this paper it is proposed to survey briefly the restrictions on the settlement of Englishmen in India imposed by the East India Company during the second half of the 18th Century. An attempt shall also be made to elucidate the mainsprings of this restrictive policy and to estimate its consequences.

The Company was in its origin a trading organisation holding a monopoly of the East India trade. The trade though not very extensive in the beginning was extremely profitable and naturally the Company was zealous of its monopoly and did not want anybody to poach in its preserves. Under the royal charters it had the power to grant licenses as also the power to seize, imprison and return to England any Englishman found trading without a license. The Company made full use of these powers.

The East India Company allowed no one to go to India without a pass and the persons who went out without such a pass were liable to be seized and sent back to England. By a letter dated 31st January, 1755 the Court of Directors ordered the Calcutta Government to take steps to send back to England "at the expense of the owners of the Hardwicke upon the first ship you shall despatch" a Miss Campbell who was on board the Hardwicke and was suspected to be proceeding to India.[1] One Miss Christian Ross being discovered as among the residents in Calcutta in 1754 was ordered to leave the country. Annual list of all persons resident in Calcutta had to be sent to London.[2]

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[1] Carey, W. H. *The Good Old Days of Honorable John Company,* Vol. I, p. 84.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Even after their arrival in India the European residents in India were subject to restrictive regulations. From a letter of the 10th January, 1758 sent by the Calcutta Council to the Court, we learn that the Europeans of Calcutta were prohibited "from farming or holding any lands, towns or villages under the jurisdiction of the Rajahs and Zemindars whose lands are without the Company's boundaries."[3] This action of the Calcutta Government was warmly approved by the Court of Directors, who in their reply indicated that they did not favour the idea of Europeans farming lands, towns or villages even within the Company's boundaries. The covenanted servants of the Company were expressly forbidden from "holding any lands, towns or villages within or without our jurisdiction or be interested in any contracts with the Company" on pain of dismissal.[4]

An act of Parliament of 21st George III forbade "any British subject or subjects of the said United Company or licensed by them to proceed to India to reside in any other place in India than in one of the principal settlements belonging to the said United Company, or within ten miles of such principal settlement without the special license of the said United Company, or of the President or Governor and Council of such principal settlement in writing."[5]

In pursuance of the above policy, the Company's Government asked the Collectors of the Districts not to permit the Europeans to reside in the interior of the province without the express order of the Supreme Government at Calcutta.[6]

A Regulation of 1793 forbade permission being granted to British subjects excepting the King's officers and servants of the Company to reside at a greater distance from Calcutta than ten miles unless they entered into a bond rendering themselves amenable to the jurisdiction of the Diwani Adalat.[7] In view of this provision various districts were called upon to furnish complete and correct lists of "all Europeans whether British subjects or subjects of foreign states . . . . , not in the civil, military or marine services of the Honorable Company, or admitted advocates, attorneys, or officers of the Supreme Court of Judicature, wherever residing within the provinces, annually to be laid before the board."[8]

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[3] Letter to Court, 10th January 1758, *Fort William—India House Correspondence (Public)*, Vol. II (ed.) H. N. Sinha.

[4] Letter from Court, 23rd March 1759, *Fort William—India House Correspondence (Public)*, Vol. II (ed.) H. N. Sinha.

[5] Act of Parliament cited in Carey's *The Good Old Days of Honorable John Company*, Vol. I, p. 146.

[6] Regulation for the Collectors of the Districts, No. 54, consultation of June 1787, Bengal Revenue Consultations, Range 51, Vol. 7, pp. 421-422.

By another Regulation of 1793 the Zilla and the City Courts were vested with jurisdiction over these British subjects "so far as not to allow them to reside or take up their abode within their respective zillas or cities at a greater distance from Calcutta than ten miles unless they executed the said bond."[9]

By Regulation XXXVIII of 1793 the covenanted servants of the Company employed in the administration of justice or collection of revenue were prohibited from lending money to proprietors or farmers of land or their raiyats or their surety. By Clause 3 of that Regulation Europeans of every description were restrained from purchasing, renting or occupying directly or indirectly any land out of the limits of Calcutta without the sanction of the Governor-General in Council and persons holding land in contravention of the prohibitions were liable to be dispossessed without compensation. The Regulation further provided that Europeans who were not prohibited from lending money were not to be allowed directly or indirectly to hold possession of the lands which might have been mortaged to them as security for the loan or to have any concern with the management or collection of rents and revenues of the land. This Regulation had continued with modification the pre-existing rules on the point.[10] Regulation XLVIII of 1795 made similar provisions for the province of Banaras.[11]

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[7] Regulation XXVIII of 1793 A.D.

[8] Letter from Fort William to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, 19th October 1796, *Selections from Unpublished correspondence of the Judge Magistrate and the Judge of Patna,* (ed.) K. R. Datta, pp. 140-141.

[9] Regulation of 1793 A.D., *Bengal Regulations and Acts,* Vol. I (ed.) Richard Clarke, p. 22.

[10] Regulation XXXVIII of 1793 A.D.

[11] Regulation XLVIII of 1795 A.D.

These stringent restrictions were relaxed in favour of indigo planters for the purpose of encouraging indigo plantations. The East India Company was interested in developing indigo plantations in India as a source for the supply of dye to the British textile industry the former sources of supply of which—America and West Indies—could no longer be depended upon; America having gone out of the Empire and the West Indies having taken to coffee and sugarcane plantations which were more profitable than indigo.[12] Europeans were therefore encouraged to take to indigo plantation and permitted to reside in the interior of the country and hold land.[13] But this permission was not unqualified. On 7th March 1794, the Supreme Government at Calcutta had permitted acquisition or lease of landed property in Banaras for carrying on manufacture of indigo but the acquisition was not to exceed the area sufficient for the erection of dwelling houses and factories.[14]

It is thus clear that the Company's administration was opposed to the colonisation of India by Europeans. It is not difficult to understand why it was so opposed. There were two main reasons: one commercial and the other political. A large number of Europeans in India would have represented a serious threat to the trade monopoly enjoyed by the Company. The internal administration of the Company in the formative years of the growth of British rule in India was weak and it was not possible to regulate and keep under control the activities of Europeans in the interior, who, if allowed to settle there, might have developed their own trade. The misuse of authority by the Company's servants in Bengal for the purpose of developing their own trade was, by then, a known fact. The Europeans in the interior would have done likewise. It is significant that barriers on the settlement of Europeans in India were lifted in 1833 when the Company's trading monopoly was completely abolished. The desire to preserve and safeguard the trading monopoly was undoubtedly a principal, if not the primary, motive behind the restrictive policy of the East India Company.

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[12] Watt, G., *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, IV, p. 393.

[13] Philips, John, *"Indigo"*, *Calcutta Review*, 1858, pp. 189-90.

[14] Government to Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Banaras, 7th March 1794, Bengal Revenue Council, Range 53, Vol. 13, p. 1236.

The second principal reason, as has already been indicated, was political. The British rule in India at that time was in its infancy. Its foundations were still shaky and it was necessary to eliminate as far as possible all causes of friction between the ruler and the ruled. Increased contact usually led to increased friction and the policy pursued by the British Administration was to reduce the chances of friction by restricting contact. A policy of non-interference, as far as possible, was followed. In their letter dated 23rd March 1759, by which they approved the action of the Calcutta Government forbidding the Europeans from farming lands etc., the Directors showed their appreciation of this factor.[15] Persons who held land outside the Company's territories were likely to be involved in conflict with local authorities and the Directors rightly decided that "the affairs of such persons shall not embarrass or involve ours." Moreover, as Warren Hastings had stated in evidence, "The European is quite a different character in India; the name of an Englishman is both his protection and sanction for offences which he would not dare to commit at home."[16] In the opinion of Warren Hastings, "if Europeans were admitted generally to go into the country to mix with the inhabitants or form establishments among them, the consequence would certainly and inevitably be the ruin of the country: they would insult, plunder and oppress the natives, and no laws enacted from home could prevent them from committing acts of licentiousness of every kind with impunity. A general feeling of hostility to the Government would be excited; and although the armed forces might be of sufficient strength to suppress any overt acts of insurrection, yet the stability of the empire must be endangered by universal discontent."[17] This seems to be in sharp contrast with Hastings' earlier ideas because in 1775 he and Barwell believed that if Europeans were allowed to buy lands in India and could settle down here they "would in time become an addition of strength to the British Empire in India."[18] It seems that

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[15] Letter from Court, 23rd March 1759, *Fort William India House Correspondence* (*Public*), Vol. II (ed.) H. N. Sinha.

[16] Evidence of Warren Hastings before a Committee of the House of Lords in 1813, cited in Reginald Reynolds's *White Sahibs in India*, pp. 38-39.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[18] Plan for future settlement of Revenues proposed by Governor-General and Barwell, 22nd April 1775, Foreign Miscellaneous, Vol. 40, pp. 4-6.

Hastings' ideas underwent a great change after his experience as head of the Indian Administration and after his departure from India. Francis, however, held a diametrically opposed view of English settlers in Bengal. "Europeans in Bengal" he wrote, "should be limited to as small a number as the services of Government will admit of."[19] He feared that with the increase in the number of colonists, whose attachment to Great Britain would decline in proportion to their severance from it, Bengal might "neither pay tribute nor obedience to England."[20] So another principal factor behind the restrictive policy was the appreciation that colonisation by Europeans might endanger the stability of the British empire.

Another reason for the restrictive policy may well have been the lesson which the British had learnt from the history of the American colonies. If men born in Europe and accustomed to representative institutions had brought the idea of such institutions to America, and had fought for such rights, it might well have been thought that freedom of colonisation in India might lead to a similar situation. It may as well be said that the Company's Government were fully aware of the fact that India with a large population and tropical climate offered very little scope for effective colonisation.

One of the principal consequences of this restrictive policy was the erection of unsurpassable barriers between the European ruling class and the Indian people. The European in India preserved his separate individual identity and was consequently completely isolated from the mass of Indian humanity. Racial differences were inevitably accentuated which in course of time bred resentment and hatred in the minds of the Indian subjects against these alien rulers.

The restrictive policy also accentuated the economic drain. Unable to reside in the country without license or permit, debarred from acquiring lands and building houses except under certain limiting conditions, the European in India found no suitable investment in India as organised industry had still to develop. He had perforce to remit his fortunes, which were by no means negligible, to England. General Clavering perceived this clearly. "The situation of Europeans in Bengal," he wrote "renders certain axioms false which are incontrovertibly true everywhere else. Here, the more the merchant gains the more the country loses, the greater the foreign export, the greater the loss to the country. To prove these propositions, it is only necessary to state that the Trade of Bengal is exclusively carried on by Europeans, who after a few years' residence, remit or carry away in specie the accumulated profits of their respective trades, by which means so much of the stock of wealth of the country is irrecoverably lost to it."[21] And he expressed the view that "If they [Europeans] were permitted to colonise, perhaps part of the mischief which arises from their residence in Bengal might be obviated."[22]

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[19] Firminger, W. K. *The Fifth Report*, Vol. I, pp. CCXCVI ff.
[20] *Ibid.*

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[21] Observations by General Clavering on Francis' plan, received 12th April 1776, Foreign Miscellaneous, Vol. 40, para 3.

[22] Ibid., para 4.

Connection with Britain as an Issue in Indian Nationalist Politics, 1885-1905*

BY

Brijen K. Gupta

Argument

Indian nationalist politics represented the struggle of various socio-economic groups between and among themselves, against British groups with vested interests in India, and collectively against British rule. The attitude of the nationalists (and a shifting attitude it was) towards the Empire was conditioned by the sectional interests represented by the leadership from time to time.

The founders of the Indian National Congress wanted Indianization of the administrative services. The demand changed from administrative collaboration to representative government, to self-government, to dominion status, and finally to complete independence without the Empire. This was caused at each step by the entry of new socio-economic groups into the stream of Indian political life. The demand changed to *swadeshi* when the rising industrialists, with their interests stifled by British policy, joined the old career-seeking groups. Tilak's slogan was *swaraj*, self gov-

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An earlier draft of this article was read and discussed at Professor Sir Keith Hancock's Seminar on Commonwealth History, at the Australian National University, on 9 May 1962. To Sir Keith and other members of the seminar I am most grateful for criticisms. Another draft of this paper was read by Dr. T. H. Beaglehole of Victoria University, and Mr. Clifford. C. Dancer of New York, and their advice led to further improvements. Needless to say the responsibility for a man's views, and his shortcomings, can never be anyone else's but his own.

The methodological approach owes much to the writings of Professor Robert I. Crane, Professor A. R. Desai, Dr. K. B. Krishna, and Mr. Guy Wint. Mr. Wint read this paper, but his comments were lost in the mail.

ernment, because his constituents were the lower middle classes, almost entirely of the Hindu faith, whose social and economic interests dictated Hindu autonomy. The entry of peasants, workers, and other poverty stricken elements, which coincided with the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru, brought forward the damand of complete independence.

It is in the above light that the question of 'connection with Britain' should be examined. The early Congress leaders of the 1885-1905 period belonged to a class which Macaulay would have approvingly called "a class Indian in blood and colour, but British in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect." They were supporters of English institutions. They were not against the Crown; they were against those British bureaucrats with whom their self-interests clashed, and whom they accused of being an improper vehicle for fulfilling Britain's historic mission in India.

They failed. They were unable to achieve mass support either at home or abroad. The British, in no mood to share power with the Indians, snubbed them. In India itself, until they were able to forge an alliance with other sectional interests, they remained a microscopic minority. They were opposed by the rising Muslim professional groups who characterized Congress as a Hindu, and not a national, organization.

To this first round of nationalist challenge, the British responded by pursuing a policy of counterpoise of natives against natives. By their ability to recognize and concede the claims of new sectional groups as they arose in Indian politics, they appeared as liberals. It was not until late in the nationalist struggle that Indian leaders were able to detect that every British concession was circumscribed by the imperial interest of maintaining British paramountcy in India for the longest period possible.

The turn of the country saw some new developments. Industrial leaders entered the Congress. The Muslim professional groups began organizing themselves. Tilak widened the base of nationalist politics, and forced a showdown at the Surat Congress. Under its new leadership the Congress changed its demand from administrative collaboration to constitutional advance with safeguards for Indian industry. What if this was not the triumph for the new Congress converts—the businessmen? On their own part the British supported the Moderates against the Extremists (Gokhale was made a C.I.E.; Tilak was interned in Mandalay Prison); the Muslim professional groups against the Hindus (through Morley-Minto reforms). Anticipating that the Hindu and Muslim bourgeoisie might make a common cause against the British, the Government started shopping for new allies, and in the landed aristocracy it found the counterpoising force it was seeking.

There is a distinct bias in my approach. I believe that ideological considerations, both in the nationalist and the imperialist camps, played secondary roles. British policy in India was determined by consideration of her national interest and the power available to Britain to enforce that interest. Likewise Indian leaders pursued power without any primary reference to morality or ideology. They sought concessions, agitated, bargained, and discarded old understandings whenever it suited their political purpose. Both sought allies wherever they could find them. Indian Liberals alone sought to carry on their struggle on a neat ideological basis, and in the end they proved to be hopelessly out of tune with the temper of the times.

I

The only political representatives of native opinion are the Baboos, whom we have educated to write semi-seditious articles in the native press.

LYTTON TO SALISBURY, 1887.

The East India Company went to India to get her goods; whatever good came out of the visit was incidental. In the mid-eighteenth century its political interests coincided with those of the Indian mercantile community, and together they struggled against the Indian landed and military aristocracy to secure pecuniary profit.[1] When the acquisition of real estate became the primary concern of the Company, ties with the mercantile community weakened, and often their interests clashed.[2] To secure new allies, Lord Cornwallis, himself a country squire, created in 1793 "a caricature of English landlordism"[3] through the system of Permanent Settlement. A few decades later Munro sponsored the Ryotwari system of peasant-proprietorship.[4] These two differing systems of land tenure acted as counterpoises against each other, whether or not conceived by the British to be such.

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[1] The House of Jagat Seth collaborated with the British to bring about Sirajuddaullah's downfall in Bengal. The House of Arunji Nathji of Surat played a similar role in Western India. In 1804 it advanced three million rupees to finance Lord Lake's Northern Expedition; later it served as the financial backbone of the British in the Nepal War. The Chettis were the financial collaborators of the English in the South. During the Mutiny, Cooke points out, those with liquid money in Oudh—like Jyotiprasad, Bansilal, Abehchand, Muttra Seth—supported the British. (C. N. Cooke, *Rise, Progress and Present Condition of Banking in India* [Calcutta, 1863]).

The Mutiny caused the British to think afresh the question of finding collaborators who could be trusted to serve British interests.[5] The events of 1857 had revealed how divided the landlords were in their support of the British—the Oudh talukdars had opposed them,[6] the Punjab jagirdars had supported them.[7] In many parts of India even the peasants had risen against the Company's rule.[8] No single class had stood solidly behind the *feringhees.*

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[2] This was largely because the Company's factors established their own trade and their own moneylending houses, e.g. Forbes in Bombay, Henry St. George Tucker in Madras, Palmers in Hyderabad.

[3] The phrase is from Karl Marx, *New York Tribune*, 5 August 1853.

[4] Ryotwari system did not replace the Permanent Settlement concept. Both systems existed side by side, but usually in different parts of India. See Sir Erskine Perry's remark cited in H. B. Edwardes and H. Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence* (3d ed.; London, 1873), p. 472. For a discussion of the Ryotwari system, see N. Mukherjee, "The Ryotwari System and Rural Society of the Madras Presidency, 1792-1827," *Bengal Past and Present*, LXXVIII, pt. ii, 111-22.

[5] The collaborators are as eager to be used as the imperial authority is eager to use them. *Cf.* Diderot: "If men are so ready to injure one another it is only because everything conspires to give them interests. Each one, if I may say so, lives isolated in society, and their chiefs avail themselves of their divisions to subdue the whole. *Divide et impera* is the maxim that all bad governments follow by instinct. Tyrants would be badly off if they had to rule over virtuous men only.' P. H. T. D'Holbach, *The System of Nature*, with notes by Diderot, tr. H. D. Robinson (Boston, 1868), pp. 131-32.

[6] S. B. Chaudhri has conclusively dismantled the views of Holmes and Innes that the participation of the talukdars in the Mutiny had been "more nominal than real". See his *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies, 1857-59* (Calcutta, 1957), Appendix C.

[7] Jagdish Raj, "Changing Patterns in the Oudh Land Policy, 1856-58," *Bengal Past and Present*, LXXVIII, pt. ii, 87.

There were four candidates to be tempted to act as British collaborators: the peasants, the mercantile community, the landed aristocracy, and the infant professional bourgeoisie. The peasants were unapproachable; they did not speak English, and they thought too much of Ramrajya and Manu. The Indian mercantile community was on the decline because the handicraft economy had been disrupted and industrial entrepreneurship had not yet been born. Thus the choice was restricted to two elements: landed aristocracy, and the professional bourgeoisie.

There were practical difficulties in forging a long term alliance with the landlords. They were not popular. Already the Regulations of 1799 and 1812 had benefited the landlords and had rendered the tenants rack-rented and impoverished. There was a need to pacify the peasantry. True to the policy of "counterpoise of natives against natives"[9] it was resolved to use the tenants as a fulcrum from which to overturn an inconvenient landlordism.[10] Of course, this did not mean that the landlords were to be abandoned altogether. Blessings were to be showered on the peasants and the landlords, both; the former were to receive economic concessions, the latter political favours.[11] This was the policy in India from the Mutiny to the departure of Curzon, though from time to time there were officials like Lord Lytton who wanted to "secure completely, and efficiently utilize the Indian aristocracy."[12]

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[8] Chaudhri, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-11. Also see his *Civil Disturbances during the British Rule in India*, 1765-1857 (Calcutta, 1955).

[9] The phrase first occurs in the Report of Punjab Committee on (Army) Reorganization, 1858, and is cited by G. T. Garrat, *An Indian Commentary* (London, 1930), p. 202.

[10] The post-Mutiny land policy has been examined in detail and with scholarly care by T. R. Metcalf in his articles: "The Influence of the Mutiny of 1867 on Land Policy in India," *The Historical Journal*, IV (1961), 152-63, and "Struggle over Land Tenure in India, 1860-1868," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXI (1962), 295-307. He says: "From 1868 onwards the two strands of conciliation of the landlord and protection of the peasantry existed in uneasy alliance in Indian land policy." (*Ibid.*, p. 307). He also says: "I do not think the British—at least the majority of them—considered landlordism as inconvenient, nor do I believe they used the peasants as a fulcrum from which to overturn it.... In mid-19th century, protection of the peasantry seems to be motivated by moral, emotional, paternal feelings of solicitude for the masses, etc., rather than by any political schemes." (Personal communication, 5 July 1962).

This opinion is in contradiction to the views of two contemporary participants in the affairs of the nineteenth century. According to J. Routledge, "the plea of care for the tenants...is in most cases clearly, and in others avowedly, used merely to show that there is behind the general question one other fulcrum from which to overturn an inconvenient Settlement."

It was, however, the infant professional bourgeoisie that appeared to have long term prospects. Members of this class had some appealing qualifications: most of them had feudal backgrounds; they were Hindus; and above all, they had a fierce love of British connection, not a passive acquiescence but a firm belief in it. In 1858 they were few in number, but with the extension of secondary education and the establishment of new universities they began to grow.

A vast majority of these newly educated were Hindus. This suited the British admirably. Through most of the nineteenth century the British were biassed against the Muslims. Cornwallis had shut out the Muslim community from his Permanent Settlement. Muslim monopoly over army offices had been usurped by

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English Rule and Native Opinion in India, (London, 1873), pp. 232-33. Routledge also says that "the point of the rights of the tenants as a set-off to that of landowners was raised and *was made a prominent factor*" in post-Mutiny policy discussions. Sir Richard Temple, a career civil servant, also held that *political* wooing of peasants was most important for the stability of British rule in India. See his *Men and Events of My Time in India,* (London, 1882), pp. 404-5.

The argument whether tenancy legislation was motivated *primarily* by political considerations or paternal solicitude has yet to be resolved by research.

[11] Bengal Tenancy Act, 1895, and 1885, and Panjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 were economic concessions to the peasantry. The appointment of Maharaja of Patiala, the Raja of Benares, and Sir Dinkar Rao to the Viceroy's Council in 1862 were political concessions to the landed aristocracy. The "new" landlords — euphemistically called 'respectable natives' began occupying political positions on municipal and district boards in the late nineteenth century.

[12] Lytton to Disraeli, 30th April 1877, cited in Lady Betty Balfour, *The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration,* 1876-80 (London, 1899), pp. 108-9. Sir Richard Temple also held this view. See, his *The Story of My Life* (2 vols.; London, 1896), II, 78.

the European. In 1843 Lord Ellenborough had declared the entire Muslim community to be disloyal, and had recommended a policy of conciliating the Hindus.[13] After the Mutiny, it was widely advocated, as by Sir John Lawrence (later Viceroy Lawrence) to break the amiable relations between the Hindus and the Muslims, that had sprung during the Mutiny, through a deliberate counterpoise of one religious community against the other.[14] Under the impact of this anti-Muslim bias, Islamic cultural influence was given a death blow. Persian was at first replaced by Bengali, later by English. A feeling of social insecurity led to the rise of an orthodox and militant anti-Western Wahabi movement,[15] but it was crushed when it engaged in political assasinations.[16]

The Government continuously discriminated against the Muslims until Sir Syed Ahmad Khan mobilized Muslim opinion and took advantage of British disenchantment with the Indian National Congress. Such discrimination was visible in notices of vacancies –often positions were advertised to which only Hindus were eligible.[17] In 1871, Hindus held 681 gazetted appointments under the Government, Muslims only 92.[18] Between 1852 and 1868 the number of Hindu pleaders to be admitted to the bar was 239; of

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[13] Ellenborough to Wellington, 18 June 1843, cited by Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims* (Bombay, 1959), p. 46. When the Hindu leaders of the Congress became a political problem, the policy towards the Muslims was reversed, as Lord Oliver (at one time Secretary of State for India) testified: "No one with a close acquaintance of Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British officials in India in favour of the Muslim community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy, but more largely as a make-weight against Hindu nationalism." Cited by Gopal, *ibid.* In Palestine the British oscillated their love between the Jews and the Arabs.

[14] Gopal, *loc. cit.*

[15] When the British evinced an anti-Hindu bias, as strong anti-Western movement among the Hindus emerged likewise for which Tilak and Dayanand were partly responsible.

[16] Between 1864 and 1871 there were five major State trials involving dozens of Muslims for religious activities. In 1871 a Muslim fanatic murdered the Chief Justice of Bengal who had imposed heavy sentences on the Wahabis, and another Wahabi convict murdered Viceroy Mayo in the Andamans the same year. Hindu militant nationalism went through a similar historical phase a few decades later.

[17] W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans* (2nd ed.; London, 1872), p. 175.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Muslim pleaders, one.[19] In 1869 out of 104 medical diploma holders, only one was a Muslim.[20] In the list of university graduates of 1871, we find only one Muslim B.A. in Madras,[21] two Muslim B.A.'s and one Muslim M.A. in Bombay.[22] It was only in the Northwest Province (now Uttar Pradesh) that Muslims did not suffer grievous discrimination.[23] But the Hindus everywhere added insult to Muslim injuries by violently denouncing in speech and in writing the pre-British Muslim rule, and enthusiastically approving the British regime. The Muslims were held responsible for India's degradation; the British for bringing about a renaissance.[24] It would have been hard for the Government officials to ignore this Hindu intelligentsia which was so deeply reconciled to the British system.

The economic views of this intelligentsia were conservative. Members of this class initially came from the "new" landed aristocracy, the so-called respectable natives.[25] They knew the English language; they were less corrupt than their ancestors; and they wanted to join the administrative services, in order to become part

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19. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

20. *Ibid.*

21. National Archives of India, Delhi, Proceedings of the Home Department, Education Branch, Extracts from the Proceedings of the Government of Madras, Education Department, No. 288, 7 October 1872.

22. *Idem*, Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, to the Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Education Department, Letter No. 2665, 9 September 1871.

23. On the whole the Muslims suffered discrimination wherever the Wahabi cult was strong.

24. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 20. It is significant that leaders like Ram Mohun Roy, who were much under Islamic cultural influence, wanted to reform Hinduism, but neglected to improve the Muslim lot. Bankimchandra's novels, especially *Anandmath*, *Rajsimha*, and *Sitaram* are intensely anti-Muslim.

25. On the growth of the new landed aristocracy and the respectable natives, see, Bernard S. Cohn, "The Initial British Impact on India,' *Journal of Asian Studies*, XIX (1960), 418-31; and his, "The British in Benares: A Nineteenth Century Colonial Society," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, IV, No. 2, (1962), 169-99. These respectable natives, like the respectable British 'nabobs' of the eighteenth century grew rich, acquired land, and became squires, through financial malfeasance while serving the East India Company. Later they opposed the nationalist movement led by the educated middle classes. There was nothing they would not do, a generation later, to get titles (Rai Bahadur, Khan Saheb, etc.) from the Crown.

of urban colonial society. Some concession to them was made through the Charter Act of 1833, thanks to the desire of the Company to effect economy in its administrative expenditure.[26]

By 1890 they had become a sizeable group, and throughout the country they had formed quasi-political associations to reflect their sectional interests—the Poona Association, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the Bombay Association, the Madras Mahajana Sabha, the Madras Native Association, and towering above them the Indian Association.[27] And from these quasi-political organizations emerged the first political association—the Indian National Congress.[28]

The other interest group which was very much on the scene was the landed class. The landlords had formed their Zemindary Association in 1837, the British India Society in 1843, and had merged the two in the nation-wide British Indian Association in 1853.[29] They wanted to protect their rights in land, and their efforts were directed against the enactment of tenancy legislations. The Indian Association and its predecessors, on the other hand, were preoccupied in demanding remunerative positions in the administration, or what Surendranath Banerjea called "an adequate share of the higher offices of trust and responsibility under the Government."[30]

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[26] Educated middle classes often held land, but they identified themselves with the interests of the white collars. The Bengali *bhadralok*, though closely interwoven with the Bengali landed interests, had a virtual monopoly of subordinate administrative jobs in Bengal. They were professional people, and not zamindars, primarily. Their involvement in politics began, not so much to safeguard their land interests as to safeguard their clerical employment. When their monopoly over subordinate jobs was challenged they turned extremists. See, *Sedition Committee Report, 1918*, pp. 11-12. In my discussion of middle classes I include holders of middle grades of proprietary tenures of land, and peasant proprietors, in the category of bourgeoisie.

[27] On the Indian Association see, J. C. Bagal, *History of the Indian Association, 1876-1951* (Calcutta, 1953).

[28] For an account of various groups responsible for sponsoring the first Indian National Congress, see, W. Wedderburn, *Allan Octavian Hume* (London, 1913), p. 50 and *passim*; A. Besant, *How India Wrought for Freedom* (Madras, 1915), pp. 3-4; and C. F. Andrews and Girija Mukerjee, *The Rise and Growth of the Congress in India* (London, 1938), pp. 124-26.

[29] On the British Indian Association, see, Sujata Gosh, "The British Indian Association, 1851-1900," *Bengal Past and Present*, LXXVII, pt. ii (1958).

All these groups were strongly pro-British. Their aim was not the replacement of Queen Victoria's rule, *but its consolidation.* The leaders of the professional bourgeoisis hardly had any concept of Indian nationhood; to them it did not exist, at best it was in the 'making' as the title of Banerjea's autobiography so eloquently suggests. Most of them had no hesitation in acknowledging the superiority of Western civilization to their own. Tilak's anti-western activities were a decade away. Congress presidents like W. C. Bonnerji and Dadabhai Naoroji were eager to assert that the Congress members were loyal to the backbone.[31] To Badruddin Tyabji, the third Congress president, the Congress was an association of the loyal middle classes, and not of the fickle and ignorant peasants.[32] Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale considered Britain's rule to be a providential dispensation.[33] Unreconstructed Liberals like Sir Tanjore Madhavrao and Sir Dyal Singh described the Congress as the "soundest triumph" and the "greatest glory" of the British Raj.[34] Surendranath Banerjea named his College, not after an Indian, but after Lord Ripon. Let us examine just one statement of devotion to the Crown, his representatives, and institutions British:

> To England we look for guidance. To England we look for sympathy in the struggle. From England must come the crowning mandate which will enfranchise our peoples. England is our political guide and our moral preceptor in the exalted sphere of political duty. English history has taught those principles of freedom which we cherish with our life blood. We have been fed upon the strong food of English constitutional freedom......

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[30] Surendranath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making* (London, 1925), p. 66. Banerjea adds that the demand changed from share of the higher offices to "bringing the entire administration under control," and then to representative government.

[31] *Congress Presidential Addresses, First Series* (Madras: G. A. Natesan & Co., 1935), pp. 3, 6-7.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 707.

[34] *Eminent Indians on Indian Politics*, ed. C. L. Parekh (Bombay, pp. 894-95; Besant, *op. cit.*, p. 162).

> It is not severance that we look forward to, but unification, *permanent embodiment as an integral part of that great Empire*...[35] (Emphasis added).

Through address after address, speach after speech, the early leaders of the Indian bourgeoisie vied with the British in their devotion to Queen Victoria's rule, and no wonder to a later generation, of both the Indians and the British, they appeared to be a horde of sycophants. Their demand was representative bureaucracy; not Home Rule, as the following statements show:

> . . . one of our greatest grievances [is] . . . our exclusion from a fair share in the government of the country . . . in . . . the military we are openly and avowedly excluded from all the higher and more honourable offices, while in other departments, such as the Covenanted Civil Service of India, we have been declared eligible in theory, but rules and regulations have been adopted which practically shut us out.[36]

> Let me say at once very distinctly and very emphatically on my own behalf and on behalf of the Indian National Congress, on behalf of the educated community throughout India, that we do not wish to see installed in our midst anything like a democratic form of government . . . nor do we want Home Rule. . . .[37]

No wonder a militant Hindu nationalist, Hardyal, a generation later accused them of using their energies for the sole purpose of enabling "more Indians to ruin their country by joining an aristocratic service which holds itself aloof from the masses."[38]

The early attitude of the Congress to "British connection" was determined, as is evident from the foregoing discussion, by the sectional interest of the educated middle classes. (From time to time, no doubt, influential landlords and rajas were associated with the executive and the reception committees of the Congress, but their roles were honorific, not substantive).[39] It was argued that an educated Indian knew more about his people, that he was cheaper to hire, and over and above all *he was more loyal to the Crown and British institutions than the white sahib*:

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[35] *Congress Presidential Address*, 11th Presidential Address by Surendranath Banerjea, pp. 251-55.

[36] *Eminent Indians* (Parekh), citing Lal Mohan Ghose's Speech in London, 3 July 1879, pp. 119-20.

[37] Surendranath Banerjea's Speech in London, 14 April 1890, cited in ibid., pp. 96-97.

[38] Quoted in *Modern Review* (Calcutta), February 1928, p. 216.

> . . . we of the Congress are more loyal than Anglo-Indians [British bureaucrats] themselves. *If by loyalty is meant a keen solicitude for the safety and permanence of the Empire.*[40] (Emphasis added.)
>
> It is impossible—and I say with great confidence—to find on the face of this earth a people more loyal than my countrymen. *We claim the more perfect union of India and England, and yet we are called disloyal.*[41]

And why were the leaders of the Congress called disloyal? This was because their statement though laudatory to the Crown and British institutions carried a vehement criticism of the bureaucracy. Anand Charlu called the civil servants an "oligarchy of fossilized Indian administrators;"[42] Surendranath Banerjea called the administration "an autocratic despotism" tempered by a free press and the right of public meeting.[43] Equally barbed were the retorts of British bureaucrats. These verbal exchanges emphasized their inherent clash of interests—the educated Indians were not only challenging the authority of British administrators, they were challenging the very right of the British to hold those civil service positions. Here was sectional conflict between the Indians and the British *par excellence*! Dufferin and the liberal civil servants had expected from the Congress constructive ideas on social reform, but the Congress had decided not to discuss social issues, lest it should cause division among its members,[44] and instead had engaged in political propaganda against the bureaucracy.[45] This was not cricket; it was politics. Hurriedly the Government withdrew its support, barred its employees from supporting the Congress, and encouraged the Indian landowners to oppose the aims of the Congress. Thus within a decade of its organization, the Congress was opposing, and facing opposition of, the Government. And both the Congress and the Government officials extended the area of conflict between them, beyond the narrow issue of Indianization of administrative services.

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[39] Leaders of the British Indian Association were active in the formation of the Indian Association and were present at the latter's first national conference, but withdrew BIA's support for the Congress. See, Banerjea, *A Nation in Making*, pp. 101-2; A. Mazumdar, *Indian National Evolution* (Madras, 1917), p. 53; and B. C. Pal, *Memoirs of My Life and Times*, Pt. I (Calcutta, 1932), p. 436.

[40] *Eminent Indians* (Parekh), quoting Pherozeshah Mehta's Presidential Address, 1889, p. 321.

[41] *Ibid.*, quoting Pt. Ajudhia Nath's Reception Address, 1888, p. 448.

[42] Cited by Besant, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

The attitude of Congress leaders and British bureaucrats towards each other contributed to the re-emergence of old racial prejudices which had become less manifest during Ripon's viceroyalty. In official circles Indians were considered incompetent, inefficient, less civilized, untrustworthy and corrupt.[46] Utilitarians and Liberals, from Metcalfe and Elphinstone to Minto and Morley, wanted the Indians to be associated with the administration, not because the Indians were believed to be loyal and competent, but primarily because their association was considered a political and economic necessity.[47] If this was the view of the Liberals, who were far and few in number in India, one can imagine how uncompromising must have been the attitude of the diehards.

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[44] The Congress, declared Naoroji, "must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class Congresses." (1886). *Ibid.*, p. 18. Tilak went a step further. At the time of the Age of Consent Bill controversy he declared that the British government must leave the adjustment of social reforms to Indians.

[45] See Colvin's letter to Hume, and Hume's reply, discussed in Wedderburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-77. Colvin wrote a twenty-page letter; Hume's reply was sixty pages in length.

[46] At the Calcutta University Convocation, 1905, Lord Curzon propounded the view that "the highest ideal of truth was to a large extent a Western conception," while in the East "craftiness and diplomatic vile have always been held in high repute.' This was an ill-advised remark by the greatest viceroy of India (not excluding Mountbatten). Indian scholars have tended to overlook how harsh Curzon could be on those Europeans who maltreated the Indians, and that it was Curzon's pen that inserted the words "responsible self-government" in the Montagu-Chelmsford Declaration of 1917. Curzon's work in India still awaits a definite treatment. His papers, long held by Lord Beaverbrook, are now available in the India Office Library.

[47] Cf. Metcalfe: "I confess that I distrust Native Agency. There is no such being. I feel perfectly sure, as an honest native agent from Cape Comorin to Cashmere, that they who confide in them are sure to be deceived. But we must make use of them...." *Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe*, ed. J. W. Kaye (London, 1855), p. 152.

Let us turn our attention to the conflict between the Hindu and Muslim professional classes.

Organizations of the Muslim professional classes appeared on the scene in the 1880's. The first to appear was Ameer Ali's Central National Mohammedan Association in 1882; a year later came Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's Mohammedan Civil Service Association. Both these groups aimed at securing government positions for the Muslims who were insignificantly represented, especially in Bengal (where to make matters worse they outnumbered the Hindus in population). Their keynote was loyalty to the British, as it had been of the Hindu graduates for half a century. Realizing that recruitment to the civil service through an open competitive examination might adversely affect the Muslims (who were newcomers to a westernized educational system), both these associations opposed the campaign of the Indian Association to have the examination held in India. Instead they suggested the method of direct recruitment through selection.[48] Taking advantage of the ill-feeling between the Congressmen and the Competitors, they ridiculed the former in order to please the latter. But what lay underneath all these professions of Muslim loyalty to the Crown was the conflict of sectional interests between the Hindu and Muslim educated elements. The Congress demand for representative

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Also *cf.* Elphinstone: "...although they are *generally* subtle and insincere, I have met with *some* on whom I could depend for sound and candid opinions.' (Emphasis added.) J. S. Cotton, *Mount Stuart Elphinstone* (Oxford, 1892), p. 134.

Cf. Minto: "As to a Native Member of Council, there is a great deal to be said for it.. but I cannot disguise for myself the doubts which naturally arise as to committing State secrets to a Native colleague." Cited in Mary Minto, *India, Minto and Morley* (London, 1934), p. 98.

Morley was "not at all inclined to let natives enter the high places of the service — in particular, not disposed to admit them to his Council or Minto's...". He knew *he* would not submit to be governed by a man of colour... 'Govern India according to Indian ideas — what nonsense!" Austen Chamberlain reporting his meeting with Minto on 15 March 1907, *Politics from Inside, An Epistolary Chronicle, 1906-14* (London, 1936), pp. 59-60.

[48] Gopal has examined the pronouncements of the two associations on this and other subjects; *op. cit.*, chaps. 5-8.

institutions was opposed on the frank ground that these institutions "will not be to the advantage of the Mohammedans" until

> . . . the Mohammedans are on a par with the Hindus in political development and educational progress and the assertion and preservation of Mohammedan interests are included in the Congress programme, the consummation wished for by the Congressists will end in the absolute effacement of the Mohammedans as a community in this country.[49]

In 1888, on Sir Syed's initiative, the United India Patriotic Association came into existence. It was a broad front of the Muslim professional classes, the landlords (both Hindus and Muslim), and independent Britishers. Its aims were to publish at home and abroad

> . . . . the opinions of Mohammedans in general, of the Islamia Anukans, and those Hindus and their societies which are opposed to the Hindus and their National Congress.[50]

And Sir Syed was very much pleased with the attention he and his various organizations received from Lord Dufferin and his successor, Lord Lansdowne. But the Indian Councils Act of 1892 came as a disappointment to the Muslims. The Act extended the principle of representation of "legitimate interests, professional, commercial or territorial," in the Councils, but it did not recognize *communal divisions*. Concessions were made to organized classes and interests, but the classes were not sub-divided on a religious basis.[51]

As a spokesman of the Muslim professional community, Sir Syed responded to the Indian Councils Act by setting up the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of Upper India in 1893. This was wholly a Muslim organization. And the Secretary of this Association made it clear that while a friendship between the British and the Muslims was possible, between the Muslims and Hindus (and the Sikhs) it was next to impossible.[52] Communal politics was born.

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[49] *Report of the Committee of the Central National Mohammedan Association, 1885-88*, pp. 21-22, cited, *ibid.*, p. 77.

[50] *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, 28 August 1888.

[51] Despatch from the Secretary of State (Lord Cross) to the Governor-General (Lord Landsdowne) in Council, forwarding the Indian Councils Act, 1892. Text in Percy Dumbell, Loyal India (London, 1930),, pp. 31-34
Lord Dufferin had advocated representation by *interests;* Lord Landsdowne by *classes*; and the Act incorporated both. See, *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*, par. 227, and pp. 53-61.

II

> *The government assumes the responsibility of stating that in their opinion the time has not come when representative institutions . . . can be extended to India.*
>
> CURZON IN HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1892

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 is a glaring example of the liberal and imperial elements in British policy towards India. British policy towards India was liberal in the sense that the interests of new groups, as they arose in politics, were recognized and conceded; and it was imperial in the sense that what was conceded was usually circumscribed by the aim of maintaining British paramountcy over India, through the tactic of counterpoising one section against another. To give one illustration: when the Bombay Council was recognized under the 1892 Act, out of the six "representative" seats, two were given to the nominees of the European mercantile community, two to the landlords, and two to the professional classes. This was mischievous because the professional classes were larger in size and influence than the landlords and the mercantile community.

In the 1890's Indian politics was given a new turn by the entry of two new sectional interests into the stream of Indian nationalism. These two groups were: the rising industrialists led by Tata, and the lower Hindu middle classes led by Tilak, Pal, and Lajpat Rai.

Both these groups were more powerful than the landed aristocracy; though in India's political hierarchy they did not enjoy political power commensurate with their numerical strength or socio-economic position. In the early 1890's the landlords were still an important group. The Muslims were wooing them: witness the formation of the United India Patriotic Association. The British were seeking their support: witness their recruitment to Councils, and to Municipal and District Boards. Even the Congress had thrown a bait in the direction of the landlords by including each year, in its annual Congress resolutions, a statement upholding the Permanent Settlement System, and requiring the government to make concessions to the landed interests. But gradually the support of the landlords was to become irrelevant to the Congress.

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[52] *Aligarh College Magazine*, March-June, 1895.

Investment houses, usually the forerunners of commercial and industrial activities, made their mark in India early in the nineteenth century. But until 1860 most of them were European-managed with a few Indian directors.[53] Their operations were limited to financing plantations, and the import-export trade. They did very little to stimulate industrial activity. Quite a few of the early banking houses failed in the crash of 1832, and then during the slump of 1862-65. In the latter period banks in Bombay alone lost over 136 million rupees, having backed the wrong cotton speculators.[54] Putting money in the bank was, therefore, a risky business. Landholding was considered more honourable and more lucrative.

Very little entrepreneurial activity was, therefore, in evidence before 1880. Some start in establishing cotton mills, collieries, jute plants, etc. was made in the 1850's, but lack of investment capital, the opposition of Lancashire and Dundee interests, the unsettled political condition during and following the Mutiny, and the economic slump during 1862-65 restricted the growth of industrial activity. It is only after 1880 that there was a marked growth of Indian industrial enterprise.[55]

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[53] The Bank of Bengal (Calcutta, 1809) had one Indian director. In the formation of the Union Bank (Calcutta, 1829) Dwarkanath Tagore was a collaborator, and in 1833 four of its directors were Bengalis. Benares Bank (1845) and Dacca Bank (1846) had two and four Indian directors respectively. Over thirty per cent of the shares of the Bank of Bombay (1840) were held by Indian subscribers. Three of the six promoters of the Commercial Bank of India (Bombay, 1845) were Parsis. (Cooke, *op. cit., passim.*) But these were all tiny institutions, and an Englishwoman rightly quipped on the operations of the Union Bank in 1842: "They would smile in Lombard Street, I fancy, at the idea of calling this banking." *Letters to Friends at Home*, by An Idler (Calcutta, 1843), p. 58.

[54] Sir Dinsha Wacha, *Premchund Roychund, His Early Life and Career* (Bombay, 1913), p. 65.

Industrial growth caused the development of a new entrepreneurial class. Indian industrialists established the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in 1887, the Marwari Chamber of Commerce in 1900, the Indian Merchants Chamber (Bombay) in 1907, and the South India Chamber of Commerce in 1909. The conflict of interests between the Indian and the European financiers was the main reason for the formation of these organizations.[56] The Indian business community wanted protection for their industries. This meant fighting the free trade policy of the Government,[57] British monopoly over industrial management in India, and British cotton and jute interests in Lancashire and Dundee. Thus Indian businessmen were forced to enter the mainstream of the Indian nationalist movement with their slogan of protection of and subsidies for infant industry. The alliance between the professional and business classes found its expression in the *swadeshi* movement. The professional classes invested their savings in Indian enterprises, and thus both politically and economically the two classes became interlinked.[58]

A more significant contribution to Indian nationalism at the turn of the century was made by lower middle class Hindus:

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[55] Indian economic Development of this period has been ably traced by D. H. Buchanan, *The Development of Capitalist Enterprise in India* (New York, 1934), p. 161.

[56] But when the British and Indian interests coincided, the two united, e.g. the *Bombay Millowners' Association*, an organization to fight workers.

[57] This was a two edged sword: free entry meant the entry of Lancashire cloth in India duty free; but it also meant a duty free entry of machinery. However, in the free trade period British merchants usually charged the Indians higher prices for the machinery and thus nullified tariff advantages. See Tata's struggles in F. R. Harris, *J. N. Tata* (London, 1935), pp. 33-57 and *passim*.

[58] Swadeshi stimulated soap and match factories as well as cotton mills and led to the inauguration of insurance and banking houses under Indian management. For example, a Bengal National Bank was started. See, Surendranath Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-11. Even the *Indian Industrial Commission Report*, 1915-18, recognized: "Middle class Indians following professional occupations, such as lawyers, doctors, and the clerical staff of business concerns, seem to be the class most ready to invest their savings in public investments." (p. 126). For further details see Buchanan, *op. cit.*

town merchants, low paid white collar workers, and young university students who came from Anglo-Vernacular rather than Anglian secondary school background. They were sharply distinguishable from upper class intellectuals because the former accepted the Hindu way of life, considered Hinduism a potent religion, read Ramayana and Gita, and felt a romantic attachment to India's past. The latter, on the other hand, believed in the superiority of the Western system, possessed impeccable Western manners, considered India to be infested with all kinds of superstitious nonsense, had a secular outlook, and read Burke and Mill. The lower middle classes were making their mark in the social economy of the country at the end of the century as a result of the expansion of market economy, the establishment of railways and road communications, and the expansion of an Anglo-Vernacular school system. If the upper class intellectuals were the sahibs, the lower middle class Hindus were the babus.[59] These people could not see much merit in the British social and political system. They were acutely aware of race antagonism between the Indians and the Europeans. It was to these people's prejudices and habits that socio-religious reformers like Dayanand and Vivekanand appealed.[60] Both these reformers developed the concept of Hindu nationality (*Hindu rashtra*) and thus lent a positive content to the struggle against imperialism. Their socio-political counterparts were people like Lajpat Rai (of Punjab), Bal Gangadhar Tilak (of Maharashtra), and B. C. Pal and Aurobindo Ghose (both of Bengal). Rai was active in the Arya Samaj, Tilak was a student of Hindu philosophy, and Aurobindo ended up setting an *asram* in Pondicherry. By bringing religion to politics, they brought masses to the movement—and correspondingly a more active opposition of both the British and the Muslims. Witness Aurobindo's view of Tilak:

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[59] In Engineering Colleges all over Northern India to this day students for the "degree" courses are called *sahibs;* for the inferior "diploma" courses, *babus.* I was struck by this distinction at Thomason College of Civil Engineering (now Roorkee University) several years ago.

[60] Dayanand was a bitter critic of Islam, and unconsciously imitated it. Because the Muslims had a holy book, he felt compelled to raise the Vedas to the level of Quran. His Arya Samaj opposes idolatry and Hindu rituals, except the *yajna.* At one time he favoured eating beef, but later he became instrumental in setting up cow-protection societies. The slogan "back to the Vedas" meant that the Hindu socio-religious achievements since the end of the Vedic period were insignificant and irrelevant to Hindu history, and this the Hindus could not appreciate.

Vivekanand's movement had a more universal appeal. He was the first Hindu theologian in a thousand years to travel all over India to achieve a Hindu religious unity on the basis of common allegiance to Vedanta. But he was an obscurantist nonetheless. His influence swept "not, of course, through learned India, but through the half-educated India, which speaks English and hunts for good sinecures in the Government Service ...." Swami Agehananda Bharati, *The Ochre Robe* (London, 1961), p. 96.

> The Congress movement was for a long time purely occidental in its mind, character and methods, confined to the English-educated few, founded on the political rights and interests of the people read in the light of English History and European ideals, but with no roots either in the past of the country or in the inner spirit of the nation. Mr. Tilak was the first political leader to break through the routine of its somewhat academical methods, to bridge the gulf between the present and the past, and to restore continuity to the political life of the nation. He developed a language and spirit and he used methods which indianised the movement and brought into it the masses.[61]

From about 1893 to the Surat split the Congress, thus, represented a broad alliance of upper middle class professional groups, the business elite,[62] lower middle class Hindus, and odd representatives of the zamindars. The westernized bourgeoisie firmly held the leadership, but to hold the alliance together the leadership made concessions to the zamindars (by supporting the Permanent Settlement system), to the business elite (by advocating swadeshi and protective tariffs), and to Tilak and his supporters (by declaring for self-government). What was not conceded was Tilak's demand for active resistance against the British—non-co-operation and boycott. At the Surat Congress the activists seceded. Lower middle class Hindus no longer wanted their westernized upper classes to lead them anymore.

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[61] Sri Aurobindo (Ghose), *Bankim-Tilak-Dayanand* (Calcutta, 1947), p. 19. This is an excellent essay, but often overlooked. Aurobindo's estimate, written in 1922, corroborates what Lord Landsdowne felt in the period of his viceroyalty. See, especially, Landsdowne to Kimberley, 22 August 1893, Landsdowne Letters, India Office Library.

[62] Tata contributions to the Congress fund began in 1895. See, P.C. Ghosh, *The Development of the Indian National Congress*, 1892-1909 (Calcutta, 1960), p. 10. In 1905 Tilak set up Swadeshi Co-operative Stores with the help of the Tatas, and other Parsi, Gujerati and Marwari industrialists. On Tilak's *swadeshi* movement, see Stanley Wolpert, *Tilak and Gokhale* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962), pp. 167 ff.

The issue of 'British connection' was also affected by the involvement of lower middle classes in the nationalist movement. Since the foundation of the Congress it was customary at each annual session to pass resolutions complimenting the Crown. In 1905 the activists opposed a resolution welcoming the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to India. Though the resolution was finally carried, the discussion in the Subjects Committee highlighted the attitude of the lower middle classes to the Crown. Their attachment to England was nowhere as great as that of the constitutionalists. This was because Tilak's clients had a far greater faith in the viability of the Indian socio-economic system than Banerjea and Gokhale. The milieu in which Banerjea and Tilak grew up had much, if not all, to contribute to this divergence. Banerjea grew up in liberalism; Tilak in *swadeshi*. Gokhale considered obscurantist Indian social traditions to be more oppressive than British imperialism; Tilak considered British rule to be too foreign and humiliating. The constitutionalists were willing to use British rule to bring about social reform; the activists were willing to use obscurantist traditions to defeat British rule.[63]

What about the Muslims?

The 1890's saw social cleavages developing between the Hindus and the Muslims. Throughout the country *Gaurakshini Sabhas*[64]

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[63] Even the moderates, and social reformers, were victims of their own overbearing and conservative Hindu society. Ranade, an advocate of widow remarriage and emancipation of Indian women, as a young widower himself yielded to his father's pressures to marry an eleven year old girl. See, Ramabai Ranade, *Himself, The Autobiography of a Hindu Lady*, tr. Katherine Gates (New York, 1938, p. 10). Ram Mohan Roy did not break dietary laws, and on his visit to England took his cook with him.

[64] The establishment of *Gaurakshini Sabhas* marks the beginning of Hindu militant nationalism. These *sabhas* came into existence long before Tilak's Ganapati and Sivaji festivals.

(Cow Protection Leagues) had sprung up. Efforts were made by Hindu leaders to have cow-protection included in the programme of the Congress; and though the Congress refused to take position on this issue (lest it should offend the Muslims), nevertheless Congress facilities were often used to propagate cow-protection agitations. Anti-cow killing movements led to Hindu-Muslim riots. And the moderate constitutionalists were squeezed between Sir Syed and Tilak.

Thus, in the 1890's two seemingly contradictory phenomena were taking place. On the one hand the participation of the Hindus and the Muslims in the public life of India was increasing by leaps and bounds. On the other, the struggle among Indian sectional interests was becoming quite fierce. Those who noticed the broadening of the nationalist movement viewed it with grave concern: the combination of educated Hindus and the ignorant masses, declared Lord Landsdowne, was pregnant with mischief.[65] But then there were others who took satisfaction in the Hindu-Muslim riots, the controversy over the Age of the Consent Bill, and the conflict over the activities of *Gaurakshini Sabhas*. They thought that these struggles made "all combination of the Hindoos and the Mohammedans impossible," and thus destroyed the chances of the Congress growing into a nationalist movement.[66] Even Curzon was forced into making an erroneous assessment of the Indian situation when he wrote in 1900: "The Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my great ambitions is to assist it to a peaceful demise."[67] The demise of the Congress was to be hastened by counterpoising the Hindus against the Muslims; the

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[65] Note on anti Cow Killing Agitation, 28 December 1893, in Landsdowne Notes, and Minutes, January 1778—January 1894, India Office Library. Landsdowne saw an analogy with events in Ireland where the Home Rule Movement did not become powerful until it had added agrarian questions to its political demands.

[66] This was the opinion of Lethbridge, a member of Viceroy's Legislative Council, cited in the letter from Earl of Kimberley to Landsdowne, 25 August 1893, Landsdowne Papers, India Office Library.

[67] Cited by Earl of Ronaldshay, *The Life of Lord Curzon* (3 vols.; London, 1928), II, 151.

Princes against the bourgeoisie;[68] and the moderate constitutionalists against the activists led by Tilak.

III

> *You often hear people talk of the educated sections of the people of India as a mere handful, an infinitesimal fraction. So they are in numbers, but it is fatally idle to say that this infinitesimal fraction does not count.*
>
> MORLEY, 1909

> *Representative government .... is totally inapplicable to the Indian Empire .... the safety and welfare of the country must depend on the supremacy of British administration and that supremacy can, in no circumstance, be delegated to any kind of representative body.*
>
> MINTO, 1910

The policy that the British pursued towards the Indian demands at the turn of the century became visible only with the Morley-Minto reforms. They inadvertently led to a limited representative government, but the true aim of these reforms was to rally the moderates,[69] the Muslims, and the landed interests on the side of the British to split the nationalist movement. Wrote Minto to Morley:

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[68] Curzon got the idea from Lytton (Lady Balfour, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-11), but there were certain features of Lytton's suggestions like the establishment of an Indian Privy Council composed of the princes that Curzon opposed. (Ronaldshay, *op. cit.*, II, 228 ff).

Cf. Minto: "I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible counterpoise to Congress aims," he wrote to Morley on 28 May 1906, "I think we may find a solution in the Council of Princes, or in an elaboration of that idea." Mary Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Cf. Morley: "I sometimes think that we make a mistake in not attaching the weight we ought to these powerful princes." Cited in S. M. Mitra, *Anglo-Indian Studies* (London, 1913), p. 33.

[69] "One of the great hopes of our Reform Scheme was to rally the moderates." Minto to Morley, October 21, 1909, in Mary Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 332. "Moderate political thought has, throughout India, rallied to [our] support." Minto at the United Service Club, 15 October 1910, in *ibid.*, p. 415.

> We cannot move far in that direction [of representative government], *and any move we make is merely a sop to impossible ambitions.*[70] (Emphasis added).

And nationalist ambitions were to be sopped by recognizing and conceding the aims of the educated classes within an imperial framework:

> My firm belief is that the only way we can save India from a tremendous convulsion, which may result I know not how, is in recognizing the right of the Indian gentlemen, loyal at the present moment, to a greater share in the government of the country .... If we don't do so, we shall ere long have a force opposed to us of a strength of which we have had no previous experience.[71]
>
> This educated section is making all and will make all the difference. That they would sharply criticize the British system of government has long been known. It was inevitable. There need be no surprise in the fact that they want a share in the emoluments of administration. Their means—many of them—are scanty; they have little to lose and much to gain from far reaching changes....[72]

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[70] Minto to Morley, 16 May 1907, cited in *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, ed. J. Allan and others (Cambridge, 1934), p. 876.

A lucid statement on the need of circumscribing concessions within imperial interests is by Lord Cromer. "....however liberal may be the concessions we have made, and which at any future time be made, we have not the smallest intention of abandoning our Indian possessions, and that it is highly improbable that any such intention will be entertained by our posterity. The foundation-stone of Indian reform must be the steadfast maintenance of British supremacy." *Ancient and Modern Imperialism* (London, 1909), pp. 126-27.

[71] Minto to Morley, 16 May 1907, cited in Mary Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 132. *Cf.* Elphinstone: "The system of government and of education which we have already established must some time or other work such a change on people of this country, that it will be impossible to confine them to subordinate employments, and if we have not previously opened vents for their ambition and ability we may expect an explosion which will overturn our government." Letter to Munro, 27 October 1822, cited in T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone* (2 vols; London, 1884). II, 143.

[72] Morley in House of Commons, 6 June 1907, cited in Viscount Morley, *Indian Speeches*, 1907-1909 (London, 1909, p. 23).

> The more I see the more convinced I am that we cannot continue to govern India with any hopes of tranquillity until we give her educated classes a chance of greater share in the government of the country.[73]

The admission of an Indian to the Viceroy's Council and expansion of the provincial councils were conceived as the "cheapest concession" and the best answer that could be made to the nationalist opinion.[74] As Dodwell has pointed out: "They were concessions to educated opinion; but they were not the real thing."[75] India was not going to be made a self-governing colony;[76] Swaraj for India, as Minto emphatically declared, was an impossibility in his own life time;[77] the supremacy of British administration was not to be delegated to any kind of an Indian representative assembly.[78]

It would be a mistake to presume that the administration was going to put all its policy eggs in the basket of the professional middle classes. The policy of counterpoise was not abandoned. Minto wanted to create the requisite counterpoise to the influence of the educated classes by seeking support of the landed and monied classes:

> ....[we] are not prepared to allow them [the professional classes] a virtual monopoly of the power exercised by the councils, and....[we] believe that the soundest solution of the problem is to be found in supplying the *requisite counterpoise* to their excessive influence by creating an additional electorate recruited from the *landed and monied classes*....[79] (Emphasis added).

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[73] Minto to Morley.

[74] Morley to Minto, 23 November 1906, cited in Mary Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[75] *A Sketch of the History of India* (London, 1925), p. 288.

[76] Morley to Minto, 10 September 1908, cited in Mary Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

[77] Minto to Morley, 13 May 1909, *ibid.*, p. 305. Morley said the same explicitly to Gokhale; Morley to Minto, 2 August 1906, *ibid.*, p. 99.

[78] Minto's Journal, 25 January 1910, *ibid.*, p. 372.

[79] *Papers Relating to an Imperial Advisory Council and Provincial Advisory Councils*, Cd. 3710, p. 7. Also see, Mary Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

> No scheme of constitutional reform would meet the real requirements of the present time which did not make adequate provision for representing the landed aristocracy of India, the mercantile and industrial classes.[80]

This special attention that the government was to bestow upon the merchant and landed princes was vehemently opposed by the professional classes. Once again class conflicts became vocal:

> The territorial magnates do not represent the best mind of the people ... they have not as a class shown any noticeable talents, industry or culture.[81]
>
> In India, as elsewhere, only the middle class represents the vitality, strength and progressive power of the country.[82]

In addition to the counterpoise of the landed and merchant classes, the Muslims were also used to offset the influence of Hindu nationalists. And the Muslim organizations were as willing to be used as the British wanted to use them. Under Sir Syed's stewardship the Muslims had tended to dissociate themselves from anything that was anti-British, e.g. the pan-Islamic sentiment that had been excited by the Graeco-Turkish War. Social animosities caused by the activities of the Arya Samaj, and political animosity caused by the Hindu opposition of the partition of Bengal, widened the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims, and the latter felt drawn within the British gambit. And as Sir John Strachey remarked:

> The better [professional?] classes of Mohammedans are a source to us of strength and not of weakness. They constitute a comparatively small but energetic minority of the population whose political interests are identical with ours.[83]

And a similar sentiment was expressed by Bampfylde Fuller when he declared that of his "two wives, the Mohammedan one was the favourite."[84]

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[80] *Cd.* 3710, p. 3.

[81] *Papers Relating to the Enlargement of Legislative Council, Cd.* 4426 (1908), Enclosure XXIV, p. 8: Opinion of Bombay Presidency Association.

[82] *Ibid.*, Enclosure XXV, p. 1: Opinion of the Mahajana Sabha, Madras.

[83] Cited by Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Minto's forthcoming concession to the Muslim demand for separate representation was, therefore, promoted by cogent reasons. The Muslim professional classes had grown in size,[85] and their claims had to be recognized and conceded to secure their loyalty.[86] Thus through the system of communal representation Minto and Morley were able to maintain a continuity in the British policy of dispensing liberal concessions circumscribed by imperialist considerations.[87] As for poor Morley, he conceded representations to the Muslim classes partially because he was a victim of his own prejudices:

> The real truth is that I am an Occidental, not an Oriental; don't betray this fatal secret or I shall be ruined! I think I like Mohammedans, but I cannot go further in an easterly direction.[88]

Minto-Morley reforms mark the beginning of the decline of constitutional agitation in India. The Gokhale group was on its way out—out of the nationalist movement, and out of favour among the British,[89]—the Tilak militancy was on its way in. After 1905 further sectional interests, further realignments, further reconsideration of the policy of counterpoise, seriously affected the question of "British connection". The Congress moved to the demand of Home Rule; the Muslims split between the Unionists and the Separatists. British policy itself changed from representative institutions for India to responsible government, though British policy makers found it inconceivable that India was ever going to be fit for self-government.[90]

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[85] "During the last three weeks I have received fifty-nine telegrams from Mahommedan Societies in Upper India...." Minto to Morley, 23 November 1907, cited in Mary Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 165. This is suggestive of the rapid growth of the Muslim professional societies.

[86] Both Minto and Morley had fear of Muslim claims. For Minto's fears see, *ibid.*, pp. 46-47. "Everybody warns us," he wrote to Morley on 6 June, 1906, "that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India: Lawrence, Chirol, Sidney Low all sing the same song: '....Be sure that before long the Mahommedans will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you' and so on and so forth." (*Ibid.*, p. 30).

[87] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

[88] From a letter to Lady Minto cited by John Buchan, *Lord Minto* (London, 1924), pp. 222-23.

"The trouble about our dear John [Morley]," said Balfour, "is that you can't trust him. He talks to you like this in private, and then lets you down in public." Austen Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, p. 336. Morley's liberal facade, however, thoroughly and successfully, confused Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta.

[89] Cf. Morley: "I have often thought, during the last twelve months that Gokhale, as a party manager, is a baby. A party manager, or for that matter any politician aspiring to be a leader should never *whine*. Gokhale is always whining, just like the second-rate Irishmen between Dan O'Connell and Parnell." Cited in Mary Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

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[90] "To me, it is frankly inconceivable that India will ever be fit for Dominion self-government." Birkenhead to Reading, 4 December 1924, in *Frederick Edwin Earl of Birkenhead: The Last Phase*, by His Son, the Earl of Birkenhead (London, 1935), p. 245. Also see, pp. 258-559.

Vedic Symbolism

BY

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The Indian point of view about life and knowledge is neatly summed up in the Upanishadic saying: Anirākaraṇaṁ me'=stu, i.e. 'Let me not reject or discard anything of value, let my approach be constructive'. We may also apply this to our problem of Vedic interpretation. We welcome all the available evidence from any source, ancient or modern, and then apply our critical faculties to grasp the deep significance of the mantras in the wider context of cosmogony, as they were intended by the Ṛishis. The truth about the utterances of the seers is that they wanted to convey a rational meaning and that the same must have been intelligible to their contemporaries. Distance of time may have rendered many things obscure but originally the mantras were marked by clarity of meaning. Where we now find them to be enigmatical, it is due to our having lost the key to the definitions in which the mantras are couched.

The second important fact about Vedic interpretation is that the hymns embody metaphysical statements of cosmogonic laws which hold good at different levels, especially with reference to the working of the Devas or Prāṇic energy and the working of the Bhūtas or gross matter. The distinction and inter-relation of the Devas and the Bhūtas must be constantly kept in mind to grasp the full meaning of the Vedic description, specially the ritual of Yajña. The Devas represent Truth, Light and Immortal Life (Ṣatyaṁ jyotiramṛitam). The Bhūtas or Asuras represent Untruth, Darkness and Death (Anṛitaṁ tamaḥ mṛityuḥ).

Life and Cosmos are the outcome of a struggle between the Devas and Asuras. The Devas are headed by Indra and the Asuras by Vṛitra. The world is thus an unending picture of Daivāsuram, the conflict between the basal duality of the Devas and Asuras, or Light and Darkness, or Immortality and Death. This is the fundamental dichotomy of which the twin Mothers are Aditi and Diti, both symbolising the female powers of the Creator. The third important point about our approach to Vedic exegesis is even more far-reaching. Every student of the Veda must remember that he is face to face with a language in which the lexical meanings are not material, but it is the symbolical meanings that are really important. The language of symbols is preferred because it is able to convey a much greater depth of meaning, and secondly because the symbols do not change in time or place. For example, the cow as a symbol stands for motherhood, she typifies generation, the same quality as is found in Infinite Nature. Therefore, the Creative energy in the Cosmos is easily conceived of as the cow and is given various names like Aditi, the creatrix of the various divine powers on the plane of manifestation. Aditi is nature herself and she is the mother of Gods. The Cow is also called Viśvarūpā, the Omniform mother who creates out of her body the whole universe and all the creatures that be. She is Kāmadughā or Kāmadhenu, whose milk is Kāma or Prajāpati's desire to create. The whole world is spoken of as the 'Wish-fulfilling Sacrifice' (*Kāmapra Yajña*) of the Supreme Being, and that creative process is taking material shape through the agency of Nature who is verily conceived of as the Cosmic Cow. The principal sign of motherhood or creativity in the cow is the quality of giving milk after she calves. Milk therefore also becomes a symbol of the creative potency that is Omnipresent in nature. Motherhood is conceived of as the conversion of water into milk, the latter having millions of tiny globules of butter which water has not. Butter or *Ghṛita* is thought of as the symbol of the fecundating seed, or the male principle which fertilises the female. For example, when the Ṛig veda says Ghṛitena pṛithivī Vyudyate (I. 164-47) and we translate it as 'the earth is moistened with fatness' (Griffith), we may be correct so far as the word-meaning is concerned, but we hardly touch the fringe of the real meaning which is concealed behind the symbolism of *Ghṛita*. *Gauḥ, Payaḥ, Ghṛitam* are repeated hundreds of times in the Ṛigveda covering a vast and significant symbolism and one should be prepared to extract the maximum connotation of these definitive terms. As is well known, water thrown on the fire puts it out, but butter enkindles it; therefore *Ghṛita* is spoken of as a form of Agni, for example 'This butter is thy body, O shining Agni' Eshā te śukrā taṇūḥ Yajus, 4.17, or 'The butter is thy dear abode, O Agni' Etadvā agneḥ priyaṁ dhāma yad ghṛitam, ŚB. VII. 4.1.41). Agni is the creative seed of Prajāpati and so is *Ghṛita*, the symbol *par excellence* of the parental seed that deposits the germs of life in the womb.

The Vedic symbols are numerous. The Sun, Ocean, Fire, Sky, Earth, Water, Mountain, River, Dawn, Night, Air, Bird, Animal, Forest, etc., have been employed as symbols, forming the alphabet, as it were, of a rich language designed to convey the imagery of the Cosmos. Indeed each created object, whether made by nature or man, can be made the symbol of a meaning that is inherent in its working. This language is writ large on the face of nature and can be read at all times and places. Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, Son, Daughter are the code-words of a universal dictionary. The seers made use of this language by deliberate intention. Its golden radiance fills all space between earth and sky and a new experience of ecstasy filled the minds of the thinkers at the endless possibilities of this Omnipresent medium of expression.

The laws of nature are patent to us in the workings of the created objects. Each object is a symbol, sign or pointer of same truth; it is like the ray of the Sun-God who is being illumined by all his bright rays: — Devaṁ vahanti ketavaḥ, (RV. I.50.1).

The next truth of Vedic interpretation is the fact that there is a coherent system of metaphysics which was real to the poets and which has found expression in a consistent terminology. The hymns are rooted in a well-developed fabric of cosmogonic definitions and their truth can be demonstrated by strict logic and stern dialectic. We are face to face with superior minds who well knew what they said, provided we, on our part, correctly understand their technique and methodology and remain honest in our investigation by looking at the evidence as one-whole and not as the piecemeal outpourings of inchoate minds. For example, *Mahī Mātā*, the Great Mother, *Magna Mater*, has always one and the same connotation, viz. Aditi, Mother of the Gods, who is Infinite Nature itself. Originally she is one, but in creation she transforms herself as seven Mothers to manifest her sevenfold power as Seven Sons, viz. Mind, Life and the Five Elements of Matter (*Sapta-putrā*). When it is said in the Ṛigveda that the Mother weaves garments for her offspring, Vastrā putrāya mātaro vayanti, RV. 1.47.6), we find ourselves fully in the hands of a symbolical language and we must discover the true meaning of *vastra, putra* and *mātaraḥ*. Yajña is the garment woven for the Babe and being knit with seven threads, viz. *Manas*, *Prāṇa* and *Pañcha-Bhūtas* is called *sapta-tantu*. Each body from macrocosm to the microcosm is organised as a Yajña and at the centre of each is a Babe called Sūrya or Agni or Madhya Prāṇa, i.e. the life-principle, which also has the variant names of Indra. The above unity of symbols ceases to baffle if the principle of Prāṇa-Vidyā is correctly grasped. No organism can subsist or function unless the three states of consciousness, viz. the physical, vital and psychic, are integrated. These constitute the Seven Threads of the robe that is the body and which is the object of the elaborate symbolism of Yajña. Yajña implies the worship of the Deva through the agency of the Bhūtas. Sūrya is at the centre of its system and being the archetype of a Yajña is the model of the Deva functioning on the plane of physical manifestation. The physical Sun, like our earth, is made of material elements, but the mantras speak of it as the symbol of the Supernal Sun, the Immortal Divine Being who impels the whole universe and is worshipped as Prāṇaḥ prajānāmudayatyesh sūryaḥ and Sūrya ātmā jagatasts-thushśch (RV. I.115.1).

The Sun symbolises the emergence of a centre or focal-point in the womb of the Universal. It typifies the principle of individuation. The Individual in the lap of the Universal is creation and a Yajñā. The Yajñā is spoken of as the navel or centre to give effect to the principle of becoming Ayaṁ Yajño bhuvanasya nābhih, (RV. I.164.35). Where there is a centre there is a *maṇḍala* enclosing an organised system. The *nābhi* and the *maṇḍala*, i.e., the centre and the circumference, go hand in hand, they form an integral part of same circle and one becomes the other. The *maṇḍala* as the circumference signifies bounded space or limitation, it typifies the principle of finitisation, or sheathing, or covering, which in other words is called a robe or garment. Therefore, the Sun-God is known as *Vivasvān*, its light-giving rays forming, as it were, a garment, or a golden cloak in so far as they extend. The fabric of this cloth is made of seven threads of which not only the Sun but all organisms are constituted. Life, Mind, and the Five Elements of Matter are the Seven Threads of each Yajña, in which the Life-Principle has its abode and which is thus basically threefold, Imaṁ no agna upyajñamehi pañchyāmaṁ trivṛitaṁ sapta tantum, (RV. X. 124.1). The knowledge of these three is Trayī Vidyā or the Triple Lore of the Vedas which is the foundation on which the edifice of Vedic metaphysics and exegesis rest. Sūrya is the foremost symbol of this triple lore and therefore, was it said by ancient seers—Trayī vā eshā vidyā tapati, (Ś.B. 10.5.2.2). Sūrya is the self of all that moves and moves not, and the Self (*Ātman*) consists of Speech, Mind and Breath, Etanmayo vā ayamātmā vaṅmayo manomayaḥ prāṇamayaḥ, (ŚB. XIV.4.3.10 = BU 1.5.3). Here Breath stands for Life (*Prāṇa*), and Speech (*Vāk*) for all the five material elements ranging from the sky to the earth, as explained in this very context—Vāk, the earth is the body. As far as 'Vāk extends, so far extends the earth' Jasyaiva vāchaḥ pṛithivī śarīraṁ yāvatyeva vāk tāvatī pṛithivī, (BV. 1.5.11). The Sun-God as the archetypal creation is comprised of the triple entities, Mind, Life and Matter, and is therefore taken to be the symbol of the three Vedas, the three words, and the other triads manifest in creation.

The significance of Sūrya as the arch-symbol of Vedic thought cannot be over estimated: 'Of what is and has been and is to be, and of what moves and is stationary'—of all this some regard the Sun alone to be origin and the cause of dissolution. Both of what is not and what is, this is the source, the real Prajāpati, he is the eternal Brahman which is at once imperishable and the object of speech. The Sun having divided himself into three, abides in these worlds, causing all the gods in due order to rest in his rays. Verily, Agni as the Sun abides in three forms in three worlds that have come into being, the seers adore him with songs as manifested under three names'.[1]

Sūrya is the symbol of triune manifestation and is in the Vedic language a *trivṛityajña*, identified with both Agni and Indra as stated in the Bṛihaddevatā. 'Because, taking up flinds with his rays, accompanied by Vāyu, he rains upon the world, he is termed

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[1] Bhavadbhūtasya Bhavyasya jaṅgamasthāvarasya cha.
Asyaike sūryamevaikamprabhavaṁ pralayam viduḥ.
Asataśch satśchaiva yonireshā prajāpatiḥ.
Yadaksharam cha vāchyaṁ cha yathaitadbrahma Śaśvataṁ.
Kṛitvaisha hi tridhatmanmeshu lokeshu tishṭhati.
Devānyathāyathaṁ Sarvān niveśya sveshu raśmishu.
Etadbhūteshu lokeshu Agni bhūtaṁ sthitaṁ tridhā.
Ṛishayo gīrbhirarchanti Vyañjitam nāmabhistribhiḥ.

(*Bṛihaddevatā*, 161-164).

Indra. 'Agni in this (world), Indra and Vāyu in the middle, Sūrya in heaven, are here to be recognized as the three deities.'[2]

Let us take another example, viz. Sāvitrī. It is primarily illustrative of the symbolism of Savitā or Sūrya, whose power is Sāvitrī. The beautiful legend of Sāvitrī and Satyavān is an example of how the builders of Indian civilisation were working on four fronts. Firstly we have the cosmic existence of the Sun-God and his great energy that is the sustaining power of all living creatures. It is an *ādhidaivika* phenomenon true in all places and times. Secondly we find a statement of this cosmic truth in the vedic hymns which eulogise Savitā as the Impeller of all creation and as the source of universal life distributing its energy amongst all creatures. Thirdly the Purāṇas have woven a beautiful legend out of it under the name of Sāvitrī Upākhyāna, and fourthly it is made the occasion of an annual festival on the Vaṭa-Sāvitrī day when a fast is kept and the story repeated.

Whatever is possessed of power is a type of Savitā-Sāvitrī duality, of which twelve illustrative pairs are cited in the Jaiminīya Upanisad Brāhmaṇa, e.g.:—Savitā—Sāvitrī.

1.	Manas	Vāk.
2.	Agniḥ	Pṛithivī
3.	Vāyuḥ	Antariksha
4.	Ādityaḥ	Dayauḥ
5.	Chandrama	Nakshātrāṇi
6.	Ahaḥ	Rātriḥ
7.	Ushṇam	Śītam
8.	Abhram	Varshā
9.	Stanayitnuḥ	Vidyut
10.	Prāṇaḥ	Annam
11.	Vedāḥ	Chhandānsi
12.	Yajñaḥ	Dakshiṇā

The two functioning as positive and negative, or as male and female, become a Mithuna, to extend the chain of creative energy, and the union is conceived of as a Yajña, Yajño vai prachodayati strī chaiva Purushaścha prajanayatah (JUB. 4.28.3). In other words this is the mating of Agni and Soma, an essential feature of all procreative activity. Śiva and Satī typify the clash between Agni and Soma, and Śiva and Pārvatī, their amity.

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[2] Rasān raśmibhirādāya Vāyunāyam gālaḥ saha.
Varshatyesh cha yalloke tenendra iti sa smṛitaḥ
Agnirasmimathendrastu madhyatovayureva cha.
Suryo divīti vijñeyastisra eveha devatāḥ.

In the Puranic story Satyavān represents the Sun and Sāvitrī his power. Sūrya is called Satya-Sava (*RV.* V. 82.7), *satya-dharmā* (*RV.* X. 139.3). Sūrya floating in the ocean of Rita, is the emergent centre of satya: What the fair-fingered God creates on the wide earth and in the high heaven, that is his Satyā, Satyamasya tat, (RV. IV. 54.4). Sūrya is thus both Satya-Nārāyaṇa and Yajña-Nārāyaṇa for Satya and Yajña are synonymous: Sūrya is the Horse of the cosmic Aśvamedha, Esha vā = aśvamedho ya esha sūryah tapati, (*SB.* 10.6.58). Satyavān is described as being fond of horse, making equine figurines in clay and drawing them, in painting, for which he earned the epithet *chitrāśva*.[3] Secondly Satyavān is fated to survive only for one year after his marriage with Sāvitrī, unless she redeems him from the curse. This has reference to the annual renovation of Sūrya, his symbolical immolation in the previous Aśvamedha and preparation for the next. Yama, the God of Death, symbolises the terrific aspect of the life-principle which is destructive (Ghora prāṇāgni) it must be propitiated and made auspicious (Aghora, Śiva) and this is what Sāvitrī does. In the folk-lore version of this story as recited on the karaka-chaturthī day, the prince is bitten by a snake, the symbol of death, and the princess brings him back to life through the intercession of the Seven Divine Mothers (Sapta-Mātṛikā or Sapta-svasārah), of whom the eldest (*Mahī Mātā* Aditi) is in possession of the elixir of immortality.

The symbolical approach to Vedic interpretation alone is thus adequate to take note of the total evidence as available on these several levels. It is the object of this school to explain and emphasize the technique and method of this approach. Even partial success with this method is likely to be the harbinger of great fruit. We should not lose sight of the basic fact that Veda-Vidyā is Sṛishṭi-vidyā, and the latter is elaborated under several names and forms, like Agni-Vidyā, Prajāpati-Vidyā, Saṁvatsara-Vidyā, Deva-Vidyā, Yajña-Vidyā, Chhando-Vidyā, Paśu-Vidyā, etc. These involve a mass of technical details and definitions which should be cleared to pave the way for a rational understanding of the Vedic literature.

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[3] Bālasyāśvāḥ priyāśchāsya krolyaśvanścha mṛinmayān.
chitre'p=i cha likhalyaśvanśchitrāśva iti chochyate.
Araṇyakaparvam, Poona, 278-13.

Political History of Udayagirirājya during the Vijayanagar period A.D. 1382-1514

BY

Y. SRIRAMAMURTY, M.A.

Dēvarāya, son of Harihara II was an able and energetic prince who assisted his father in carrying on the administration of the empire. As a mark of recognition of his merit, Harihara II appointed him as the governor of Udayagirirājya. Of all the Rājyās in the Telugu area, Udayagiri played a prominent part because of its strategic importance and also because it was a bone of contention between the Rāyās and the neighbouring powers viz. Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīdu and the Gajapathis of Orissa. The kingdom of Udayagiri, generally speaking, comprised of all the area which to-day forms part of the Cuddapah district and a major portion of the Nellore district and the southern portions of the Cuṁbuṁ and Naṅdyāl taluks of the present Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh. Udayagirirājya was so carved out as to centre round the fort of Udayagiri and so the word 'durga' was also added to the name of the province. In some inscriptions the province is referred to as Udayagirirājya[1] and in others as Udayagiridurga.[2] Because of its importance, Udayagiri is referred to as the first fort or the chief fort (Tel. Modalidurgamu) of the empire.

A new chapter in the history of provincial administration begins with the accession of Harihara II. Harihara II after coming to the throne wanted to consolidate his dominions. The kingdom of Vijayanagara since its foundation was jointly administered by the five sons of Saṅgama. This arrangement told very heavily upon its unitary character. Further the appointment of the sons of Kaṁpa was detrimental to the safety of the position of the emperor. Harihara II having recognised this defect removed his cousins from the governor-ship of the provinces and appointed either his own sons or trusted officials to administer them. Under this system Kumāra Kampana, son of Bukka I was succeeded by Virūpanna in the Tamil districts. Immadi Bukka was appointed as governor of Mulbagal and, as the crown prince, he was associated with the emperor in the administration of the country. Harihara's minister and general Mādhavamantri was appointed to rule over the Aranga-rājya and Banvāśi country which was previously held by Mārappa and Uddagiri-Virūpanna.[3] The chief or the first fort of the empire, Udayagiri was placed in the hands of prince Dēvarāya who succeeded Mahāmandalēswara-Singanna Voḍeyar, son of Vīra Srī Sāvanna Voḍeya to that post.

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[1] *Epi. Coll.* No. 491 of 1906.

[2] *Epi. Coll.* No. 34 of 1939-40.

Though Harihara II came to the throne in Saka 1299 there is no epigraphic evidence before us to show that Dēvarāya was appointed as governor of Udayagiri in that year. An epigraph[4] dated in Saka 1304 in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II records a gift of land made while Mahāmaṇḍalēswara Vīra Dēvarāya Voḍeya[5] was governing Udayagiri. This is the first inscription to mention him as the governor of Udayagirirājya. He acted as the governor of Udayagirirājya from Saka 1304 to 1327. In

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[3] *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Madras, 1946, Vol. I, p. 80.

[4] *Epi. Coll.* No. 404 of 1904; V. R. 413. Cuddapah Ins. Ced. dts., p. 390, No. 81.

[5] According to Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya "the name given to him (Prince Dēvarāya) as Governor of Udayagiri i.e. Vīra Dēvarāya Oḍeya and other similar names like Kampana Uḍaiyar and Virūpanna Uḍaiyar seem to show that the Vijayanagara princes sent out as rulers of provinces assumed the title Oḍeya or Uḍaiyar in Tamil which belonged to them originally as Hōyasāla feudatories while the higher title Mahārāya or Mahārāja was reserved for the reigning sovereign." But the title Oḍeya or Uḍaiyār was not borrowed by the Vijayanagar kings from the Hōyasālās; nor is it true to say that the founders of Vijayanagara were feudatories of the Hōyasāla kings. The Vijayanagara kings Harihara I and Bukka I were, for some time, in the service of the Kākatīya monarch and were never subordinates of the Hōyasālās. Moreover the epithets, Oḍeya and Uḍaiyār were not used only as suffix to the names of the Vijayanagara princes sent out as rulers of provinces. They were flexible and were sometimes added to the names of the reigning emperors too. In fact Harihara I and Bukka I are mentionned in inscriptions as Harihara Oḍeya, Harihara Oḍeyaḷu, Hariappa Oḍeyar and Bukka Oḍeyar. It was evidently not a title which was used as suffix to the names of Vijayanagara princes sent out as provincial governors. *M.E.R.* for 1905, p. 50.

Saka 1327 when Harihara II fell ill Dēvarāya left Udayagiri for the capital city Vijayanagara. Harihara II did not recover from illness and his death led to a civil war among the princes. Virūpāksha I held the throne for a short time. But he was dethroned by Bukka II who ruled for two years. It was during these disturbances after the death of Harihara II that prince Dēvarāya, having come away from Udayagiri and being unable to secure the throne at Vijayanagara, set up his own rule at Penugoṅḍapaṭṭaṇa. An inscription[6] dated Saka 1327 from Tamaḷḷapale registers the confirmation of the grant of a village by Mahāmaṅḍaḷēswar Vīra Dēvarāya Mahārāya ruling from Penugoṅḍapaṭṭaṇa. Ruling as he did from Penugoṅḍapaṭṭaṇa, as a rival claimant to the throne at Vijayanagara, he waited for a favourable opportunity, seized the throne and was crowned at Vijayanagara on Saka 1328, Vijaya, Karttika, Ba 10, Friday.[7]

In a copper plate inscription[8] dated Saka 1312 Rāmachaṅdra, son of Dēvarāya, is referred to as Lord of Udayagiri. If Dēvarāya himself was governing at Udayagiri from Saka 1304 to 1327 how could it be possible for Rāmachaṅdra to be the Lord of Udayagiri? Did Dēvarāya ever delegate his power as Viceroy to his son Rāmachaṅdra; and if so what were the peculiar circumstances that forced him to delegate his authority to his son?. As an answer to this question it may be said, on the basis of the following facts, that prince Dēvarāya was preoccupied in fighting with his enemies on the northern frontier and hence having placed his son Rāmachaṅdra in charge of the Udayagiri fort in or about Saka 1312, he went to fight with his enemies.

The Velamās of Rāchakoṅḍa in alliance with the Bahmani Sultan raided the north-eastern frontier of the Vijayanagar empire. These attacks had shaken the stability of the Vijayanagar empire on the north-eastern border. The Rāyās of Vijayanagara had to take some strong steps to achieve the stability of the north-eastern boundary of the empire. To achieve this object Harihara II deputed Dēvarāya as governor of Udayagiri in whose abilities he had confidence. Secondly to break off the growing power of the Velamās he sent an expedition under Yuvarāja Immadi Bukka. But this expedition failed to achieve the objective. Since the object of the first expedition was not realised, a second expedition was sent out in Saka 1312. From the Velugōṭivārivaṁsāvaḷi[9] we know that the Vijayanagara army led by Daṅḍanātha Guṅḍa marched into the Velama territory. But the leader of this expedition was killed by Peda Vēḍagiri, a son of Māda and a nephew of Anapōta I. On coming to know of the disastrous fate of this expedition, Harihara was bent on taking revenge upon the Velamās. He directed the ablest of his sons, prince Dēvarāya, by that time governor of Udayagiri, to proceed against Teliṅgāna. Dēvarāya Oḍeya marched with his six-fold army to Alaṁpura on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra sometime before Saka 1312.[10] The results of this campaign are not recorded anywhere. But taking into consideration the confusion which prevailed in the Bahmani kingdom at that time it may not be unreasonable to conclude that Dēvarāya successfully led the campaign though no definite results were achieved. Thus it can be seen that Dēvarāya was preoccupied in Saka 1312 in his campaign against the Velamās and the Bahmani Sultan. He personally marched into Teliṅgāna at the head of a huge force. So Dēvarāya entrusted the defence of the fort of Udayagiri and the administration of the province to his son, Rāmachaṅdra and left for the campaign. He appears to have come back in the same year. This explains how Rāmachaṅdra became the governor of Udayagiri in Saka 1312. As Rāmachaṅdra was acting as governor in the absence of his father he is referred to in the epigraph as "Lord of Udayagiri". In the capacity of governor he made the donation of a village. He had also a court-poet by name Dēvarājamisra, who was the composer of the copper plate inscription in question. It was on account of Rāmachaṅdra's association with him in the administration of Udayagiri and also of his having acted as governor of that province that Dēvarāya, after becoming emperor, appointed him as governor of Udayagiri.

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[6] *Epi. Coll.* No. 313 of 1922.

[7] E.C.V. Hn. 133.

[8] C.P. No. 1 of 1906-07; quoted by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty in the Nellore district inscriptions.

During the time of Harihara II the empire expanded considerably. On account of the untiring energy of prince Dēvarāya, governor of Udayagirirājya, the Reḍḍis of Koṅḍavīḍu were deprived of their possessions in the Kurnool and Nellore districts. They were also driven out of the Bāpaṭla and Narasaraopet taluks of the present Guntur district. Thus Harihara II became the undisputed monarch of all the area south of the Krishna and the district of Nellore too.

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[9] Velugōṭivārivaṁsāvaḷi, verse 100.

[10] Nellore District inscriptions, Vol. I, C.P. No. 1.

On account of the continued absence of Dēvarāya from the provincial headquarters as well as civil war and disturbed political conditions in Vijayanagara, after the death of Harihara, there were troubles in the Udayagirirājya. The Reḍḍi kingdom was divided into parts after the death of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi. The northern half with Rajahmundry as its capital passed into the hands of Kāṭayavēma, brother-in-law of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi. The southern half with its capital Koṅḍavīḍu passed into the hands of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, cousin of Kumāragiri. The elevation of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma at Koṅḍavīḍu and the departure of Dēvarāya after coming to know of his father's illness roughly coincided with each other. Taking advantage of the absence of the provincial governor from the headquarters, the sympathisers and supporters of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma rebelled in Udayagirirājya. The local records throw sufficient light on what happened after the departure of Dēvarāya. The Kaifiyat of Bukkapaṭnaṁ states, "While Harihara II was reigning at Vijayanagara, Praudhadēvarāya Oḍeya was governing the province of Udayagiri. Cennāreḍḍi, Annāreḍḍi, and Mallāreḍḍi, the Lords of Addaṅki in the East, having entered the district of Pulugunāḍu with the army, caused much disturbance as a consequence of which several villages such as Suṅgamanēyaḍipaṭṭanaṁ, Baṭṭalūru, Peda Bukkapaṭnaṁ and Cina-Bukkapaṭnaṁ were destroyed...Dēvarāya Oḍeya marched from Vijayanagara at the head of an army and captured the fort of Udayagiri. He despatched a portion of his army to Chaṅdragiri and Cennāreḍḍi and others of Addaṅki were obliged to evacuate the district and retreat to the East. The people who left their homes owing to the violence caused by the invaders then returned and began to restore the village that had been destroyed".[11] The Kaifiyat of Ciṭṭivēli also refers to the same incident and corroborates the information supplied by the above Kaifiyat. While Peda Rāya Voḍeyalu (Harihara II) was governing at Vijayanagara his son Mahāmaṇḍalēswara Praudha Voḍeya (Dēvarāya) was governing the province of Udayagiri. Owing to the illness of his father Praudha Voḍeya was obliged to pay a visit to Vijayanagara. Taking advantage of his absence at Udayagiri, Cennāreḍḍi, Annāreḍḍi and Mallāreḍḍi, sons of Perumāḻḻareḍḍi, an younger brother of Vēmāreḍḍi, the Lord of Addaṅki laid siege to the fort of Racavīḍu and captured it. Proceeding southward they also annexed the districts of Poṭṭapi and Pulugu....Praudha Dēvarāya, who ascended the throne of Vijayanagara sent his armies to Udayagiri whence they marched into the two districts mentioned above and the Reḍḍi chiefs were consequently obliged to retire to their country".[12]

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[11] Local Records 17, pp. 178-9.

From the above passages it appears that when Dēvarāya left for Vijayanagara the Reḍḍis attacked Udayagirirājya and captured the districts of Poṭṭapi and Pulugu. Was it a capture of only the two districts or was it a general attack on the fort and Rājya of Udayagiri? Though it is not explicitly stated that the Reḍḍis captured the fort, there is evidence to infer that it was occupied by them. In the Kaifiyat of Bukkapaṭnaṁ it is stated that "Dēvarāya-Voḍeya marched from Vijayanagara at the head of an army and captured the fort of Udayagiri." Where was the necessity for Dēvarāya to capture the fort, if it was not occupied by somebody else? Evidently the fort was taken by the Reḍḍis after his capture from Udayagiri at the time of his father's illness. Though Dēvarāya came to know of the loss of Udayagiri to the Reḍḍis, he did not turn his attention to Udayagiri. Staying at Penugoṅḍa, he waited for a favourable moment to seize the throne for himself. After his coronation, he marched against the Reḍḍis and captured the fortress.

How long did the kingdom of Udayagiri remain in the possession of the Reḍḍis? In all probability it was captured by the Reḍḍis in Saka 1326 after the departure of Dēvarāya and it remained in their hands upto Saka 1335. The inscriptions of Mallāreḍḍi help us in fixing the dates. An inscription[13] in the village of Attirāla in the Cuddapah district runs as follows, "During the reign of Anavēmāreḍḍi, Mallāreḍḍi, a grandson of Vēmāreḍḍi made a grant on Thursday, su 15 of Jyēshṭa of the year Sarvajit, Saka 1329 for

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12. *Local Records* 22, pp. 166; 171-2.
13. *Local Records* 20, p. 335.

the merit of his father Annāreḍḍi. Another inscription of Mallāreḍḍi at Lēmbāka records[14] "Mallu a son of Siṅgaṁaseṭṭi of Vēlaṅda gotra built the prākāra of the Chennakēsava temple on su 11, Ashadha of the year Vijaya, Saka 1335, while Mallāreḍḍi the son of Annāreḍḍi was governing the country." Evidently Mallāreḍḍi was exercising his control over Cuddapah district which was part of Udayagirirājya in these days from Saka 1329 to Saka 1335. It would not be unreasonable to conclude that he came to occupy that region immediately after the departure of Dēvarāya from Udayagiri in Saka 1326 and held it upon Saka 1335 or a little later.

It is not known whether any administrative arrangements were made by Dēvarāya I immediately after recapturing the fortress of Udayagiri. At any rate he could not have left it entirely in the hands of his officials particularly at a time when the growing power of the Reḍḍis of Koṅḍavīḍu was a great menace to the stability of the kingdom of Udayagiri. An inscription[15] dated in Saka 1338 from Dāḍireḍḍipalli in the Kanigiri Taluk, Nellore district records that in the reign of Srīmān Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēswar Chatussamudrādhīswara Srī Vīrapratāpa Dēvarāya Mahārāya of Vijayanagara and in the Viceroyalty of Srī Rāmachaṅdra Rāja Oḍayalu, son of Dēvarāya at Udayagiri, Bhāvināyanigāru, son of Kattiga Kaṅtināyanigāru constructed a tank named Gaṅgasamudraṁ in the name of Gaṅgināyaniṁgāru, his younger brother. Another epigraph[16] from Pāṭuru, Guntur Taluk dated Saka 1334 registers a gift of land at Praṅtūru made by prince Rāmachaṅdra through his agent Chenukāli Kēsava to a certain Rāmānuja. This inscription is the first to mention an agent of the governor. From the dates given in these two inscriptions it may be inferred that prince Rāmachaṅdra acted as governor of Udayagiri from Saka 1338 to Saka 1344 or a little later.

During the latter part of the reign of Dēvarāya I there was some trouble in the western part of Udayagirirājya.[17] Ahōbala Ḍēva Chōḍa Mahārāja, Sons of Apratimalla Ganapati Cōḍa Mahārāja of the Apratimalla family holding sway over the country in the neighbourhood of Pushpagiri raised the standard of rebellion. An epigraph dated Saka 1342, Plava belonging to the Chief records a gift of land to God Bhairavadēva. According to the Kaifiyat of Hanumagunḍam, Praudha Dēvarāya, the king of Vijayanagara and his son Vijayadēvarāya had both waged a fierce war upon Ahōbala Chōḍa and defeated him.[18] As a result of this war his capital city was destroyed and some of the merchants of the place migrated to other countries, whereas a few settled down in a hamlet which was erected. It is not known why the king and Vijayarāyadēva proceeded against the Chief. By this time the governor of Udayagiri was Rāmachandra and Pushpagiri and its adjoining area formed part of Udayagirirājya. Naturally the governor of the province should have proceeded against him. Moreover the Kaifiyat of Pushpagiri[19] mentions that Vijayarāya, son of Praudhadēvarāya, the king of Vijayanagara came to this part (Pushpagiri) and having defeated the Malla chiefs (Apratimalla) began to rule the country. Thus Vijaya, son of Dēvarāya I, appears to have been an energetic prince who assisted his father in suppressing some formidable rebellions of the kingdom, though Nuniz says that he did nothing worth relating.[20]

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[14] *Local Records* 20, p. 338.

[15] *Nellore district inscriptions*, Kanigiri, No. 4, pp. 636-39.

[16] *Epi. Coll.* No. 125 of 1917.

[17] *Ins. Ced. districts*, p. 358, No. 79, V.R. 53, Cuddapah.

In the epigraphs after Saka 1344 there is no information to show that the princes of Vijayanagara royal family ruled over Udayagiri as governors. The chiefs in the Udayagirirājya during the time of Dēvarāya do not seem to have been controlled by any governor appointed by the emperor. But at the same time they acknowledged the suzerainty of the emperor. This is vouchsafed from the references to Dēvarāya in many of the inscriptions belonging to the subordinate chiefs ruling in the Cuddapah and Nellore districts. A few instances may be cited. Mahāmaṇḍalēswara Vira Aubala Dēva Chōḍa Mahārāja in two of his inscriptions[21] refers to Dēvarāya Mahārāya, his queen, Dēma-ammaṁgaru and the crown prince, Vijaya Bukkarāya. In one inscription[22] Panta Mailārā is referred to as a valiant lieutenant of Dēvarāya in battle.

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[18] *Local Records* 37, p. 246.

[19] *Local Records* 13, p. 52.

[20] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 302.

[21] *Epi. Coll.* No. 278 of 1952-53; *Nellore district inscriptions*, Ongole 55 and 56, pp. 990-93.

[22] *C.P.* No. 18, *Nellore district inscriptions.*

In another he is referred to as 'a dependant chief' of Dēvarāya and devoted adherent of the king".[23]

The accession of Vijayarāya to the throne in Saka 1378-79 marks an important stage in the decline of the fortunes of Udayagirirājya. The stability of the province was already shaken during the last days of the reign of Dēvarāya II. The succession of a ruler to the throne at Vijayanagara and the invasion of a strong and powerfrul king like Kapilēswara Gajapati proved ruinous for the Udayagirirājya. Both Dēvarāya II and Mallikārjuna do not seem to have taken any important and effective steps to safeguard the chief fort on the northern boundary. There is no reference in the inscriptions belonging to this period to any governor of Udayagiri. Evidently the practice of appointing princes of Royal family to the important post of governor of a Rājya was given up after Dēvarāya I. After Rāmachaṅdra, son of Dēvarāya I, who figures as governor of Udayagiri in Saka 1344, there is no mention of any other governor at Udayagiri in epigraphs.

The period between Saka 1368 and 1436 forms one of the dark chapters in the political history of Udayagirirājya. The Velamās of Rāchakoṅḍa, on account of repeated invasions of the Bahmani sultans, were forced to migrate from their native country to Veligōḍu in the Naṅdikoṭkūr taluk and they occupied the country around that place. These people came into conflict with many chiefs in Udayagirirājya in trying to expand their power. The most important chief who opposed the expansion was one Pōlēpalli Bukkarāja, the commandant and ruler of the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa. He was a famous kshatriya chieftain and a subordinate of the king of Vijayanagara. He was attracted by Pina Siṅgama and Annama, sons of Peda Siṅgama. Annama was killed in a battle at night by Bukkarāja. His younger brother, Siṅgama, sent his gallant brother-in-law Jūpalli Koṅḍa to capture Bukkarāja who shut himself in the fort of Pedacēḍu. Koṅḍa entered the fort and having promised Bukkarāja protection, brought him to their camp.[24]

Kapilēswara, after occupying Rajahmundry and Koṅḍavīḍu, extended his conquests upto Srisailam and a large part of the

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[23] C.P. No. 87 of Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*; V. R. 571, A. Nellore.

[24] Velugōṭivārivaṁsāvaḷi, p. 84, verses 146-7.

Kurnool district.[25] The Velugōḍu principality of the Velamās also passed into his hands.[26] But Kapilēswara's conquest of Udayagiri is not mentioned in any of the epigraphs. This fort must have fallen into his hands for, according to Śaḷuvābhyudayamu, it was in the hands of Kapilēswara when Śāḷuva Narasiṁha ascended the throne of Chaṅdragiri. According to Prabhōdachaṅdrōdayamu, a contemporary work, Basava, a son of Tammarāya of Kanṭamarājā's family, who is said to have been the adamantine gate to all the forts of Gajapathi, broke into the fort of Udayagiri in such a manner that he destroyed the pride of all his wily foes.[27] Basavā's father Tammarāya figures as the ruler of the fort of Udayagiri in two inscriptions dated Saka 1392. These two sources of information show that Basava actually conducted the campaign and his father Tammarāya was appointed as the commandant of the fort. Hence it can be inferred that Basava and his father Tammarāya assisted the Gajapathi in capturing the fort of Udayagiri and as a reward for their services, the Gajapathi appointed Tammarāya as the commandant of the fort of Udayagiri. Perhaps Tammarāya and his son Basava, who accompanied Kumāra Haṁvīra Mahāpātra, son of Kapilēśwara Gajapathi, in his southern expedition, helped him in capturing the fort. When was the fort of Udayagiri captured? Udayagiri which stood in the way to the Tamil country remained in the hands of the Vijayanagara king upto Saka 1384. So it is evident that the fort of Udayagiri was captured by Kumāra Haṁvīra Mahāpātra, son of Kapilēśwara Gajapathi, who was assisted by Tammarāju and his son, Basava of the Kaṅtamarāju family, sometime after Saka 1384. Possibly the fort was taken in Saka 1385. It remained in the possession of the Gajapathi, until Saka 1393 when Sāḷuva Narasiṁha captured it.

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[25] *Epi. Coll.* No. 30 of 1915.

[26] *Sources* 74.

[27] *Prabōdhachaṅdrōdayam*, 1 : 16. In this passage Basava is described as an impregnable gate that safeguarded the forts of the Gajapathi. This may be taken to indicate that, Basava, probably as the commander of the Gajapathi's forces, was defending his forts and none of the enemies could break open the gates of the Gajapathi's forts and enter into them. But Basava, when he accompanied Kumāra Haṁvīra Mahāpātra in the southern campaign, broke into the fort of Udayagiri and destroyed the pride of his wily foes i.e. the Vijayanagara governor of the fort of Udayagiri and his soldiers.

The Gajapathi made his own administrative arrangements to rule the Guntur and Nellore districts, south of the Krishna. These two districts which formed part of the Vijayanagar empire were annexed to the Gajapathi kingdom. Kapilēśwara appointed his own governors to rule over the two forts of Koṅḍavīdu and Udayagiri and strong forces were stationed at all strategic places.

Virūpāksha I who succeeded Mallikārjuna was a weak king. He made no effort to reconquer the territories lost to the Oriya king. In the wods of Nuniz "he was given over to vice, caring for nothing but women and to foddle himself with drink."[28] The defence of the empire during his time fell on the shoulders of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, the ruler of Chandragiri. He was the descendant of Śāḷva Maṅgi who played an important part in the southern wars of Kumāra Kaṁpana. Maṅgi ultimately established himself in the neighbourhood of Chaṅdragiri. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was born of Guṅḍa III who ruled from a place called Kaḷyāna. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha had a brother by name Tirumala. Śāḷuva Narasimha was ruling from Chaṅdragiri in Saka 1378. After the death of Guṅḍa III the ministers advised Sāḷuva Narasiṁha to capture the fort of Udayagiri which fell into the hands of Kapilēśwara during the reign of Mallikhārjuna. Following the advice of his ministers Narasiṁha marched against the king of Kaḷinga. The ruler of Kaḷinga came out to meet him at the head of his army. Then a battle took place between the two armies. The Kaḷinga ruler having been defeated retired to the city. But Narasiṁha laid siege to it. A breach was at last effected in the fort and the Rāja of Kaḷinga surrendered. Śāḷuvābhyudayamu appears to have recorded the facts correctly. This information is corroborated by other sources. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha appears to have made himself master of the east coast upto the river Krishna, sometime before Saka 1397. Before proceeding upto the southern bank of the Krishna, Sāḷuva Narasiṁha must have conquered the fort of Udayagiri. According to Pillalamarri Pina Veerabhadra's Jaimini Bhāratamu, Sāḷuva Narasiṁha deprived the Oḍḍiya (the sovereign of Orissa) who invaded his kingdom of his own accord, captured the fort of Baladurgamu (Udayagiri) and having gone to Penucoṅḍa destroyed the Pikkillu and other enemies of his.[29]

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[28] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 305.
[29] *Sources*, pp. 86, 87.

According to Varāhapurāṇamu written by Naṅḍi Mallaya and Ghaṅṭa Singayya, Isvaranāyaka, the general of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, conquered and reduced Udayagiri, Ghaṅḍikōṭa, Penugoṅḍa, Nellore, Goḍuguchiṅta, etc. The poem further states that Iswaranāyaka, at the direction of Narasiṁha, marched with a large army against the Yavanās (Muslims) of Beḍaṅdakōṭa and destroyed their cavalry completely near the town of Kaṅdukūr.[30] The Sāḷuvābhyudayamu refers to a Kaḷingarāja who was captured by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha.* The fort of Udayagiri remained in the hands of Kaṅṭamarāju Tammarāya until Saka 1392.[31] Kapilēswara appears to have died on the banks of the river Krishna in the same year. The country upto the river Krishna must have passed into the hands of Sāḷuva Narasimha immediately after the death of Kapilēswara. Kapilēswara appears to have come to the south to take part in the campaign at Udayagiri but on account of illness he retired to Koṅḍapalli and breathed his last there. In all probability Kapilēswara was captured by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. Kapilēswara submitted to him and placed himself with all his dependants under the protection of his victorious army.[32] Struck with deep remorse at the loss of prestige, Kapilēswara, according to tradition, died on the banks of the Krishna.

By Saka 1399 Sāḷuva Narasiṁha's authority extended as far as the south bank of the Godavari and Koṅḍavīḍu and Masulipatam were included in his dominions.[33] Sāḷuva Narasiṁha must have spent all his energy in conquering the east coast upto the Godavari. But the sway of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha over the region was not left unchallenged during this period.

Kapileswara was succeeded by Purushōthama Gajapathi. But Hamvīra who greatly contributed to the military success of Kapilēswara aspired for kingship and applied to the Bahmani sultan, Muhammad Shāh II, for help. Nizam-ul-mulk Hasan Bahry deput-

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30. *Sources*, p. 89.

* It is possible that Rājānātha Diṇḍima, the author of Sāḷuvābhyudayamu treated the defeat of Kaṅṭamarāju Tammarāya, the Oriya governor of the fort of Udayagiri, as the defeat of Kapleswara Gajapathi.

31. *Nellore district inscriptions*, III, U. 28-29.
32. *Sources*, pp. 90-102.
33. Burhan-i-Masir, I.A. XXVIII, p. 288.
Briggs: Ferishta, II, p. 499.

ed by the sultan with a huge force dethroned Purushōthama and placed Hamvīra on the throne. But ultimately Purushōthama defeated Hamvīra and forced him to bow before his feet. When Purushōthama Gajapathi wanted to establish his authority in the Krishna-Godavari delta, he was checked by Muhammad Shāh II who forced him to conclude a treaty of peace. Muhammad Shāh II got into his hands the fort and kingdom of Rajahmundry. At this time Sāḷuva Narasiṁha who made himself master of the east coast upto Godavari incited the zamindars on the Bahmani frontier to rebel.[34] Muhammad Shāh II entrusted the government of Rajahmundry to Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahry and Azām Khān and marched against Narasiṁha. First he marched against Koṅḍavīḍu the inhabitants of which country rebelled against him and transferred their allegiance to Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. When the people expressed their regret the sultan pardoned them. From Koṅḍavīḍu the sultan proceeded against Conjeevaram in Saka 1403. According to Tabaqua-i-Akbari,[35] the sultan on his way stayed at Nilawara (Nellore) which stands on the direct route from Koṅḍavīḍu to Conjeevaram. The muslim army on the way back was defeated at Kaṅdukūru by Īśwaranāyaka, a general of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha.[36]

The sultan planned a double attack against Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. He led an expedition personally against Masulipatam and its neighbourhood which was included in the domains of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. Secondly Yusuf Adil Khān and Fakr-ul-Mulk were despatched with an army of 15,000 troops towards Penugoṅḍa. The sultan reduced Masulipatam with all the dependent country and returned to Koṅḍapalli.[37] Ferishta says nothing about what happened to the two generals sent by the sultan. According to Sāḷuvābyudayamu the fort of Penugoṅḍa was attacked by the combined armies of a Sabara chief and a Turushka king. Further it is stated that Narasimha who paid a visit to a sage inhabiting the Kuluvakāla proceeded from that place with his elephant force (Nagamaṅḍaḷa) to Penugoṅḍa with the object of taking that fort. When he approached that fort he was obstructed by the armies of the Sabara and the Turuskha kings. The Varāhapurānaṁu mentions Penugoṅḍa as one of the places captured by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha's general Isvara Nāyaka. The Jaimini Bhāratamu states that Narasiṁha destroyed the army of one Pikkillu (Fakr-ul-Mulk) and other enemies at Penugoṅḍa. The Muslim armies which laid siege to Penugoṅḍa were perhaps identical with the forces sent by Muhammad Shāh II under Fakr-ul-Mulk and Yusuf Adil Khān. The Muslim armies penetrated into the heart of the Vijayanagar empire but they were defeated and driven away by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha's general, Iswara Nāyaka.

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[34] Briggs: Ferishta, II, p. 499.

[35] *Ibid.*, III, p. 50.

[36] *Sources*, pp. 89 and 106; K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar commemoration volume, pp. 312-13.

[37] Briggs: Ferishta, II, p. 501.

After returning from Kanchi the sultan executed Gawān in Saka 1403 and he himself died at Bidar in Saka 1404. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was thus lucky for the moment. Virūpāksha II was murdered in Saka 1407 by his eldest son, who however did not like to come to the throne. His younger brother, Padaerao, was crowned but he too turned out to be a profligate.

Sāḷuva Narasiṁha successfully usurped the throne and became the emperor but it took all his energy to establish the stability of the empire. In trying to enforce his authority Sāḷuva Narasiṁha came into conflict with the Amaranāyakās. "He took the territories from whomsoever had contrary to right taken from the king....and he regained all the lands which the king, his predecessor lost."[38] The nobles rebelled against Sāḷuva Narasiṁha when their vested interests were touched. Of the nobles who tried to defy his authority, the Sambeṭa chiefs of Peranipāḍu, in the Udayagirirājya are the most important.

The Sambeṭas belonged to an important kshatriya clan in the Gaṅḍikōṭa sīmā of the Udayagirirājya and held Nāyaṅkara fiefs under the Vijayanagar emperors. They were under the control of the governor of Udayagiri and also the commandant of the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa. An important branch of the family established itself at Peraṇipāḍu in the Puliveṅdala taluk of the Cuddapah district. Sōṁadēva and his son, Pinnaya, two important chiefs of the family, rose to prominence under Dēvarāya II. The former whom Dēvarāya II placed in charge of the fort of Koṅḍavīḍu about Saka 1354 came into conflict with the Velamās, as noticed already. Anapōta and his cousin Liṅga I vanquished Sōmadēva and Pinnaya respectively. Pinnaya had two sons Gōpalrāja and Sivarāja. Gopalrāja who was a subordinate of Mallikārjuna was ruling his family estates about Saka 1482.[39] He was succeeded by his brother Sivarāja. Taking advantage of the disturbances at Vijayanagara just after the accession of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha the Saṁbeṭa chief Sivarāja, in defiance of royal authority, collected, in the sīmās in the neighbourhood of his own Nāyaṅkara fief, taxes which he appropriated for himself. Further one of his relatives, Vīra Narasiṁha Saṁbeṭa, rose up in rebellion, plundered the neighbouring country and waylaid the merchants and the travellers passing along the highway. As soon as news of the rebellion reached Vijayanagara, Sāḷuva Narasiṁha despatched one of his courtiers, Vaṅkara Kumāra Dhūḷi Basivi-Nāyuḍu against Vīranarasiṁha and proceeded himself against Sivarāja. Dhūḷi Basivi Nāyuḍu in obedience to the royal command left Vijayanagara with all his retinue and arrived at Kamalāpuram which he made his headquarters. He advanced upon Maddi Guṅḍāla and after a fight with the followers of Vīra Narasiṁharāja, captured it. Vīranarasiṁha fled to Udayagiri. Dhūḷi Basivi Nāyuḍu returned to Kamalāpuram and devoted his time in keeping guard over the great road and the villages in its vicinity.[40] Sāḷuva Narasiṁha reached Peraṇipāḍu, twenty miles to the north of Cuddapah took the fort by assault and levelled the palaces to the ground. Some of the defenders of the fort sought safety in flight; whereas the rest together with the families of the chiefs including the young and the old perished at the hands of the enemy.[41]

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[38] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 307.

An important principality near Siddhavaṭṭam rose during the period of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. When Mallikhārjunarāya was ruling at Vijayanagara, Saṁbeṭa Veṅkaṭarāja who was a descendant of Saṁbeṭa Koṅḍarāju, an officer in the service of Nalla Siddhi Cōla Mahārāja of Nellore, rose to power and established his authority over some villages of the Siddhavaṭṭam taluk. When Sāḷuva Narasiṁha came to the throne, Guravarāja, son of Saṁbeṭa Venkaṭarāja, built a fort at Mācupalli, a village situated at a distance of four miles to the south-west of Siddhavaṭṭam and making it his residence ruled the country in the neighbourhood.[42]

Another individual who raised the standard of rebellion against the Sāḷuva king was the chief of Bommāvaram, by name Sāḷuva

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[39] *Local Records* 18, Jillēḷḷa, p. 34.

[40] Kaifiyat of Paṭṭuṁpālem, *Local Records* 9, pp. 248-49.

[41] Kaifiyat of Peraṇipāḍu, *Local Records* 5, pp. 131-32.

[42] Kaifiyat of Siddhavaṭṭam, *Local Records* 9, p. 275.

Mallidēvarāja. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha marched at the head of his army and laid siege to Bommāvaram. He caused a battery to be erected and opened fire on the walls of the fort which were destroyed in a short time. The inhabitants including women and children committed suicide by drowning themselves in a tank in front of the palace. Narasiṁhadēva Mahārāya had the fort and the palace destroyed and marched his army to Udayagiri. Owing to the disturbances caused by this war and the pillage of the countryside, the citizens of that town deserted and migrated to other places. As a consequence of this, the village fell into ruin.[43]

This rebellion occurred before Purushōthama Gajapathi's attack upon Udayagiri. On his way to Udayagiri, Sāḷuva Narasiṁha appears to have defeated this Chief. The circumstances leading to the Gajapati occupation of the fort of Udayagiri during the latter part of the reign of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha may be narrated briefly as follows. After Muhammad Shāh II, his son Mahmud II came to the throne in Saka 1404. He was not an able ruler and hence Purushōthama Gajapathi who succeeded Kapilēswara Gajapathi to the kingdom of Orissa wanted to recover the Godavari delta from the Mussalmans. He appears to have attacked Rajahmundry in or about Saka 1409. Purushōthama's hold over the Godavari delta is proved by the provenance of his inscriptions in that area. A damaged copper plate from the Godavari district dated in Saka 1411 which records Purushōthama's gift of the village of Gaṅṭi to Brahmins shows that the Godavari valley had passed into his hands sometime before that date.[44] Purushōthama crossed the Godavari and invaded the Koṅḍavīḍu country. An epigraph at Koṅḍavīḍu dated Saka 1417 records the king's edict abolishing the marriage tax which the people of the eighteen sects had to pay in Koṅḍavīḍu and Koṅḍravāḍi and all other countries.[45] A copper plate grant of Saka 1417 records the king's gift of Pōlavaraṁ in the Ammanabrōli Sīma to the temple of Lingōdbhava Mahādēva of Cadaluvāḍa on the banks of the Brahmaguṅḍi (Guṇḍlakamma).[46] From these epigraphs it is clear that Purushōthama effected the conquest of all the area north of the river Guṇḍlakamma before Saka 1411. Koṅḍaviḍu fell into his hands. The fall of Koṅḍavīḍu into the hands of the Gajapathi was only a prelude to the capture of the fort of Udayagiri. Since it was regarded as the chief fort or the first fort of the Rāya of Vijayanagara, Purushōthama wanted to capture it. Its loss would be a blow to the political prestige of the Rāya of Vijayanagara.

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[43] Kaifiyat of Bommāvaram, *Local Records* 17, pp. 142-43.
[44] *M.E.R.* 1900, Part II, para 65.
[45] *Local Records*, Koṅḍavīḍu, pp. 323-4.
[46] *E.I.* XIII, p. 155.

The information regarding the capture of the fort of Udayagiri is to be found in the *Saraswativilāsam* of Pratāpa Rudra Gajapathi. According to that work Purushōthama Gajapathi made the Karṇāṭa king Narasiṁha a prisoner of war and again released him when, with plaintive words, he acknowledged submission: he also compelled the great foe, Hamvīra, to bow before the foot stool of his lotus feet.[47] The Anaṅtavaraṁ copper plates also give us valuable information about this incident. Purushōthama Gajapathi struck terror into the hearts of his enemies and Narasiṁha, the king of the Karnāṭa country, surrendered Udayagiri out of fear and thus released himself.[48] From the records it appears that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha who came to defend the fort of Udayagiri was defeated by the Gajapathi and taken captive and later on released on offering submission. He concluded a treaty of peace with Purushōthama Gajapathi by ceding the fort of Udayagiri and its dependent territory. The information supplied by inscriptions is also corroborated by Nuniz. According to him Udayagiri was one of the three forts which rebelled against Sāḷuva Narasiṁha and which he could not take back owing to want of time.[49] Struck deep with remorse at the loss of the chief fort of the empire, Sāḷuva Narasiṁha breathed his last in or sometime after Saka 1412.[50] On his death bed Sāḷuva Narasiṁha requested his successors to capture the forts of "Rachol and Odegary and Conadolgi" with their dependent territories which he could not subdue "because time failed him".[51]

Udayagiri remained in the hands of the Gajapathi upto Saka 1436 when the Oriyas were driven away by Krishnadēvarāya from all the territory south of the river Krishna.

[47] Adyar Library, Mss. XXX, L. 14.

[48] Āṅdhra Patrika, Ugādi Saṅchika, 1928-29, pp. 175-76.

[49] F.E., pp. 307 and 308.

[50] Sāḷuva Narasimha's latest inscription (*Epi. Call.* No. 269 of 1931-32) is dated 14th October 1490 A.D. The earliest inscription of his son Immadi Narasimha is dated 28th November 1491 A.D. (Mac. Mss. 15-4-30, p. 234). So it may be concluded that he died sometime between these two dates.

[51] F.E., p. 316.

Some Observations on the Bhitari Inscription of Skandagupta

BY

B. CH. CHHABRA

Scholars interested in Indian epigraphy may be aware that John Faithfull Fleet's masterly publication on the Gupta inscriptions (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. III, Calcutta, 1888) had for years been under a thorough revision by that doyen among Indologists of the past generation, Prof. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who unfortunately passed away without seeing the results of his labours appear in print. He almost completed his assignment; but his failing health prevented him from putting the last touches to his work. Shortly before he breathed his last, he had entrusted the entire material, comprising rough typescripts, to me for editing. I am still busy on that material and hope to accomplish the task before long.

It has been an exhilarating experience for me to restudy the Gupta inscriptions in this fashion, because at places, where the original texts are either blurred beyond recognition or altogether destroyed and missing, correct readings have often been supplied, in flashes of inspiration, so to say, by the sub-conscious mind as a result of intensely brooding over the problem. The pains taken in such cases are thus more than amply rewarded.

Here I wish to present, by way of illustration, just two instances of this type of restoration. They are both from the Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta. This epigraph, being sorely damaged, presents many a hard nut to crack, so far as its text is concerned. The reader may be familiar with Fleet's much debated reading *Pushyamitrāṁś=cha jitvā*[1] of Verse 4, in line 11, many other scholars, including Bhandarkar, preferring to read instead *yudhy=amitrāṁś=cha jitvā.*

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[1] CII, Vol. III, p. 54.

Well, the first of the two instances where, I believe, it has been possible for me to restore the original and correct readings, is Fleet's

> *gītaiś = cha stutibhiś=cha vandaka-ja* (?) *nō* (?)
> *yaṁ prā̀* (?) *payaty=āryyatām*

This constitutes the fourth quarter of Verse 7, in line 15. Bhandarkar reads it as

> *gītaiś = cha stutibhiś = cha vṛitta-kathanaṁ*
> *yaṁ* [*prā*] *payaty = āryyatām*

In other words, it is the reading of syllables 8 to 14 that is uncertain or doubtful. According to Fleet they would read *vandaka-janō yaṁ prā,* while Bhandarkar would read them as *vṛitta-kathanaṁ yaṁ prā.*

It may be pointed out here that the verse in which the said words occur forms part of the praiseful description of the Gupta Emperor, Skandagupta. Bhandarkar's translation thereof naturally differs from that of Fleet, which reads:

> "whom the bards raise to distinction with (*their*) songs and praises."[2]

Bhandarkar's translation, on the other hand, conforming to his reading, runs as follows:

> "whom the narration of (*his*) mode of life,
> whether with songs or with panegyrics, is
> raising to the dignity of an Ārya."

Considering that the subsequent stanza, i.e. Verse 8 of the text, speaks of Skandagupta's victory over the Hūṇas in a pitched battle, Bhandarkar's rendering of the term *āryatā,* about the reading of which there is no doubt, by 'the dignity of an Ārya' instead of by mere 'distinction' as Fleet has done, is no doubt brilliant and most acceptable, bringing out as it does the implied contrast between the nobility of the Aryans and the barbarity of the Hūṇas. For the rest, however, neither his reading nor his interpretation is in any way an improvement on Fleet's. There still remains something that does not chime well with the rest. The wording in either of the two readings sounds out of tune with the Sanskrit idiom. It is to be expected that the author of the present royal *praśasti* was a good Sanskrit scholar. In fact, he appears to be a court poet of some standing. As such, he surely would not have resorted to such a clumsy construction as *vandaka-janō* (or *vṛitta-kathanaṁ*) *yaṁ prāpayaty=āryyatām*. This uneasy doubt kept troubling my mind until at a given moment the solution dawned upon me:—the true reading is:

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

vandaka-janair=yaḥ khyāpayaty=āryyatām

This squared with everything. It fits in well with the context; and there is no longer any ungainliness of expression. The little difference has made a big difference. The full line of the verse may now be rendered something as follows:

> 'who is having the excellence of Aryan culture spread broadcast by the minstrels through their ballads and panegyrics.'

A word to justify the suggested reading. Fleet, I imagine, had a better estampage of the inscription at his disposal to work on. He was not very sure of the reading of only three syllables: *ja nō prā*. As for *yaṁ* after *nō*, about the reading of which he seems to have no doubt at all, we shall presently see. His reading of *ja* now stands confirmed. That of *nō* is to be altered into *nai*, followed by what he reads *yaṁ* but what is most probably to be read as *rya*; the sign over *ya* is thus to be taken as that of a superscript *r* and not as that of an *anusvāra*. From the facsimile plate of the inscription accompanying Fleet's edition, it cannot be ascertained whether the syllable in question is simply *rya* or whether it is *ryya*, nor can we see on the plate the sign of a *visarga* that should follow this *rya* or *ryya* in our reading. It has, I fancy, been changed into *jihvāmūlīya* before *kh* of what we have read *khyā* instead of *prā* of Fleet and Bhandarkar. Experts in Indian epigraphy know the peculiar sign of *jihvāmūlīya* as also the way it is attached to the following letter. All these points as well as many an another one concerning this record will, I hope, be cleared on an examination of the original on the spot, which is on my programme.

Come we now to the second instance. This concerns the first three syllables of Verse 10, in line 17. Only faint traces of them are to be seen now since that part of the inscription is badly mutilated. The one thing that is certain here is that the last of these three letters has a subscript *y*. Fleet has conjecturally restored the missing text here by reading it as *karttayyā*. Bhandarkar practically follows him by reading it as *prakāryyā*.

The complete verse as restored by Fleet reads:

> [*Karttavyā*] *pratimā kāchit=pratimāṁ tasya Śārṅgiṇaḥ* [|]
> *s*[*u*]*pratītaś=chakār=ēmāṁ y* [*āvad=ā-chandra-tārakam*]
> [||]

Here again the construction sounded a bit odd to me, with *karttavyā* or *prakāryyā* in the beginning and the word *pratimā* used twice. I kept contemplating until suddenly I thought of the oft-quoted Vedic passage *na tasya pratimā asti yasya nāma mahad yaśaḥ*,[3] and the problem was solved: our poet obviously had this in mind and reminds us of it when he says:

> [*Na yasya*] *pratimā kāchit=*, etc.

The blank is thus to be filled by *na yasya*, and not by *karttavyā* or the like. And that is, I think, the intended and correct reading. The poet is playing a pun upon *pratimā*, by double entendre 'an equal' and 'an image'.

The verse now runs smooth, and there is no longer any awkwardness about the expression. It records the construction of an image of the god Śārṅgin by Skandagupta after his victory. There are a few more points of minor importance, which, we may consider before turning to the interpretation of the *ślōka*.

Bhandarkar agrees with Fleet in restoring the first letter of the third *pāda* as *su*, but translates the word *supratītaḥ* differently. Besides, he rejects Fleet's conjectural reading of the fourth *pāda*.[4]

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[3] Cf. the *Śukla-Yajurvēda-saṁhitā*, XXXII, 3; and its translation by Ralph T. H. Griffith, *The Texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares, 1927, p. 314, "There is no counterpart of him whose glory verily is great." This occurs in the description of the Brahman or Purusha, identical with Purushōttama or Vishṇu.

[4] He rightly observes that if *yāvad* is used, *ā* is superfluous. Moreover, a formula like *ā-chandra-tārakam* is more appropriate to, and is usually associated with, land-grants.

The way Fleet has given s[*u*]shows that he is not sure of the existence of the subscript sign of the medial *u*, attached to *s*, on the original. Nor is this clear on the published facsimile. We are thus left with the alternative reading of the syllable as a simple *sa*, a pronoun, followed by the simple adjective, *pratītaḥ*, without the preposition *su* prefixed to it.

Let us now see as to how the three quarters of the verse are translated.

"(*Saying to himself that*) an image of some kind or other [should be made], he, the very clebrated one, made this image of that (*famous*) (god) Śārṅgin, ..."[5]—Fleet.

"Firmly convinced that some image [should be made], he made this image of Śārṅgin (Vishṇu)."—Bhandarkar.

It may be observed that both the scholars employ the word 'he' in their translations, though they do not read any word for it in the original text. The *sa* that could answer to it has been taken by them for *su*, rendered as 'very' by Fleet and as 'firmly' by Bhandarkar. True, in Sanskrit a nominative or the subject of the verb can be and is often UNDERSTOOD; but in the present instance, the context requires that it should be EXPRESSED, as is the case in the next two verses (Verses 11 and 12), *sa* in one and *asau* in the other.

We have also seen that Bhandarkar takes *pratīta* in the sense of 'convinced', while Fleet took it to mean 'celebrated.' I think, Fleet is nearer the mark here. As a matter of fact, the word has a classical flavour about it[6] and is evidently used here in its various shades of meaning, such as 'respectful,' 'known,' 'delighted,' and 'celebrated.'[7] We know that Skandagupta was a devotee of Vishṇu. As such, he must have ascribed his victory to His grace. And it must have been out of his reverence and gratefulness to Him that he installed an idol of Him. It may well be imagined, therefore, that a commingling of all such sentiments and qualities as gratitude, gratification, respect, reverence, popularity, joy, fame and what not is intended to be expressed by one small word *pratīta,* and one cannot but admire the sagacity of the poet-author of the present *praśasti* for his choice of the diction.

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[5] *CII*, Vol. III, p. 56.

[6] Kālidāsa uses it in the sense of 'delighted' in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, III, 12: *patiḥ pratītaḥ prasav-ōnmukhīṁ priyām*; etc.

[7] According to the *Amarakōśa*, the word means 'famous' and 'glad' (*khyātē hṛishṭē pratītaḥ*). The *Mēdinīkōśa*, however, ascribes to it the above-mentioned four meanings (*pratītaḥ s-ādarē jñātē hṛishṭa-prakhyātayōs = trishu*).

With this background, we may render the extant part of the stanza something like:

"He, being pleased, made a *pratimā* (image) of that Śārṅgin who has no *pratimā* (equal) whatsoever."

'He who has no *pratimā*' may further be explained. It is the same as the Brahman of the Vēdāntins, described as *ēkam=ēv=ādvitīyam.* 'One alone without a second.' The Bhāgavatas or Vaishṇavas apply the same attribute to the Lord Vishṇu, among whose thousand names one is *Amūrti* ('One without a counterpart,' 'One without a form')[8] which comes to the same thing as *Apratima.* The *Vishṇusahasranāma,* in fact, showers all kinds of epithets on the Supreme Divinity, some of which in appearance are self-contradictory, such *Amūrtiman* and *Śatamurti* ('Formless' and 'Hundred-form').[9]

The foregoing disquisition may have removed the misgivings, if there were any, about the proficiency of the composer of the Bhitari *praśasti.* He appears to have been a poet of a high order, and not a mere versifier. I have had occasion to say more about him in another paper, entitled Beauties of the Bhitari Inscription.

Finally, I wish to record here that the textual restorations offered here actually occurred to me at Nalanda in February 1962 in the course of a discussion with Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of Patna Division. It so happened that both of us were camping there at that time. He had invited me to discuss with him the Bhitari inscription with a view to solving the lingering doubts about certain readings therein. Mr. Sohoni had been visiting my office in New Delhi and had on one occasion consulted also Dr. Bhandarkar's typescript material with me, specially on the same Bhitari inscription. He has been taking a lot of interest in the revision of the Gupta inscriptions as also in ancient Indian coins in general and in Gupta coins in particular. He had once discussed the so-called Apratigha Type of gold coins of Chandragupta II with Mr. C. Sivaramamurti and myself, though with inconclusive results. His enthusiasm about these matters in the midst of his multifarious official duties is admirable indeed. His invitation to me to visit Bhitari and the neighbourhood for examining stone inscriptions *in situ* still stands.

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[8] Cf. the *Vishṇusahasranāma,* verse 89: '*Amūrtir=Anaghō='* *Chintyō,* etc., 'Formless,' 'Flawless,' 'Incomprehensible,' etc.

[9] *Ibid.,* v. 77:

Viśvamūrtir=Mahāmūrtir=
Dīptamūrtir=Amūrtimān |
Anēkamūrtir=Avyaktaḥ
Śatamūrtiḥ Śatānanaḥ ||

Reviews

STUDIES IN INDOLOGY, Vol. III (Ancient Indian coins) by V. V. Mirashi. Nagpur University Research Series No. 1 Nagpur, 1962. Pp. xvi and 167. Eight plates. Index. Price Rs. 12/-.

Scholars would welcome this handy volume which brings together thirty-two articles including the Presidential Address (delivered in 1951 to the Numismatic Society of India by the veteran Indologist Mahamahopadhyaya V.V. Mirashi.) Most of these articles appeared originally in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India during the last twenty-five years and more. They shed much welcome light on the early history of the Deccan and Central India with particular reference to the Sātavāhanas and Nalas. The discovery of a Śaka dynasty in the south Deccan established by the Māna Mahisha who held the post of Mahāsenāpati perhaps under the Sātavāhanas is very interesting, and there are also many significant suggestions for future work on this and other local dynasties. Mirashi, it may be noted, is definitely of the view that the Sātavāhana power rose, not in the first century B.C. as has been recently contended but soon after the death of Aśoka.

There are a number of minor misprints which one does not expect to find in a publication under the auspices of a well established university.

K. A. N.

KINGSHIP AND COMMUNITY IN EARLY INDIA: Charles Drekmeier, Stanford University Press, and Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1962. Pp. xvi and 369. Map, Appendix on the Mudrārākshasa, Indic word list, Chronological Guide, Notes, Bibliography, Index. Price Rs. 25/-.

Mr. Drekmeier is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Stanford University, U.S.A. He spent a year of study in India as a Fulbright scholar and submitted an earlier version of this study as a dissertation to Harvard University several years ago. In its present form the book is a thoughtful study in an original and penetrating appraisal of early Indian political thought. "In this study', says Drekmeier in his preface, 'I have enlisted the aid of psychology and the social sciences in an attempt to indicate something about the non-rational and symbolic experience of a civilization emerging from a tribal culture and experimenting with several forms of social coordination', and adds rather apologetically: 'This approach may not find favour with Sanskritists and Indologists' and cites E. R. Dodds to say 'that if we should get beyond the mere description of events and external behaviour we must use what light is available to us, and that a diffused or unsteady light is superior to none at all,' (viii). At least one reader of his book with a little claim to be classed among 'Sanskritists and Indologists' would assure Mr. Drekmeier that though he may not accept all the propositions put forward in the book, he has found its new approach to these old problems quite suggestive and refreshing.

The objective of the book Mr. Drekmeier explains thus: 'The impression of a mindless, jewel-bedecked despotism colours the picture of the ancient East in many Western minds. This book is intended to correct that image'. The book comprises four parts: the first is introductory and has two chapters on the study of Indian polity and Vedic civilization. The second, perhaps the most original section of the book, contains five chapters under the general caption: The Decline of Tribal Culture and the Emergence of the Two Powers, to this we shall come back presently. The last, part four, discusses the Authority of the king, and Policy and Diffusion of Power in two chapters and is followed by the last chapter (16) called conclusions.

Large sections of Part III: 'The Ascendancy of Royal Authority and the Great Age of Hindu Theory' are given to a systematic exposition, fairly close to already established and well-known lines, of the rationale of ancient Indian political organization and the theory underlying it. A running review of the political literature of ancient India accompanies the exposition. 'The extent to which religion, law in its several forms, and political speculation were interwoven and served to reinforce one another' (295) is fully revealed, and it is shown that 'in Hindu political speculation, duty occupies the central position that in European thought belongs to conceptions of natural rights and freedom' (297). 'We are justified in saying that civil obligation rather than civil right formed the basis of the relation of state and subject' (*ibid*). Yet, 'Hindu political thought does share with the natural rights theory the idea of contract and the belief that power must be limited' (ibid.) The Hindu king never enjoyed the immunities that accompanied the European concept of the divine right of kings... Rather than 'divine right' we must speak of 'divine obligation', the duty of the King to protect the social order. Many passages that appear to glorify the King are in fact reminders of the duties implied in his office' (250). 'The functions of the king, and the king himself, are usually equated with the gods' (251). 'We never find the idea that the ruler is accountable only to God' (252).

The social organization of the historical period evokes a correct and shrewd estimate from the author. 'The caste system—the fundamental sociological context of Hindu polity—aimed at providing the individual with a milieu of like minds in which to fulfil the obligations of his social station. There is, in Brahmanical theory, the rationale of status in terms of character, and we are told that before the fall from grace all men were brahmans.... The peculiar distribution of wealth, fighting power and intellectual eminence obstructed the growth of the type of aristocracy common to many ancient societies. The power of the brahman class was due more to its control over culture than to its material position or its influence exercised through the ministers' (299). Alexis de Tocqueville is cited (p. 293 note *m*): 'Brahmanism is at the same time the most absorptive and the most tolerant religion; and it is pointed out that such hospitality has been India's strength as well as her undoing. Respect for and delight in differences are still the charm of India' (293).

The caste system, the autonomous villages and guilds, and Hindu tradition generally necessitated an administrative decentralization which while it served as 'certainly the most significant practical check on monarchical power' also served as an invitation to the foreign invader. This aspect of India's history is neatly summed up in one sentence: 'Although India was unable to achieve a stable and enduring political unity, she constructed an effective and viable cultural unity and survives where vast empires, possesssing a political but not a cultural cohesion have disappeared' (271). The point is also made that the pluralism of Indian society, 'the multiplicity of social organizations through which the individual realized his ends implied no restriction on the sovereignty of the state...

Modern democratic pluralist thought as represented by Figgis and Cole and by Laski in his early writings, reflects a distrust of the state that was not present in ancient (Indian) thought' (269).

We may now turn to the second, and in my view, the most crucial part of the book. Its thesis is that the decline of the Vedic tribal culture was followed by the emergence of the territorial state with its two powers, Brahma and Kshatra and its apparatus of exploitation; and that Kautalya—the form of the name preferred by the author—was the theorist who most clearly saw the need for expanded state activity to fill the ever widening gaps left by the declining authority of tradition (260). The conscious purpose here attributed to Kautalya may be doubted; in the opinion of the reviewer, Kautalya was also a traditionalist and the line of his pragmatic thought was influenced by the practice and precedents of the Achaemenid empire and the contemporary Hellenistic states. But there is more substance in the view that 'by the sixth century B.C. the ideal of tribal "community" in which all shared in a system of mutual services had succumbed to a scheme of exploitation in which the lower classes were made to serve the interests of the upper orders of society' (93). The process of change was slow and had not ended even in Buddha's life time; 'though the tribal basis of Shakyan polity was still apparent at the time of Gautama's birth, a territorial basis had begun to emerge' (94). The sacerdotium (brahma) and regnum (kshatra) had emerged much earlier though they continued in a fluid state for long. 'There is no indication that membership in the brahman class was originally confined to the offspiring of brahmans. At first knowledge and conduct, rather than birth, may have been the determining factors' (80). But the relation between *brahma* and *kshatra* and between these on the one side and the common people on the other had been more or less settled; the brahman was not subject to the temporal authority, but brahman cooperation with the political class would aid the realization of the aims of both (32). The purohita shared the governing function with the king... The sacrifice of the king is not accepted by the gods if the king has no purohita. The situation tended to prevent irresponsible tyranny on the one hand, and thoroughgoing theocracy or the other' (33). 'Power is granted to the king, who provides the negative function of protection, and to the priest, who fulfils the positive function of providing advice and interpreting the moral law' (36).

The emergence in this period of new salvation religions of which Buddhism was the chief is sought to be explained in a new and ingenious way that will demand critical scrutiny before being accepted. Tribal values and institutions were waning and new forms of economic production and political organization were coming up. The hierarchical social organization of the caste system was still in the future, and in the meantime the individual began 'to sense a loneliness and potence' he had not known before, and this 'tormenting uneasiness' was turned to positive ends by the new salvation religions (106). We cannot pursue this fascinating speculation here, but may note in passing the author's estimates of Dhamma and Dharma: 'The Buddhist conception of Dhamma connotes the supreme principle of righteousness. It is closer to western conceptions of virtue than is the Brahmanical dharma, which has a more legal tone and is tied to the maintenance of class prerogatives' (110). But to a Hindu like the present reviewer the Hindu concept of Dharma is the more comprehensive one with many nuances of which Dhamma is just an important facet.

Among other notable suggestions made by the way may be mentioned the suggestion that the *parishad* being linked with Śiva and Skanda may be in origin a pre-Aryan institution (54); that election in vedic references must be taken to refer to popular acclamation of individuals who possessed personal or gentile charisms (83); that praja standing at once for children and subjects suggests the inherent paternalism of the Indian state (225). Reincarnation is traced to Central Asian Shamanism (125); the Aśoka edict on Rājūka's powers is taken to be the starting point of disruption of the empire (178)—a very doubtful suggestion. To seek to find the prototype of Vena in Buddhist Aśoka (243 *n*) is rather fantastic and so too is the suggestion that the emphasis on divine nature of the king was an attempt to disguise the humble origins of Dravidian (Śūdra) kings (p. 252 *n* 1).

K. A. N.

SELECTIONS FROM THE INDIAN JOURNALS. Vol. I. Calcutta Journal compiled by Satyajit Das. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1963, pp. xvi ald 376.

It is an excellent idea to make old periodicals easily accessible in handy reprints to the scholars in search of 'sources' of modern

Indian history, and the projected series of volumes, of which the volume under review is the first on the period 1818-57 will be widely welcomed. The selections are arranged chronologically, and there is much force in S. C. Sarkar's statement on this subject in the prefatory note he contributes; 'It is usual for selections from journals to be arranged topically under appropriate divisions. With great deliberation, however, it was decided in the present case to mass the material chronologically, issue after issue as they were actually read by contemporaries. This conjures up a total picture of a journal and faithfully represents its impact on the public mind of the day.'. The choice of the *Calcutta journal* and its editor James Silk Buckingham to begin with was inevitable for they hold a unique place in the history of Indian journalism. The present instalment of selections ranges from Sep. 22, 1818 to 31st October, 1819. We hope a good topical index will be added at the end of the selections from each journal, and eventually to the whole collection in the series. We congratulate the author and the publisher on this excellent enterprise and hope it will get enough public support for its bing continued till the main periodicals of the period chosen find a coverage.

K. A. N.

NANA SAHEB AND THE RISING AT CAWNPORE by Pratul Chandra Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Jadavpur University, Calcutta. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1963, pages xii and 227, map, illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. Price 30 s. net.

Over twenty years ago Mr. P. C. Gupta published his study of *Baji Rao II and the East India Company*. The present work relates to his adopted son, Nana Saheb and the part played in the rising of 1857. Nana Saheb's personal habits and affiliations are studied in detail with the aid of available records, and his relations to the English and mutineers unravelled with minute care. There is no major shift in the outlines of the story as we have known it, but the documentation is precise and all sides of the case are presented with equal objectivity on every point that comes under discussion. On the vexed question of the Nana's responsibility for the massacre at the Satichaura Ghat. the author's moderate conclusion is: 'Undoubtedly Nana Saheb was very much dominated by his advisers and had hardly the power to go against the wishes of his troops, but it is difficult to see how he can be absolved from responsibility' (120). The mystery that surrounds the end of Nana Saheb has advanced no nearer solution by the researches of Dr. Gupta. "The reader", he says, "may easily be tempted to believe that Nana Saheb was actually seen at Rajkot in 1895," as Lander so ably describes him "old, discredited, half witted....still claiming the horrible honour of being himself." It would have been a more fitting end to his strange career. The historian has his limitations and is tied down to his facts. But it is a comforting thought that sometimes Clio takes a hand and writes a story beyond the scope of the chronicler of facts.

K. A. N.

HINDU COLONIES, IN THE FAR EAST by R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1963, Pages XIV and 280. Map, 25 plates, Index.

This is a second revised edition of a handy popular account of Indian Colonization of the East and its consequences, first published in 1944. The learned author says in the preface to this edition: 'A comparison of this edition with the first will show the advances made in the study of this subject during the last sixteen years. Many dates and sequences of events have been corrected, and a great deal of new information has been added. All these have been taken into consideration in preparing this new edition. I have spared no pains to make it an up-to-date account of the history and culture of the ancient Hindu colonies in the Far East without modifying the original plan. Some illustrations in the first edition have been omitted, and new ones have been added, the total number of plates being increased by five.'

K. A. N.

INDIAN ARMED FORCES YEAR BOOK, 1961-62, edited by Jaswant Singh, Maneckji Wadia Building, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay-1. Price Rs. 20/-.

The world is yet to be free from the threat of an all destructive war. On the background of the Chinese menace, this publication is bound to evoke considerable interest as containing a lot of reference material on military matters.

The book is divided into seven parts. It briefly explains the meaning, purpose and principles of war as recognised and adopted from time to time by Sun Tzu, Jomini, Clausuritz, Henderson, Foch, Montgomery and others. It gives an account of the ancient wars, the cavalry era and its decline, long-range warfare and the revolutionary changes caused by the invention of gun powder. With the Industrial Revolution, man emerged from his caterpillar stage to rise like a "mechanised dragon, into a hitherto undreamt of industrial empyrean". After tracing the history of land warfare, the book next refers to the different phases of maritime strategy and the development from ancient times of the sea power and air power.

The latter part of the book deals particularly with the history of Armed Forces in India. The details regarding the organization and administration of Ministry of Defence, Army, Navy and Air Headquarters, Inter Service Organisation, Defence Production and the Second Line of defence including citizens' Armed Forces, Cadet Corps Organisation, Merchant Navy and Indian Red Cross Society and the various training institutions in India are particularly informative.

The publishers can legitimately be pround of the fact that it is the only publication of its kind in the country. They would have done well to indicate in detail the exact sources from which the material has been collected. The book ought to find a place in every library so that all citizens especially the youth may familiarise themselves with the problem of war and defence with special reference to our country.

P. K. K. Menon

DESPOTISM: A Pictorial History of Tyranny, Dagobert D. Runes. Philosophical Library, Inc., 15, East 40 Street, New York-16, N. Y. $12-50.

Centuries of human civilisation have gone by, yet the beast in man remains untamed; names, places and times have changed but the common man continues under the same old yoke.

This is the theme of the book, written in righteous indignation and with considerable bitterness of feeling. The learned author compels us to explore the dark avenues of history often ignored by writers who apparently pamper tyranny and crime simply because they have succeeded in the past.

He calls attention to the mutilated human dignity, to the victims rather than the beneficiaries of history. Caesars and Czars, Sultans and Pharaohs, Shahs and Shoguns have told the same story, down the ages. They tied loyalty to them with the ribbon of God and Law and let loose the orgy of annexation, devastation and doom to satisfy their lust for power. They spoke with the voice of Circe and set class against class and faith against faith. The book represents a cross-cut of the story of despotism that expressed and expresses itself through violence and mass murders, wars and annexations, inquisitions and slavery in myriad forms.

The author demands a new approach to the writing of history. Traditional history, he says, appears to be *de facto* recognition of evil deeds. We must not obscure the true facts of History but bare the lies of yesterday. We should not separate the facts of History from their ethical implications.

A tinge of despair is noticeable when the author states that the history of Law is the history of man's injustice to man. People write about God and His love but ignore the judicial evils of their own times. The Kings who made law are dead but the law is still with us. It is time, urges the author, to break the law of the past and weave the new law of tomorrow based on dignity and liberty rather than property and position; after all, a "basic segment" of man's essential being is the yearning for freedom. The book is a powerful plea for the recognition of freedom, peace and human dignity which begin where despotism ends.

Richly and beautifully illustrated and divided into thirty-four chapters, the book, written by a humanitarian, unfolds the continuous agony from which mankind suffered and attempts to put the heroes and conquerors into proper perspective. It does not accept the familiar abstract conclusions regarding mankind and the inevitability of events. We should, however, remember that in this imperfect world good is inseparably mixed with evil and that often, out of evil, comes good.

P. K. K. MENON

FIJI'S INDIAN MIGRANTS by K. L. Gillion, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1962, pp. XIX + 234.

INDIANS IN MALAYA: by George Netto, Singapore, 1961, pp. 100.

Dr. Gillion who is a Senior Lecturer in History in the University of Western Australia, hopes that his book on the history of Indian immigrant labour in the plantations of Fiji in the years 1874 to 1920 would help to meet a need in the published history of Fiji, but its subject matter directly concerns India as well, and as such would be of interest to Indian readers also.

Even before the cession of Fiji to Britain in 1874, the planters of that island had to supplement Fijian labour with labour brought on three year contracts from other Pacific islands. It was however, under Sir Arthur Gordon, the first Governor of Fiji, that indentured Indian labour was introduced in the sugar plantations of this region. Dr. Gillion gives a good descriptive account of the system of recruitment of labour from different parts of India, particularly from U.P., Punjab and Madras, the type of workers recruited, and the very unsatisfactory conditions in which they had to work in the plantations. The rigorous enforcement of the terms of the contract, the woeful lack of social and public health amenities and the bad and rough treatment at the hands of supervisors, reduced the life of the plantation workers to one of unmitigated toil, bitterness and suffering. The 'Coolies' were treated as outcastes and aliens and the Plantation Agents saw to it that the indentured labour community was kept segregated. They formed, therefore, an abandoned class of humanity in a foreign land.

However, the worst days of Indian indentured labour in Fiji were over by about the beginning of the present century. The emergence of a strong nationalist feeling in India, the changed attitude of the government, the great interest taken by Missionaries in the life and welfare of the Indian workers in the plantations and the denunciation of the system by patriots and humanitarians like Gokhale and C. F. Andrews contributed to the abandonment of this evil practice. Business and commercial interests in India drew attention to the fact that the export of labour from India aggravated the problem of labour scarcity in the country. Shipping difficulties in the First World War resulted in a rapid decline in the number of labour recruits sent out of India. And two years after the close of the War on the 1st of January 1920, the system was ended, and the last indentured labourers were freed.

While Indian labourers contributed to the development of the plantation industry in Fiji and to the enrichment of the island to some extent and of the planters to a much greater extent, yet they themselves benefited little. At 1 Sh. per day's work of 9 hours for an adult labourer, there was little margin left for saving. And after a service of ten years or so in the foreign country the average saving brought into his home-land by the labourer was no more than £ 24 in 1913, and in the case of the Madrasi plantation workers, it was very much less. Their experience in the sugar plantations was not availed of in their own country; nor did they bring back to their home-land any new ideas of farming or spirit of enterprise. On the other hand, the repatriates could not fit themselves in the social set up in their own land and little interest was taken by the government or the leaders of society in helping the repatriates to adjust themselves to the new social circumstances.

In a way complementary to Dr. Gillion's study of conditions of Indian labour in Fiji, is Mr. Netto's account of Indians in Malaya. India's trade and commercial relations with Malaya date as far back as the 7th Century B.C. The author makes a brief reference to these relations in the Hindu and Muslim periods in Indian History and deals with the developments subsequent to the British settlement of Penang in 1786 in greater detail. The chapter entitled "Builders of early straits Settlements" contains an interesting account of a little known fact, namely, the great work done by the Indian Convicts in reclaiming swamps, in making roads and constructing bridges and some magnificient buildings which are outstanding monuments of their workmanship. Although the record of Indian labour in Malaya is less depressing than that in Fiji, yet conditions of work and employment were far from satisfactory. Wages of Indian workers in the plantations were very low, lower than that received by their Malayan or Chinese counterparts; hours of work extended from 6 to 11 A.M. and from 1-30 to 5 P.M. with only a day's holiday in a year. Medical and health facilities were totally unsatisfactory and mortality rate among the workers was very high. It should however be remembered that the period to which this study relates is mostly since the close of the First World War i.e., subsequent to the abolition of indentured labour in Fiji, a time when national consciousness had been sufficiently awakened in India. Moreover, apart from the large number of plantation workers, there were and have been in Malaya a good number of Indians engaged in business, trade and the professions who have established a name and status in Malaya. The Indian labourers were therefore not altogether a lost and neglected tribe of foreigners. On the other hand, through the influence of Indian leaders and administrative officers, labour has been organised, and their position has been considerably strengthened in recent years. In short, the Indian community consisting of all ranks in society have formed an integral part of the political and economic life of the country to which they migrated.

Both the volumes under review are based on a careful study of official publications and records. The views of the authors are balanced and objective. The emphasis laid on the socio-economic aspect of the problem of indentured labour, which at its worst bordered on slavery, adds to the value of Dr. Gillion's book. The treatment of the subject by Mr. Netto is much briefer but he has succeeded in focussing attention on those facts and developments which have shaped the destiny of Indians in Malaya. An analysis of the problems of Indian labour cannot be complete unless such an analysis is extended to cover the life and fortunes of thousands of workers who have left their homeland to find employment in foreign countries. To an understanding of this aspect of the problem both Dr. Gillion and Mr. Netto have made a valuable contribution.

D. BRIGHT SINGH

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path,* Bombay.
3. *Asia Major.*
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala,* Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin,* Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India,* Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery.*
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library,* Madras.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* London.
10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Africa Studies,* London.
11. *The Ceylon Historical Journal.*
12. *Epigraphia Indica,* Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University,* Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review,* Patna.
15. *Indian Archives,* Delhi.
16. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Calcutta.
17. *Indian Review,* Madras.
18. *Indian Quarterly,* New Delhi.
19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,* Waltair.
20. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* Patna.
21. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Bombay.
22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,* Allahabad.
23. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India,* Bombay.
24. *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Baroda.
25. *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras.
26. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute,* Tirupati.
27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society,* Lucknow.
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay,* Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly,* New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society,* Bangalore.
31. *The Scottish Historical Review.*
32. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal,* Birmingham.
33. *University of Ceylon Review.*
34. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.*

XXVI INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

4th to 10th January, 1964

Press note:

At a recent meeting of the Organization Committee, XXVI session of the International Congress of Orientalists, it was finally decided to hold the XXVI session of the International Congress of Orientalists at New Delhi from 4th to 10th January, 1964. Prof. Humayun Kabir is the Chairman of the Organising Committee and Shri A. K. Ghosh and Prof. R. N. Dandekar are its Secretaries. The Congress is divided into 10 principal Sections—Egyptology, Semitic Studies, Hittite and Caucasian Studies, Altaic Studies including Turcology, Iranian Studies, Indology, South-East Asian Studies, East Asian Studies, Islamic Studies and African Studies. Thousands of scholars from India and abroad have been invited to participate in the Congress. Scholars wishing to register themselves as members may address the Joint Secretary, XXVI. International Congress of Orientalists, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi.

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Sir Henry Maine and the Government of India (1862-87)

BY

BRIAN C. SMITH

The work of Sir Henry Sumner Maine is best known to legal historians, anthropologists, and political theorists. His Ancient Law (1861) and the works that followed it[1] constitute an important contribution to the comparative study of early law and legal institutions, and his critique of Austinian jurisprudence stands out as one of the most fruitful examinations of that school of law.

However, seven years of Maine's life were spent in India, where he served as Law Member of the Governor General's Council from 1862 to 1869. The records of Maine's work as Law Member, extending over the final year of Lord Elgin's Viceroyalty, the whole of Lord Lawrence's, and the early part of Lord Mayo's, reveal both a keen interest in Indian affairs and an intimate awareness of the practical administrative problems arising in a rapidly changing society. Maine's involvement in Indian life extended to the field of education, and he held the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Calcutta from 1863 to 1867. Maine continued in the Indian service after his return to England, and in November, 1871 was made a member of the Council of the Secretary of State.

Maine's speeches and minutes to the Governor General's Council and his various writings on Indian affairs constitute an illuminating supplement to his social and political theories.[2] They reveal the influence that India was to have on the formulation of Maine's ideas on social and legal development. They expose the neglected activities of a man who not only made a great impression on the world of ideas, but who was, for part of his life, a public official, concerned with problems of practical administration. Finally, they illustrate some of the difficulties facing the British Administration in India during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

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[1] Village Communities in the East and West, 1871; The Early History of Institutions, 1875; Early Law and Custom, 1883.

[2] A collection of Maine's speeches and minutes relating to his work on the Governor General's Council, selected and edited by Whitley Stokes, are appended to Sir M. E. Grant Duff's 'Sir Henry Maine; A Brief Memoir of his Life', London, 1892.

Maine's conception of Indian Administration was governed by two basic principles, one scientific and one historical. The former demanded objectivity and an unprejudiced knowledge of Indian life and law. Maine always deplored the widespread ignorance of India in Britain, and this was partly because he placed so much value on Indian legal and anthropological evidence as an advocate of the comparative and historical method of enquiry. Maine was also concerned that this vital section of the Empire should be justly and efficiently governed and he saw an objective approach to the problems of Indian government, free of all dogmatic presuppositions, as a fundamental means to this end.

The historical, or social, principle upon which Maine acted demanded the avoidance of the arbitrary destruction of Indian customs and institutions. Maine believed in the possibility of a natural transition in India, whereby the best of India's ancient traditions are preserved and only the most beneficent of European institutions are introduced.

In advocating this policy Maine drew constantly upon his knowledge of archaic law and society. The resulting sound sense and applicability of his advice and judgements were widely acknowledged by Maine's colleagues on the Governor General's Council.

Over two hunded Acts were passed during Maine's period of office in India.[3] Maine himself was not trained in the drafting of legislation, and was more concerned with advising on the contents of the proposed legislation, finding the best draftsmen and guiding the Bill through Select Committee and Legislative Council. His speeches show him at work during this last stage.

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[3] The most important are listed in Grant Duff's Memoir, p. 24.

Many of Maine's speeches and minutes are solely of interest to the trained lawyer. Some, however, deal with general principles of legal administration and it is from these, as well as from his other writings, that we can uncover the convictions governing Maine's approach to the problems of a society evolving from what he termed "primitive barbarism".

Maine was continually aware of the social reorganisation taking place in India. In a speech on "over-legislation"[4] he pointed out that "for good or for evil, the country is changing rapidly, though not at uniform speed. Opinion, belief, usage and taste are obviously undergoing more or less modification everywhere." Maine believed that this process reflected a natural transition, with the primitive social organisation of old India gradually dissolving under the influence of a modern political state...."the country was passing from an administrative to a legal condition, from a state in which good government depended on the energy of individuals, into a state in which it depended on adherence to well-considered rules."[5] It is interesting to note that Maine's observations of this process were later used to support his theory of legal evolution, which postulates the development of law from the arbitrary decisions of the primitive patriarch.[6]

The most demanding legal problems arising in the period of transition arose from the rigidity and precision given to the once flexible and elastic "archaic" Indian customs by Courts of Law imported from England. The judicial decisions of this time tended to stereotype the ancient laws which were becoming less and less applicable to the new social and economic environment.[7]

Maine was faced with the task of laying the foundations of a scientific body of law which would be easily intelligible and which could be consistently applied, while at the same time preserving and respecting ancient laws and institutions. In the words of Sir Alfred Lyall: "The problem was to simplify and generalise the civil law and procedure, and to enact large principles of equity and morality, with the least possible disturbance to the practices, prejudices and organic institutions of Indian society."[8] Maine had to try to accomplish this task in the face of those who sought a total imposition of European institutions and laws, and those who opposed any movement away from the old structure of Indian society.

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[4] Speeches and Minutes (in Grant Duff), p. 242.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 234.
[6] See particularly his Village Communities in the East and West.
[7] Sir Alfred Lyall, 'British Dominion in India', p. 381.

For this task Maine's principle of neutrality was relied upon, and he voiced his objections to superimposing European ideas and institutions on Indian society. In a Minute opposing the redistribution of land rights in the Punjab Maine claimed that: "Nobody brought to India a stronger conviction than I did of the policy of abandoning all English or European generalisation in India, and of respecting Native usage, even though it should be unreasonable."[9] This attitude undoubtedly assisted Maine in his work, particularly since his period of office commenced at a time when India still reverberated from the shock of the Mutiny, and it contributed to the stability in the new system of government established when the administration of Brititsh India was transferred to the Crown from the East India Company.

Maine was particularly concerned that customs deeply rooted in Indian society, such as religious usages, and customs relating to marriage and property, should be respected. In speaking on a Bill to legalise the remarriage of converts to Christianity who had suffered desertion as a consequence of their conversion, Maine stated that the duty of the British Administration was to protect such persons and "assist them in their adversity", while at the same time respecting the dictates of Hindu custom. His views on property are illustrated by a Minute of October, 1866, in which Maine opposed the redistribution of land rights in the Punjab on the ground that this would conflict with established customs of tenure.

In view of this it is not surprising that Maine was quick to attack the opinions of James Caird, a member of the Indian Famine Commission who, after spending four months in India, reported to Parliament in 1879 that English officials in India had enforced a system of laws alien to the interests of native Indians. Maine, now a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, produced a Memorandum dealing with this criticism.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 382.

[9] Speeches and Minutes, p. 338. In his review of Sir William Hunter's 'Indian Musulmans', published in the Cornhill Magazine, 1871, Maine warns against the importation of the European principle of equality into India, where the idea is unknown and alien.

Maine expressed incredulity at Caird's charge that English legal ideas had been arbitrarily imported into India. To suggest, for example, that English ideas on debts conflict with native custom was to contradict the facts. "The principle that a man ought to pay his debts is doubtless found in English law, but it is also found in the written Hindu law, and (as far as I know) in all unwritten Hindu custom, and it sounds out with peculiar distinctness on the face of the Muhammadan law."[10]

In Maine's view, all the legislation passed in India had always sought to set forth rules adjusted to "Native modes of thought and peculiarities of feeling."[11] The institutions of British India represented the result of accumulated experience, and were "unexampled in the political history of mankind." Past experience governed all legislation in India, "and no step was taken till it was believed to have the approval of the local Indian experts most in credit.[12]

Maine admitted that many changes were required in India, but that they should be progressive changes, not involving a reversion to "primitive barbarism" which was implicit in Caird's suggestion that the law and justice of the Village Councils should be reintroduced into the legal administration of India. Progress, Maine pointed out, involved the adoption of "the newest legal expedients of civilisation".

Although Maine was concerned to see that Indian custom was respected, he did not allow his admiration for the past to blind him to what he considered to be the prerequisite of progress. In the Rede Lecture for 1875, delivered before the University of Cambridge, Maine expounded a principle which had governed his actions as Law Member ten years earlier. He advocated the scientific analysis of Indian social phenomena because he believed it would not only facilitate good government in India, but would also ensure that this government rested upon a compromise between Western and Eastern ideals, and that innovation would be in the interest of progress. The paramount duty of the British Administration was, for Maine, to pass on the principles of social progress on which British society was based.

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[10] Speeches and Minutes, p. 417.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 422.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 413.

One such principle was freedom of contract, as Maine had earlier shown in his Ancient Law. Thus, in opposing a Bill to enforce the observance of contracts in a speech made to the Governor General's Council on December 17th, 1862, Maine observed that "all the modern progress of society seemed to be intimately connected with the completest freedom of contract, and in some way almost mysteriously dependent on it" and that the Council should therefore "shrink from tampering with so powerful an instrument of progress."[13] Freedom of contract was also seen by Maine as "one of the most efficient means of moral education."[14]

Since Maine also believed that freedom of testation was a prerequisite of progress this is the theme of his speech on the Law of Succession, given on 25th November, 1864. This speech recommended a Bill which would extend the power of testation on the ground that such legislation would contribute considerably to progress in India; '"there is no stronger stimulant to civilisation than the liberty of testation."[15]

On another aspect of property law Maine, supporting legislation designed to define and amend the law relating to tenancy in the Punjab, emphasised the indebtedness of economic prosperity to stable property relations, and that such stability should be encouraged in the interest of progress.[16]

The greatest obstacle to progress was, in Maine's view, the rigidity of Native custom as administered by the British Courts. This, together with the complexity of existing legal rules, led Maine to advocate the rationalisation of Indian law, and the enactment of a codified system of legal rules. Such a recommendation was no doubt based on the wider context of Maine's theory of legal evolution, for he had already shown in his Ancient Law that codification represents a higher stage of legal development than custom, and one from which the legal system evolves until it resembles that of a civilised society.

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

[16] See the speech on Punjab tenancy, of October 19th, 1868, in Maine's Speeches and Minutes.

The value of a code was outlined in a speech by Maine introducing a Bill to extend the Indian Penal Code and the Law of Succession to the Strait's Settlement. He pointed out that codification, in reducing the bulk of the law and in making it more intelligible to those who live under it, was a preferable alternative to English law, a complex system of jurisprudence dependent on a collection of records both inaccessible and unintelligible to most Indians. Maine did not think that codification would necessarily disrupt native customs or religious opinion, and he believed that the Indians themselves were generally in complete agreement with further legislation and codification, a process which replaces the discretionary government of the Courts with written laws.

Maine thus welcomed the Indian Evidence Act, framed by Fitzjames Stephen, Maine's successor to the Law Membership. This legislation appeared to Maine to be an outstanding example of law declared in a statutory form, as opposed to that declared in the Courts. When, in 1879, Maine produced a Memorandum on Codification for the Indian Government he deplored the "indefinite postponement" of a codified law of Tort for India.[17]

Ever conscious of the needs of good government, Maine opposed the over-centralisation of political authority in India. He advocated devolution to provincial governments, while reserving decisions on national policy and the basic principles of administration for the Supreme Council. In a Minute strongly opposing the dissolution of the Local Council of Bengal and the transference of its functions to the Central Government Maine declared that he "did not see why the moral and material progress of Bengal should be impeded by the doubts of gentlemen intimately acquainted with only the less intellectual and less supple populations of Upper India."[18] Maine believed that the Supreme Council was lacking in the experience necessary to run the affairs of Bengal. Maine strongly opposed, however, a proposal made by James Caird to completely abolish the Central Government. Maine held the view that a higher authority than the provincial governments was needed to prevent the development of local despotisms. The policies of the provinces also had to be co-ordinated, and a degree of financial equality was required, both of which could only be achieved by a central government.

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[17] See Grant Duff's Memoir. p. 49.

[18] Speeches and Minutes, p. 367.

It remains, before summarising opinion of Maine's contribution to Indian affairs, to briefly outline his work and ideas in the field of education.

In his essay on India in Ward's "The Reign of Queen Victoria" Maine noted the expansion of education in India that had taken place since the East India Company handed the government of India over to the British Crown. Shortly after his arrival in India Maine was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, and while holding office he made a valuable contribution to the quality of this expansion.

Three of Maine's addresses to the University Senate appear in the third edition of his "Village Communities in the East and West". These addresses reveal Maine's concern for the quality of University education in India, and his anxiety to see that the University of Calcutta should imitate the thoroughness and conscientiousness of teaching and examining exhibited by English Universities. Maine thus opposed the establishment of a University in the Punjab (rather shortsightedly) on the ground that it would confer degrees carrying the same status as those conferred by Calcutta, but which would in fact be of a lower standard.

Maine hoped for a closer association between Indians and Europeans in education, in order that prejudice should be removed and progress furthered. He opposed the existence of an independent native society, and believed that only by integrated effort would India overcome outmoded custom and usage.

Maine was anxious to dispel the belief, held by some educated Native Indians, that education and learning were more highly regarded before the British came to India. He could not accept that a reversion to old customs and ways would benefit India in any respect. "Although there is much in common between the

Present and the Past, there is never so much in common to make life tolerable to the men of the Present if they could step back into the Past."[19] The future of India lay with Europe, and not with Indian antiquity.

Education could play an important role in creating harmony between the two races, by stimulating intellectual sympathy. This was the function Maine wanted the University to perform, because he believed that once Indians and Europeans had been united through the process of education "moral and social sympathy will surely follow."[20]

The power of Maine's intellect and its contribution to Indian affairs did not go unnoticed. His ability to perceive the misconceptions about India so widely held, and to overcome prejudices and the obstructions arising from it, was widely acknowledged. Lord Mayo, on Maine's departure from India, referred to him as "a wise councillor, an impartial adviser, and a minister of originality, sagacity and resource."[21] He paid tribute to Maine's willingness to consider all problems relating to India with sympathy and tolerance, and referred to Maine's Speeches and Minutes as "so valuable a portion of Indian political literature".

After Maine's death (in 1888) Sir Alfred Lyall, in an obituary, spoke of the leading role played by Maine in the solution of Indian legal and administrative problems, and noted how Maine had utilised, with great effect, his wide knowledge of ancient ideas, institutions, and legal evolution; and how his experiences in India enabled him to extend his own research into the history of law.[22]

In 1897 the Society of Arts also paid tribute to Maine's achievements, and made particular reference to his work in India. Mr. C. L. Tupper, in a paper read to the Society, stated that Maine's legacy to India consisted of a body of ideas and principles which guided his work on the Council and which were of supreme importance to India during a period of social transition. "I think that in the department of law Maine was the presiding genius in the transition from India of the Company to India of the Queen."[23] Citing a particular case when Maine's teachings were of practical importance, Tupper spoke of the value of comparing one archaic society with another, and of understanding the differences between primitive and civilised, to the formulation of property, family and testamentary law in the Punjab.

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[19] *Village Communities*, pp. 289-290.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 294.

[21] Sir Richard Temple, in his 'Men and Events in my Time in India,' spoke of Maine as "one of the most intellectually accomplished men that ever assisted in the counsels of India," p. 333.

[22] *Law Quarterly Review*, Vol. 4, 1888, p. 129.

Although Maine was ever conscious of the need to respect Indian custom and usage, he never doubted that progress in India depended on the continuation of British rule. In one of his addresses to the University of Calcutta, he said that: "No Englishman will admit that there is any probable limit to the continuance of the supremacy of his race in India",[24] and he himself felt that were it not for British rule a "pent up flood of barbarism" would overrun and destroy all that was civilised in India.[25] Such sentiments are reflected in Maine's opposition to a Bill of 1882, which sought to give Indian magistrates certain jurisdiction over Europeans.

Maine, however, did not refuse to acknowledge the possibility of equality between Indians and Europeans, but believed that such a state lay in the future—"it may come, it probably will come, but it has not come already."[26] Furthermore, Maine insisted that the idea of equality was unknown in India before the British came, and alien to the Indian way of thinking.

Maine's relative objectivity, and his concern for the interests of the Indians were recognised in the highest circles. It was also known that he would not sacrifice these interests to the demands of the European settlers. Thus while Maine was still in India he received a letter from the Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood (later Lord Halifax) entrusting the fate of the Indians to him. In this letter, dated 19th February, 1866, Sir Charles, the author of the Dispatch on Indian education of 1854, warned Maine that the aims of the European planters and settlers could gain ground under the next Secretary.[27] He called upon Maine to defend the customary rights of the Indians, and to protect them from the fate of the natives of North America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand—"the extinction of the coloured race which disappears before the white colonists." The permanent interests of the Natives should not be sacrificed to the transitory interests of the settlers. "It is the duty no less than the interest of the Government to see that the succession of a few transitory masters do not irritate the permanent millions."[28] Principles such as these, implicit in Maine's attitudes towards Indian affairs, are very much a part of Britain's colonial tradition. They also show that Maine's ideas, usually thought of as conservative, included a considerable element of liberalism.

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[23] *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 1897-98, p. 394.
[24] *Village Communities*, p. 271
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 271.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

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[27] Sir Stafford Northcote.

[28] Letter from Sir Charles Wood to Sir Henry Maine, 19th February, 1866, The Wood Collection, India Office Library.

Hindu-Muslim Relations during the Sultanate Period (1206-1526 A.D.)

BY

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A school of modern writers are of the opinion that the relations between the Muslims and the Hindus during the mediaeval age were cordial, because most of the Mediaeval Indian rulers meted out a very just and reasonable treatment to the vast majority of the non-Muslim population. A few have gone to the extent of saying that the condition of the Hindus was better off under Muslim rule than it had been for some centuries under their own rulers. For example, Dr. I. H. Qureshi says: "The Hindu population was better off under the Muslims than under Hindu tributaries or independent rulers. Their financial burden was lighter than it had been for some centuries in pre-Muslim days."[1] "The government never tried to force its own culture on an unwilling people... Muslim rulers and men of letters respected the culture and the knowledge of the Hindus...."[2] Dr. Qureshi concludes that "the care of the Sultans embraced all their subjects; indeed tolerance was an abiding feature of the government of the Sultanate. It is true that feelings were sometimes aroused and visions clouded by a temporary vengeance; but these were only passing storms. This was only to be expected in a state where the *level of culture was high*."[3] Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, another prominent Muslim scholar, holds the same views. In his work on 'Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century', he devotes one full chapter to the subject, entitled 'Hindus under the Sultanate', and comes to the conclusion that the Sultans of Delhi in the 13th century from the accession of Qutb-ud-din Aibak to the establishment of the Khalji dynasty pursued a policy of religious toleration and permitted Hindus to follow their religion without any interference, and the relations of the Muslim rulers, the governing class, the Ulama (learned divines) and the common people on the one hand and the Hindus on the other were quite friendly. With the exception of the Rajput feudal lords, the condition of the Hindus in general, he says, was politically and economically prosperous.[4] Prof. Mohamad Habib emphasises that every kind of descrimination that was the normal state of affairs came to an end when Sindh and Multan passed under the Arab rule in 712 A.D. His panegyric deserves to be quoted. "All the fundamental principles of the Muslim state", he writes, "are here. Racial differences are to count for naught; all are equal; all are brothers; neither law nor social opinion must make any differences between the high-born and the low. A man's right to his person, to the produce of his labour and to the reputation his character has earned for him, is as sacred and inviolable as the holiest of places; no alleged State-necessity, no fanatical prejudices or party interest can be allowed to infringe them. No monopoly of offices or power; no kings; no oligarchy; no priesthood—the humblest of slaves has as much right to be at the head of the State as the noblest of Quarish. A righteous government alone is entitled to the allegiance of its subjects; all else is usurpation and must be swept aside. There are to be no 'pariah' or low castes; the slave is entitled to the same food and drink as his master and has the same political privileges as a freeman. The customs of paganism—blood-feuds, usury, the subjection of women—are abolished once for all."[5]

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[1] *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, (2nd ed.), p. 225.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 224.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

Let us examine these categorical statements in the light of Islamic institutions and laws, and their working in actual practice, and also in the light of the contemporary records in the Persian language left by Muslim historians most of whom were eye-witnessses and some of them even participators in the events they have described. We shall first of all notice in outline the basic principles of an Islamic state and the place of non-Muslims in a state of that category. It is essential, as Professor Habib had laid stress on the non-partisan character of the Islamic law, constitutional, religious, social and economical, which we have just quoted.

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[4] *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 308-321.

[5] *The Arab Conquest of Sindh*, vide *Islamic Culture*, October, 1929, pp. 592-594.

The Nature of the Islamic State

Islam believes in a universal state. There can be, according to the strict Islamic theory, only one Muslim state in the world, and all Muslims, irrespective of the country of their birth and residence, are its citizens. It is designated as the 'dar-ul-Islam' or the realm of Islam, as opposed to the 'dar-ul-Harb' (literally land of war) or the land of infidelity, and was subsequently called the caliphate. God is its true, though invisible, king, and the actual earthly ruler, called the khalifa (caliph), is merely his agent bound to administer the divine law as expressed in the Quran, which is, in Muslim eyes, the word of God revealed to their prophet, Muhammad. The divine law or *Shar'*, made up of the Quranic injunctions and the sayings of Muhammad (*hadis*), is religious law; civil law, if any, is completely subordinated to it and merges its existence in the religious law. The *Shar'* is eternal and immutable. The caliph had no authority to change or even modify it. He could only interpret or amplify it. The caliph was chosen by prominent Muslim leaders, and his election was confirmed by the general body of the faithful or *millat* in whom sovereignty was vested, and who could bestow it on any bona fide Muslim. Although there is no ordained clergy in Islam, there has always been a body of ulama or learned divines, who individually or collectively enjoy the right to issue a decree to the effect that the ruler has violated the Quranic law, and to ask the general body of Muslims to rebel against him. The jurists in Islamic polity are theologians and masters of the Quran and the *hadis* (traditions). The ruler is, by the unanimous consent of Muslim jurists, the protector of the *shar'* and the upholder of the prestige and dignity of Islam. He is not only to follow the Muslim religion and law in his personal life but also to enforce it in the administration of the country. "The protection of *shariat* (Muslim religion and law)", writes Ibn Hasan, "has two aspects: the propagation of the knowledge of *shar'* and its enforcement as a law within the state. The one implies the maintenance of a class of scholars devoted to the study, the teaching and the propagation of that knowledge, and the other, the appointment of one from amongst those scholars, who is distinguished for learning and piety, as an adviser to the king in all his acts of state. The scholars devoted to that knowledge are called Ulamā (the learned) and the one selected from amongst them is termed Shaikh-ul-Islam."[6] The king was not only bound to consult him in all matters of law and religion and to follow his advice but also to show him proper respect and uphold his prestige. His duty was to supervise and control education, and to exercise a kind of censorship over the books taught in various educational institutions and over the ideas and morals of the people. He was the representative of the ulama, and it was his duty to bring "to the notice of the king what he thought detrimental or prejudicial to the interest of his religion, and the king had little option in acting upon such advice".[7] He had to keep himself in touch with Muslim scholars, as judicial officers were appointed from that class of Muslims only and to ensure a regular supply of Muslim theologians. The Islamic state is thus a theocracy.[8]

The Islamic theory of the state does not permit the existence of any other religion except Islam. Musalmans alone are its citizens. If there are any non-Muslims in an Islamic state, they are treated as a subject or degraded people. The Quranic law divides all non-Muslims into two classes, namely, those who are according to it, the possessors of some kind of revealed acripture (*ahle-Kitāb*) and those who are not and are idolators (*kafirs* and *mushriks*). The one group consisting only of Jews and Christians is permitted by the authority of the Quran to enjoy partial toleration in a Muslim state on payment of an invidious tax, called the jizya; but the other consisting of polytheists is not eligible for any kind of toleration whatever. Subsequently a third group of non-Muslims, that is, of those who resembled the possessors of revealed books (*mushabah ahl-i-Kitab*) was recognised and Zoroastrians were placed under the category. These latter too were allowed to live in a Muslim country on payment of jizya, like the Christians and the Jews. Of the four early and authoritative commentators of the *Shar'* who became founders of the four well known schools of Muslim law, three namely, Malik Iban

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6. Ibn Hasan: *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 255-256.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
8. I. H. Qureshi: *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pp. 42-44. Qureshi protests against the use of 'theocracy', and calls the Sultanate 'theocentric'. See, A. L. Srivastava, *Nature of the State in Medieval India*, vide *Uttara Bharati*, a Journal of Research of the University of U.P., Vol. IV, No. 1, (Dec. 1957), pp. 1-7.

Anas (715-795 A.D.), Ash-Shafi (767-820 A.D.) and Ahmad bin Hanbal (780-855 A.D.) lay down in unmistakable terms that idolators have no right to live in a Muslim country (i.e., one either ruled by Muslims or peopled by Muslims), and that they must either embrace Islam or suffer death. But the fourth commentatior, named Abu Hanifah (699-766 A.D.) is of the opinion that idolators might be given, besides the choice between Islam and death, one more alternative, namely, permission to live as Zimmis (living under a contract) or as inferior citizens with an obligation to pay the *jizya* (poll tax) and to submit to certain political, legal and social disabilities.[9] Muhammad bin Qasim, the conqueror of Sindh, finding it impossible to enforce the rigid interpretation of the Quranic law and to compel the Hindus to choose between Islam and death, on account of their numerical superiority and their being armed to the teeth, wisely anticipated the ruling of Abu Hanifah, and extended partial religious toleration, which was the special privilege of the Jews and the Christians, to the Hindus of Sindh and Multan. This became a precedent to be followed by later Turkish and Afghan conquerors and rulers.

It will thus be seen that the fundamental basis of the Islamic state is its ideal of complete religious uniformity. The state considered it to be its duty to root out heresy and to extirpate infidelity. The Quran lays down: "Say to the infidels, if they desist from their unbelief, what is past is forgiven them. But if they return to it—fight then against them till strife be at an end, and the religion be all of it of God's".[10] The highest duty of a Muslim ruler, says the historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar, is to carry on *jihad* by "waging war against infidel lands (dār-ul-Harb) till they became a part of the realm of Islam (*dār-ul-Islam*), and their populations are converted into true believers".[11] The Quranic injunction is: "And when the sacred months (*Ramzan*) are pressed, kill those who join other deities with God, wherever ye shall find them...But if they shall convert...then let them go their way".[12] These were not mere pious injunctions; they were meant to be followed, and the Prophet of Islam, who had, on account of circumstances, accorded some sort of a religious toleration to the Jews and Christians of Medina, expelled them afterwards to bring about a complete religious uniformity in that city.[13] The most notable of the first four pious Caliphs, Omar I (634-644 A.D.), expelled the Jews and Christians from the whole of Arabia.[14] Muslim rulers everywhere endeavoured to follow this law and the example set by the Prophet and the greatest of the caliphs (Omar I) with considerable success.

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[9] For these Four Schools see J. Schachat, 'Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence', (Oxford, 1950); Hitti, *History of the Arabs*; Mac Donald, *Development of Muslim Theology*; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. III. Modern Muslim scholars make much of Islamic democracy and of the so-called human brotherhood. The fact is that non-Muslims have always been considered outside the Islamic democracy and have always been discriminated against under a Muslim regime.

[10] *Quran*, VIII, 39-40; English Translation by George Sale, p. 172.

[11] Sarkar: *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III (3rd ed.), p. 249.

I have discussed the Islamic constitutional law at some length, because modern scholars of our mediaeval history have for obvious reasons almost altogether ignored it, and also because I am emphatically of the opinion that under such a system of law and government it was impossible for the Hindus to have led an honourable life of peace and contentment. This law suffered the Hindus to exist as an evil which it could not uproot. It branded them as an inferior people and degraded them to the status of second-rate citizens with all kinds of political legal, religious, social and economic disabilities placed upon them. They were stigmatised as *kafirs* or people guilty of *kufr* (ingratitude towards God). which it is the highest duty of all Muslims to punish and put down. It is enjoined on Muslims by their religion and law to convert the Hindus to Islam by persuasion or force, to raze their temples to the ground, to break their images to pieces, and to destroy their educational, cultural and religious institutions. Another reason why I have given an outline of the Muslim constitutional law is that modern Muslim writers maintain that the Quranic law was not followed by Muslim Sultans in this country, and hence the Hindus enjoyed religious toleration and freedom. They say that theory is one thing and actual practice is another. Therefore it is incumbent on us to examine this assertion in the light of actual facts of history. And this I propose to do under a few main headings.

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12. *Quran*, IX, 5, 6; George Sale, p. 179.
13. Philip K. Hitti: *History of the Arabs* (5th ed., 1953), p. 117.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Legal status

It is interesting to note that Muslim divines throughout the period of Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526) were worried, because the Quranic law which enjoined upon Muslims not to spare the lives of the conquered Hindus, had not been enforced, and pressed the Sultans to set aside Muhammad bin Qasim's practical decision (which accorded to the Hindus the status of Zimmis, that is, of inferior citizens living under contract and paying the discriminatory *jizya*) and to give them choice between Islam or death. They wanted that the Hindus should be asked to become Muslims, but if they refused to do so, they should be put to death. "It is the order of God respecting those who have passed away," said Al Utbi, author of Tarikh-i-Yamini, "that infidels (Hindus) should be put to death; and the order of God is not changed respecting your (Subuktigin's) execution of the same precept."[15] Next some leading ulama demanded of Iltutmish (1211-1236 A.D.) that Hindus should be confronted with the Quranic injunction of 'death or Islam.' The sultan referred the question to his wazir Nizam-ul-mulk Junaidi who, though concurring with the ulama's interpretation of the law, said: "But at the moment India has newly been conquered and the Muslims are so few that they are like salt (in a large dish). If the above orders are applied to the Hindus, it is possible that they might combine and a general confusion might ensue and the Muslims would be too few in number to suppress this general confusion. However, after a few years when in the capital and in the region and the small towns, the Muslims are well-established and the troops are larger, it will be possible to give the Hindus, the choice of death or Islam."[16] During the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji (1294-1316) Qazi-Mughis-ud-din of Bayana made the same demand. He said: "God has himself commanded their (Hindus') complete degradation inasmuch as the Hindus are the deadliest foes of the Prophet. The Prophet has said that they should either embrace Islam or they should be slain or enslaved and their property should be confiscated to the state. No one except the great Doctor Abu Hanifa allows the imposition of the jizya upon the Hindus, while other scholars are of opinion that there is no other alternative but 'death or Islam.' "[17]

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[15] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II (2nd ed.), p. 23.

[16] *Sanai-Muhammadi* (Rampur Ms.); *Medieval Indian Quarterly, Aligarh*, Vol. I, Part III, pp. 100-105; also *Nizami, Some Aspects*, etc.; pp. 315-316.

Zia-ud-din Barani laments that the tenets of Islam in regard to the Hindus were not enforced by any Muslim ruler and the Hindus were allowed to retain their religion and way of life against the injunctions of the Quran. He urges Firoz Tughlaq to behave like a true Muslim king and to mete out to the Hindus the treatment to which they were entitled in a Islamic state. Professor Mohammad Habid refers to Barani's lamentation, but he quotes it to show that the Hindus enjoyed a great deal of religious freedom in mediaeval India. Characteristically enough he leaves his readers in the dark about the object which impelled the historian to have written it. The object was to bring the Muslim Sultan and his government to book for their failure to give to the Hindus the 'alternative of Islam or death.' Barani's lamentation deserves to be given to enable the reader to form his own opinion: "In the capital (Delhi) and in the cities of Musalmans the customs of infidelity are openly practised, idols are publicly worshipped, and traditions of infidelity are adhered to with greater insistence than before...Openly and without fear, the infidels continue their rejoicings during their festivals with the beat of drums and *dhols* and with singing and dancing. By paying merely a few tankas as the *jizya*, they are able to continue the traditions of infidelity by giving lessons in the books of their *false faith* and enforcing the orders of these books. The desire for overthrowing infidels and knocking down idolators does not fill the hearts of the Muslim kings (of India)...."[18]

Some modern scholars, notably Mr. Nizami,[19] have made an attempt to explain away Barani's statement by puerile argumentation, such as, that he was not present at Mughis-ud-din's interview with the Sultan, that he must have suffered at the hands of some Hindu zamindars and hence his prejudice against the Hindus as a community and so forth; but they have conveniently ignored the fact that Barani is in good company and many other Muslim theologians and historians have expressed the same views with regard to the treatment to be meted out to the Hindus. The statements quoted above make it clear that throughout the Sultanate Period (1206-1526), a wide gulf separated the two communities and that, to say nothing of enjoyment of any kind of rights and privileges the very lives and properties of the Hindus were in perpetual danger. If they could not be converted to Islam *en mass* or butchered in cold blood, it was because of their great numerical superiority and physical strength.

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[17] Barani: *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (*Bib. In.*), pp. 290-91.

[18] Barani's *Fatwa-i-Jahandari*, Advice XI quoted in *Some Aspects, etc.,* pp. XXI-XXII.

[19] *Some Aspects of Religion*, etc.. p. 317.

The Jizya

The Hindus were required by the law of the state to pay a discriminatory tax called the jizya, which was imposed on non-Muslims only and was considered a badge of inferiority. The basis of this tax is the following verse of the Quran: "Fight them that believe not in Allah and the last day, who hold not as forbidden what God and his apostle have forbidden and do not profess the true religion, those that have a scripture, until they pay the jizya in person, in subjection" (Quran, ix, 29). This Quranic injunction speaks for itself. It has been misinterpreted by some modern scholars, and Nizami doubts, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, whether this tax was at all realised by the sultans of Delhi.[20] This is a specimen of the way in which modern Muslim writers of mediaeval India deal with evidence and falsify history. According to them this tax was charged in lieu of military service which was compulsory for all able-bodied Muslims, but was not so for the Hindus, and hence they were required to pay it. Space forbids discussions of the controversy. Suffice it here to say that not only the present writer, but also other eminent and impartial historians, European and Indian, such as Lane Poole, V. A. Smith, Wolseley Haig and Jadunath Sarkar have held that the jizya was imposed to make the Hindus feel that they were an inferior people and to compel them by sheer economic and social pressure to walk some day into the fold of Islam. The tax was fairly high and amounted to 48, 24 and 12 silver coins for the rich, the average and the poor Hindus respectively. Monks, beggars, lunatics, blind men and children were exempt from it. Originally Brahmans were exempt, but Firoz Tughlaq imposed this tax upon them also. It was ordained that the payers of this tax should personally pay it to the collector and behave humbly and obsequiously at the time of payment.

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

Condition in peace time

The bulk of the Hindus, particularly those in rural areas, were permitted to live their own life and worship in their own manner, provided they did not conduct any kind of religious propaganda. But they were not allowed to build new temples and to repair the old ones. Dr. I. H. Qureshi admits that the Hindus were not permitted to build any new temple without previous sanction. He adds naively that "In actual practice, there is no evidence on record when this permission was withheld."[21] He does not seem to know that a sultan like Muhammad bin Tughlaq, who was credited with liberal views, had razed temples to the ground, converted some Hindus to Islam and refused the emperor of China permission to build a Buddhist temple on the frontier of his territory.[22] Moreover, the absence of a record does not prove conclusively that permission for building new temples was ever given. In fact there was no question of a permission to be at all given, for the Islamic rule was that no new temple was to be built on any account. The learned doctor conveniently ignored the fact that in Mathura which had been continuously under Muslim rule from the time of the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi, Firoz Tughlaq had razed to the ground the famous Keshava Deva temple on the site of Sri Krishna's birth place, and when it was rebuilt Sikandar Lodi demolished it, and thereafter Aurangzeb levelled it to the ground. It is, therefore, wrong to hold that in peace time Hindus normally enjoyed real religious toleration in the territory directly under the control of Muslim sultans in Mediaeval India. Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami says "that (the very fact that) the temples of Mahoba and Khajuraho are still in tact," shows that the contemporary historian, Hasan Nizami's account of the destruction of all temples in Kalinjar must be false.[23] The Aligarh scholar does not seem to be aware that the temples of Khajuraho on account of their situation were inaccessible to Muslim invaders of that age and that some of the temples in Kalinjar

[21] *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 2nd ed., p. 220.
[22] Mahdi Husain: *Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 130, 201.
[23] *Religion, etc*, p. 320.

must have been rebuilt after their destruction by the Muslim iconoclasts. Whatever little freedom the Hindus had in the matter of worship of images in their own temples situated in the interior of the towns and probably in their own houses was grudged and resented by the Muslim ulama. It may be mentioned here that every Musalman was supposed to be a militant missionary of his faith and as the State did not impose any check on his iconoclastic activities he could swoop down on Hindu temples and seats of learning at will, and not only earn religious merit but also, serve his worldly ends by becoming rich over-night. That is why the historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar says that even in peace time Hindus did not enjoy real security of life and property, much less religious toleration in mediaeval India.[24]

Condition in war time

In war time the sultans, the Muslim governing class, the ulama and the soldiery allowed themselves full liberty to commit all kinds of oppression on the Hindu population. The mediaeval annals written by Muslim writers themselves are replete with examples of total destruction of temples, breaking of images and various other kinds of vandalism. It is not necessary to recount them here reign by reign. Just one example is enough to show the extent of the barbarities committed by the mediaeval invaders and rulers and their generals. One would like to notice what Mahmud of Ghazni's historian, Al Utbi, says about the destruction his hero and patron had wrought in the holy city of Mathura in 1018 A.D. "He (Mahmud) saw there (at Mathura)", writes Utbi, "a building of exquisite structure, which the inhabitants said had been built, not by men, but by genii.... The wall of the city was constructed of hard stone, and two gates opened upon the river flowing under the city, which were erected upon strong and lofty foundations, to protect them against the floods of the river and rain. On both sides of the city there were a thousand houses, to which idol-temples were attached, all strengthened from top to bottom by rivets of iron, and all made of masonry work, and opposite to them were other buildings, supported on broad wooden pillars to give them strength.

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[24] *Hindustan Standard*, Puja Annual, Oct. 1951

"In the middle of the city there was a temple larger and firmer than the rest, which can neither be described nor painted. The Sultan thus wrote respecting it. 'If any one should wish to construct a building equal to this, he would not be able to do it without expending an hundred thousand thousand red dinars, and it would occupy two hundred years, even though the most experienced and able workmen were employed.' Among the idols there were five made of red gold, each five yards high, fixed in the air without support. In the eyes of one of these idols there were two rubies of such value that if any one were to sell such as are like them, he would obtain fifty thousand dinars. On another, there was a sapphire purer than water, and more sparkling than crystal; the weight was four hundred and fifty miskals. The two feet of another idol weighed four thousand four hundred miskals and the entire quantity of gold yielded by the bodies of these idols, was ninety-eight thousand three hundred miskals. The idols of silver amounted to two hundred, but they could not be weighed without breaking them into pieces. The Sultan gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naptha and fire, and levelled with the ground."[25]

Hindus in State Service

Qureshi, Mahdi Husain, Nizami and other Muslim writers have laboured hard, and in vain, to show that state service was open to the Hindus and that some of them held fairly high posts under the sultans. But when one examines the annals of the period one fails to see a single Hindu enjoying the post of a governor or a minister or a secretary or a district officer or even the head of a pargana. The Hindu *khuts, chaudharis* and muqaddams were hereditary revenue officers in local areas without whose cooperation the administration could not have been carried on. In spite of a thorough search two modern biographers of the liberal minded Muhammad bin Tughlaq have not been able to find any Hindu except one Ratan holding more or less a respectable position in a province during his reign. But even this Ratan was not a governor, as Dr. Mahdi Husain imagines. He probably held some executive post in a district, the nature of which has not been specified. But the consequences resulting from the appointment of this one Hindu officer throw lurid light on the narrowness and intolerance of the Turkish oligarchy as well as of the Muslim population as a whole. Ratan's appointment to Sindh as a revenue officer gave a rude shock to the arrogant Muslim population of that province. The notables among them hatched a conspiracy and brought about his murder. The first and the last Hindu notable to find a place at the court of Delhi during the Sultanate period, if we exclude the reign of Islam Shah Sur (1545-1554), was one Sidhpal who had come to importance, not because the court policy was to patronise Hindu nobility, but because Sidhpal's character was in keeping with that of the Turkish nobility, especially that of the wazir, who was on the lookout for an ally to bring about the murder of his royal patron. Moreover, Sidhpal's rise occurred when the Sultanate was on its last legs. It was unthinkable for a Hindu occupying a third-rate place at the court under any of the so-called Slave, Khalji and Tughlaq rulers. The employment of Hindus in the armies of the sultans, whether as soldiers or petty officers, proves nothing, as they were employed as mercenaries, like the troops of other nationalities as early as the time of Muhmud of Ghazni. If the Hindus were in possession of most of the land, it was so because it could not be helped. No mediaeval government, however powerful, could have succeeded in throwing such a large and powerful community as the Hindu out of its land. The statement of Iltutmish's wazir, Nizam-ul-mulk Junaidi, quoted above shows that the Muslim rulers were realistic enough to see the folly of provoking the Hindus by such an attempt to evict the community wholesale from its land or to deprive them of their religion. The confidence of our ancestors is reflected in the mediaeval proverb: "Land is not a carpet that a foreigner or a sultan will roll it up and take away on his shoulders."[26]

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[25] *Tarikki-Yamini*, by Al-Utbi, vide Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, 2nd Ed., edited by Prof. M. Habib, pp. 44-45.

Reckless destruction of Hindu lives; Hindu Humiliation

The Turkish process of conquest and subjugation of the country being co-extensive with the period of its rule, lasted for 350 years during which lakhs of Hindus were killed and lakhs were massacred after the wars, and lakhs of women and children were carried into slavery. Timur, for instance, in one day massacred one lakh of Hindu prisoners on the eve of his battle with Mahmud Tughlaq. In no period of our history—not even in the early or later British period—was there such a wanton destruction of human life as during 325 years of the Turko-Afghan rule. Besides, the Turkish conquests deprived a considerable number of the upper and middle class Hindus of employment in state service, civil and military, which must have brought about a revolution in our society causing hardship to countless families. Politically or socially the Hindus as a people had to suffer deeply during this period. Not only were they deprived of their position as rulers, ministers, governors and commanders of troops, but they were also treated contemptuously. The Turkish sultans and their principal followers sought their brides from well-to-do Hindu families and compelled the proud chiefs to part with their daughters. In accordance with Muslim law the Hindu girls were first seized, deprived of their religion and converted to Islam and then married. All this served as a perpetual humiliation to the Hindus who honestly believed, and not merely as a reaction caused by their defeat and degradation, that the new comers were inferior to them in culture, in religion, and above all in matters of purity of conduct and morals and ways of life. The political and economic hardships to which they were subjected by the conquerors did not inflict upon them so much misery as the humiliating treatment, religious persecution and above all invasion on their family honour.[27]

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[26] A. L. Srivastava: *The Sultanate of Delhi*, (3rd ed), pp. 333-334.

Drain of India's wealth; Hindu poverty

During the mediaeval age India was famous for her fabulous wealth. The stories of our enormous riches had tempted Mahmud of Ghazni and other invaders. One can easily believe from contemporary accounts of the vast loot acquired by Muhammad bin Qasim in Sindh and Multan and Mahmud of Ghazni in Hindustan proper and Ala-ud-din Khalji in South India—coined and uncoined money, precious stones of various kinds and a variety of other goods valued at crores of rupees that the stories were not fairy tales but had foundation in fact. The sultans of Delhi gathered in their expeditions both in northern and southern India enormous booty and yet there was left enough in the land to be carried away by Timur at the end of the 14th Century from only one corner of our country, not in thousands but in hundreds of thousands. The main source of wealth was agriculture. Some of the sultans, notably Ala-ud-din Khalji, tried to deprive the Hindus of this wealth by imposing high taxes on houses, grazing land, cattle, etc., besides raising the land revenue to half of the produce and retaining the hated jizya and the excise tax which was double in the case of Hindus. It must be said in fairness that Ala-ud-din deprived the Muslim beneficiaries of their land as he did the Hindus. Yet it must be remembered that the measure proved ruinous to the Hindus particularly because the land mostly belonged to them and there were very few Muslim cultivators in that age. The Hindus were reduced to one death-level of poverty. Zia-ud-din Barani writes that the wives of Hindu *Khuts, Chaudharis* and *Muqaddams* had to work in the houses of well-to-do Musalmans to earn their living. The Hindus during the reign of this sultan had less than enough to eat and had no means to put on good clothes, to eat betel and to ride on horses. The contemporary historian's statement may be exaggerated, but there is no doubt that it was substantially true.

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[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 332.

Barrenness of Hindu intellect

In view of the theocratic system of government and the policy of discrimination and of deliberately impoverishing the Hindus, the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims in mediaeval India were far from friendly or even normal. In fact Hindus nursed grievances which could not be ventilated or remedied in an Islamic state. During this long period of 350 years no great Hindu in any field of activity was born or lived. There was no first rate thinker or philosopher, no first-rate literary figure, no first-rate historian, mathematician or scientist. There were no doubt a few great Hindu saints or *bhaktās,* like Chaitanya and Nanak, but even these did not compare with Shankaracharya of the 9th century A.D. or Dayanand Saraswati, Ram Krishna Paramhamsa and Vivekananda of the nineteenth century. No great original literary work in Sanskrit or Hindi appeared in that age. Our writers produced commentaries and commentaries upon commentaries of ancient texts. The Hindu intellect was benumbed on account of an alien rule and its deliberate policy of suppression and oppression. One cannot but agree with the considered judgment of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the greatest historian of our age: "When a class are publicly depressed and harassed by law and executive caprice alike, they merely content themselves with dragging on an animal existence. With every generous instinct of the soul crushed out of them, with intellectual culture merely adding a keen edge to their sense of humiliation, the Hindus could not be expected to produce the utmost of which they were capable; their lot was to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to their masters, to bring grist to the fiscal mill, to develop a low cunning and flattery as the only means of saving what they could of the fruits of their own labour. Amidst such social conditions, the human soul cannot soar to the highest pitch. The barrenness of the Hindu intellect and the meanness of spirit of the Hindu upper classes are the greatest condemnation of Muhammadan rule in India. The Islamic political tree, judged by its fruit, was an utter failure."[28]

Hindu attempts at conciliation

In spite of all this the mediaeval Hindus tried their utmost to conciliate the Muslims and to live with them on friendly terms. Although they did not abandon Hinduism and image-worship, they began visiting Muslim shrines and tombs and showing reverence to Muslim saints. Many of the tombs which they frequented and which were to be found in all parts of the country, were, like that of Sālār Masud Ghazi of Bahraich, of Muslim invaders who had been responsible for vandalism and had fallen in battles against the Hindus. Hindu teachers and reformers emphasised that Hinduism and Islam were two different paths leading to the same goal. They preached that Ram and Rahim, Krishna and Karim, Ishwar and Allah were different names of the same God. The leaders of the *bhakti* movement, one of the main objectives of which was the conciliation of Muslims, made an earnest attempt to bring about unity between the two communities by deprecating priestly ritualism and formalities and emphasising inner religious devotion. But the Muslims, filled with the conquerors' innate pride, spurned all Hindu overtures and allowed no relaxation in the rigidity of their religious and social systems. They continued punishing apostacy from Islam with death, and inflicting capital punishment on those Hindus who uttered a word of criticism of Islam and its Founder or dared say openly that 'both Islam and Hinduism were true religions'. They adhered to the Islamic practice of first converting a Hindu woman and then marrying her, and insisted that a Hindu, who wanted to marry a Muslim woman, must embrace Islam. Under these circumstances all Hindu efforts at bringing about unity between the two communities met with an inevitable failure.[29]

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[28] *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III (3rd ed.), p. 260.

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[29] *The Sultanate of Delhi*, (3rd ed.), pp. 364-366.

The Kushk and Oxus Canal Dispute

BY

DR. R. S. RASTOGI, M.A., PH.D.

The headache of the British and the Afghan Governments on account of the Russian expansion was removed by the successful demarcation of the Russo-Afghan Boundary from Hari-Rud to Oxus under the Protocol of 22nd July 1887. It gave a great relief to the two Governments, but it was a very short one. As early as 1891 complaints against the non-observance of the Agreement and other difficulties regarding the frontier began to crop up. General Kuropatkin, the Governor of Transcaspia, made the accusation that contrary to the Agreement of 1872-73 the Afghans were irrigating lands between Chahil-Dukhteran and Karatappa. As this could not be permitted, he expressed the hope that the Governor of Herat would order the destruction of the canals in question. The Viceroy felt on examination that the claim put forward by General Kuropatkin was in itself well founded, as the protocol of 22nd July 1887 prohibited the Afghans the use of these canals, but his request to settle the matter without reference to Her Majesty's Government appeared to him to be irregular and inconsistent with the arrangements under which the foreign relations of Afghanistan were placed under their control.[1] The Amir was consequently requested to issue instructions to discontinue the irrigation of these lands from the Kushk canals.[2] The Amir conveyed in return that instructions had been given to his officials to leave in tact the old canals within Afghan limits and to close up the new canals.[3]

The Viceroy did not fully understand what the Amir meant by the old and the new canals referred to in his letter and reminded that when the Agreement about the rights of the water of the Kushk was made between Sir Ridgeway and Col. Khulberg in Dec. 1885, there were no canals in actual use on the bank of the Kushk between Chahil-Dukhteran and Kara-Tappa. He however warned the Amir that the re-opening of old canals was quite as much a breach of the Agreement as the construction of the new ones. If instructions had been issued to his officers keeping in view the said facts no further difficulties were likely to arise. But if any of these canals continued to be used for irrigating Afghan lands it was very probable that a serious misunderstanding and conflict might arise.[4] The Viceroy further said that in accordance with the Protocol of 22nd July 1887, the Russians were within their rights in demanding that all the canals should be destroyed between Chahil-Dukhteran and Kara-Tappa.[5] The Amir thereupon suggested in June 1892 that in order to dispose of the Russian complaint a joint enquiry of the officers appointed by the British, the Afghan and the Russian Governments should be conducted which might decide the rights of the case.[6]

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[1] Foreign Department proceedings, January 1892, Secret Frontier Enclosure in No. 1—From H. Durand to M. Chichkine Russian, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, 25th Sept.-Oct. 1891, p. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[3] Foreign Department Proceedings, June 1892, Secret Frontier No. 228-Viceroy to Amir, 2nd May, 1892, p. 9.

The proposal for a Joint Commission for conducting the enquiry got the approval of Her Majesty's Government as also that of the Russian Government who desired that the decision of the Commission, should be followed by the immediate adoption of necessary measures. The condition laid down by Her Majesty's Government was that the Commission must not have the power to enquire into the infraction of the Agreement committed by the Afghans, but it should also enquire into the infractions of which Russian subjects might have been guilty to the detriment of the Afghans.[7] Instructions were given by Her Majesty's Government to Col. Yate that if the Amir's subjects were irrigating any part of the Kushk Valley by the canals taking off from the Kushk, the Russians had the right to demand the destruction of these canals.[8] In case there were allegations by the Afghans that the Russians had infringed the water settlement made by the Boundary Commission these two were to be enquired into by recording the facts.[9]

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[4] Foreign Department Proceedings, June 1892, Secret Frontier, No. 228- Viceroy to Amir, 2nd May 1892, p. 10.

[5] Foreign Department Proceedings, June 1892, Secret Frontier, No. 221- Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, London, April 28, 1892, p. 7.

[6] Foreign Department Proceedings, April 1893, Secret Frontier No. 152- Amir to Viceroy, March 10, 1893, p. 1.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[8] Foreign Department Proceedings, April 1893, Secret Frontier No. 152 Amir to Viceroy, March 10, 1893, p. 3.

Col. C. E. Yate as the British Commissioner and M. Ignatiew as the Russian Commissioner formed the Enquiry Commission.[10] Muhammad Painda Khan, the Afghan Representative was also present in the proceedings of the Joint Commission which were recorded in six Protocols.[11] The first Protocol recorded the result of the inspection of the locality by the Joint Commissioners and the Sixth Protocol recorded the settlement arrived at by the Commission.[12] The inspection of the country showed that there were six canals on the left bank of the river Kushk. The first Canal Mill, which was situated south of the Kara-Tape mound flowed northwards along the left bank of the river and ultimately fell back in the Kushk without being used for irrigation.[13] Kara-Tape-Paijin, second canal nearly one thousand and twenty seven yards from the head of the first canal having a course of two miles to the West of the Kara-Tape mound, had been closed, the Afghan Representative explained, a year before by the orders of the Amir. The third canal Kara-Tape-Kalan running in a North-westerly direction irrigated some cultivated lands on its course. The lands irrigated by this canal amounted to about one hundred and ninety four acres. The Afghan Representative stated that there were twenty-two families of Achakzai Afghans settled at Kara-Tape who cultivated the lands irrigated by this canal.[14] Chapgul the fourth canal was dry at the moment of the inspection as according to the Afghan explanation, water only entered this canal when the Kushk river was in flood.[15] There were traces of the previous year's cultivation, at a few spots and the Afghan Representative stated that only two families of Alizais were located near the canal, the remainder having all moved further up the river. On inspection, the river bed was found to be quite dry for a distance of nearly two miles to the south of the head of the Chapgul canal. The canal was mostly fed by springs emanating from the marshes along its banks.[16] Khwajah Jir which was the fifth canal flowed parallel to and not far from the bed of the river, in a northerly direction irrigating the cultivated lands which were met with here and there on both sides of the canals for a distance of about two miles. There were thirty eight Alizai families who cultivated about one hundred and ninety acres of land watered by this canal.[17] The sixth canal situated about one and a half miles above the head of the Khwajah Jir was called the Pula-i-khisti Canal,[18] which according to the version of the Afghans had been closed by the orders of the Amirs when the complaints of the Russian authorities against the infractions of the Protocol were received by him. The lands near the Pula-i-khisti Canal were thenceforth being irrigated by water brought into by a branch from the Chahil-Dukhtar Canal. The said canal, which irrigated some lands to the south did not concern the object of the inspection.[19] Having received the report that two new canals had been opened about three years earlier by the Afghan cultivators, the Amir had ordered them to be immediately closed.[20]

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[9] Foreign Department Proceedings, April 1893, Secret Frontier No. 161 J. Cunningham to C. E. Yate, 20th March, 1893, p. 1.

[10] Foreign Department Proceedings, August 1893, Secret Frontier No. 51 Protocol No. 1 signed by V. Ignatiew, L. Artamanow, C. E. Yate, H. D. Napier, and Painda Khan, p. 4.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[12] Aitchison, C. U.: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and the neighbouring Countries, Vol. VIII, p. 218.

[13] Aitchison, C. U.: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and the neighbouring countries, Vol. XIII, Appendix No. III Protocol No. 1, p. CLXXXVIII.

[14] Foreign Department Proceedings, August 1893, Secret Frontier No. 51-Protocol No. 1, signed by V. Ignatiew, L. Artamanow, C. E. Yate, H. D. Napier and Painda Khan, p. 4.

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[15] Aitchison, C. U.: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and the neighbouring countries, Vol. XIII, Appendix No. III, Protocol No. 1, p. CLXXXIX.

[16] Foreign Department Proceedings, August 1893, Secret Frontier No. 51-Protocol No. 1-Signed by V. Ignatiew, L. Artamanow, C. E. Yate, H. D. Napier and Painda Khan, p. 5.

[17] Aitchison, C. U.: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and the neighbouring countries, Vol. XIII, Appendix No. III, Protocol No. 1, page CXC.

[18] Foreign Department Proceedings, August 1893, Secret Frontier No. 51-Protocol No. 1 signed by V. Ignatiew, C. E. Yate, L. Artamanow, H. D. Napier and Panda Khan, p. 5.

[19] Aitchison, C. U.: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and the neighbouring countries, Vol. XIII, Appendix No. III, Protocol No. 1, page CXC.

[20] Foreign Department Proceedings, August 1893, Secret Frontier No. 51, Protocol No. 1, Signed by V. Ignatiew, L. Artamanow, C. E. Yate, H. D. Napier and Painda Khan, p. 7.

There was considerable discussion between the two commissioners regarding the extent of infractions, committed by the Afghans, but the Russian commissioner insisted that whatever be the infraction, there should be a complete observance of Clause III of Protocol No. 4 of 22nd July 1887,[21] and he demanded destruction of all canals without any exception, in use by Afghans on the left bank of the Kushk between Kara-Tape and Chahil—Dukhteran, and that the Afghans should entirely desist from using the waters of the Kushk for their agricultural work to the north of Chahil-Dukhteran. Ultimately protocol. No. 6 was signed by the two commissioners at a meeting held at Chahil-Dukhteran on 22nd August, (3rd September) 1893.[22] The Agreement arrived at by Protocol No. 6 was that all the irrigation made by the Afghan subjects by the canals, Kara-Tapa-Kalan, Chapgul, Khwajah Jir and the branches of Pula-i-Khisti and Chahil—Dukhteran canals constituted an infraction of the Protocol of 22 July 1887 and consequently it was to be definitely closed.[23] The British Commissioner was to take immediate necessary measures to execute this settlement. As the Mill Canal was not an infraction, but as it was longer than necessary it was decided that it should be shortened.[24] The Afghans would not take off water from the river Kushk north of Pula-i-Khisti for irrigation by means of either new or disused or close canals, but they would have a right to make use of the branches to irrigate their cultivation as far as the parallel of Chahil-Dukhteran Pillar No. 23, as also a right to all the water of the Kushk to the south of the ruins of the Chahil—Dukhteran bridge (Pula-i-Khisti).[25] Provided the Afghans strictly adhered to these stipulations, the want of water in the Kushk, no matter from whatever causes arising would not give excuse for further claims on the part of the Russian authorities.[26] The Agreement was also signed by Muhammad Painda Khan, the Afghan Representative as an asserting party besides being signed by the commissioners of the two Governments. Immediate effect was given to these decisions.[27]

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[21] Foreign Department Proceedings, August 1893, Secret Frontier No. 505-Protocol No. 2 of 1893, signed by C. E. Yate, H. D. Napier, V. Ignatiew, L. Atamanow and Painda Khan, p. 5.

[22] Foreign Department Proceedings, October 1893, Secret Frontier No. 482-Protocol No. 6, signed by V. Ignatiew, L. Artamanow, C. E. Yate H. D. Napier and Painda Khan, p. 2.

[23] Aitchison, C. U.: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and the neighbouring countries, Vol. XIII, p. 254.

[24] Foreign Department Proceedings, October 1893, Secret Frontier No. 482-Protocol No. 6 of 1893, signed by V. Ignatiew, L. Artamanow, C. E. Yate, H. D. Napier and Painda Khan, page 3.

[25] Aitchison, C. U.: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and the neighbouring countries, Vol. XIII, p. 255.

Though the dispute about the canal water in the Kushk Valley was at last settled, the difficulties of the Russo-Afghan border were not yet over.[28] The complaint made by the Russian Government was that the usual source of the water supply of Bosagha had been destroyed or impaired by a shifting of the bed of the river Oxus and that the Afghan authorities refused to allow the inhabitants of Bosagha to tap fresh sources higher up the river,[29] and to allow them to construct fresh canals on Afghan territory.[30] The complaint was transmitted to the Amir explaining that the Russians contended that their request was within the spirit of the Agreement and in accordance with local customs. Captain Young Husband, a British Representative was further asked to take up certain survey work in the direction of Badakshan and Darwaz and thence proceed to Khamiab to enquire into the question of water dispute at the spot.[31] Unless the Amir agreed to this[32] the Viceroy said he did not know how he was to meet the Russian demands or to protect his interests.[33] But the suggestion of Her Majesty's Government was that Major Maclean be deputed for enquiry into the canal, a preliminary discussion might first be undertaken by the Afghan and Bukharian authorities and, if these local authorities failed to arrive at a mutually satisfactory settlement, the English and the Russian officers might draw up a report for the information and decision of their respective Governments. But if it was the intention of the Indian Government that there should be an inspection of the localities by the British officer deputed to the Oxus and that the examination should be carried out on the spot in consultation with the Russian colleagues they had no objection. And in case these officers failed to arrive at an Agreement on the spot the two Governments should endeavour to settle the matter after considering reports submitted by them.[34]

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[26] Foreign Department Proceedings, October 1893, Secret Frontier No. 482-Protocol No. 6 of 1893, signed by V. Ignatiew, L. Artamanow, C. E. Yate, H. D. Napier and Painda Khan, p. 4.

[27] Foreign Department Proceedings, October 1893, Secret Frontier No. 482-Protocol No. 6 of 1893, signed by V. Ignatiew, L. Artamanow, C. E. Yate, H. D. Napier and Painda Khan, p. 5.

[28] Foreign Department Proceedings, September 1891, Secret Frontier No. 234-Salisbury to M. de Staal Russian Ambassador, London, 21st April 1891, p. 4.

[29] Foreign Department Proceedings, September 1891, Secret Frontier No. 214-Salisbury to M. de Staal Russian Ambassador, London, 21st April 1891, p. 5.

[30] Foreign Department Proceedings, March 1891, Secret Frontier No. 82, Sir T. H. Sanderson to the Under Secretary of State for India, 16th January 1891, p. 2.

[31] Foreign Department Proceedings, September 1891, Secret Frontier No. 98-No. 38 of 1891, Government of India to Viscount Cross, Secretary of State for India, 11th March 1891.

[32] Foreign Department Proceedings, February 1891, Secret Frontier No. 140, Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, London, 9th February 1891, p. 2.

According to the Treaty of Gortchakoff and Clarendon in 1872-73, Russia had agreed that Badakshan and Wakhan be included in Afghanistan. As Roshan and Shignam formed a part of Badakshan, they were under the Government of Afghanistan. These two places commanded the roads from Russia towards India and consequently Russia was anxious to obtain their possession.[35] For some time past communications had been going on between the Russian and the British Governments regarding their respective spheres of influence on the Pamir and the Agreement of 1872-73 making the river Oxus the North-Eastern Boundary of Afghanistan upto Lake Victoria. The boundary on the Oxus had been fixed at that time in an insufficient infraction and it had subsequently been discovered that Roshan and Shignan which were situated to the north of the Oxus formed part of Badakshan under Afghanistan, while the district of Darwaz which was south of the river was a tributary to Bukhara under Russia. This was a peculiar situation according to Russia and not in keeping with the Agreement of 1873. The demands made by Russia were firstly to adhere strictly to the line of the Oxus, as the boundary and secondly to fix a frontier east of Lake Victoria.[36] According to the Russians, Roshan and Shignan which were situated on the other side of the Oxus were required to be abandoned by the Amir so that the Khans whom he had dispossessed might return and these places were to remain under the Russian influence though not in Russian occupapation. With regard to the part of Darwaz which was on the Afghan side of the Oxus, they said that it had belonged to Bukhara before the Agreement of 1873, but it was not known then that the Oxus had taken a course which had placed a portion of Darwaz on the Afghan side. However the Imperial Government could consider the transfer of the territory in question from the possession of Bukhara to Afghanistan.[37] The arrangement suggested regarding the frontier east of Lake Victoria (Sarikul), the Russians claimed, would give the British the possession over the northern slopes of the Hindu-Kush.[38]

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[33] Foreign Department Proceedings, February, 1891, Secret Frontier No. 140—Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, London, 9th February 1891, p. 2.

[34] Foreign Department Proceedings, September 1891, Secret No. 242, J. A. Godley to Under Secretary of State for Foreign Office, India Office, London, 24th July 1891.

[35] Foreign Department Proceedings, October 1886, Secret Frontier No. 983, Memorandum of O. T. Burns regarding the Frontier from the Hari-Rud to the Oxus, Part V, 31st July 1886, p. 28.

Her Majesty's Government while acknowledging the claim made by the Russians on the basis of the Agreement of 1873 stated that their knowledge of the course of the river Oxus was vague and inaccurate. The arrangement suggested by them on the Oxus was not a good one as it would give no territory in the possession of Bukhara to Afghanistan while on the other hand it would remove from the Amir of Afghanistan the territories of Roshan and Shignan of which he had long been the *de facto* Sovereign. The question, the British said, should be settled not in a spirit of bargaining but an endeavour should be made to arrange, in a large spirit of statesmanship, the future relations of the two empires which held the destinies of Asia.[39] And for this it was suggested

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36. Foreign Department Proceedings, June 1893, Secret Frontier No. 157 External-Rosebery to M. de Staal, Foreign Office, 34th April 1893, p. 33.

37. Foreign Department Proceedings, June 1843, Secret Frontier No. 145 Rosebery to Sir R. Morier, April 18, 1893, p. 25, Interview between the Russian Ambassador M. de Staal and myself on 10th April 1893.

38. Foreign Department Proceedings, June 1893, No. 157 External-Rosebery to M. de Staal, 24th April, 1893, p. 33.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

that a line drawn from the southern point or Darwaz to Lake Victoria and East Lake Victoria to the Chinest Frontier would fulfil the real intentions of the negotiations of 1872-73 and would give the fairest and just promise of a permanent solution.[40] The Russian Ambassador replied that he could not concur with the views because it appeared difficult to admit that the Amir was ignorant of the real course of the Oxus, at the time of the arrangement made in 1873.[41] He however strongly insisted that the course of the Oxus between the points suggested by him should be accepted not only as the northern boundary of Afghanistan but as the southern boundary of the Russian sphere of influence and the Amir should withdraw his possession over Roshan and Shignan.[42] Keeping the said facts in view, Sir M. Durand, a British officer, was appointed to acquaint the Amir that the Russian Government insisted on the literal fulfilment of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1872-73 and that Her Majesty's Government did not consider it possible to resist the claim. This meant the Amir's withdrawal from Trans-Oxus Roshan and Shignan which he had for the previous ten years occupied against the advice of the Government of India. The Amir was also to be assured that the effect of this withdrawal would be to give him a definite frontier on the North-East, a point concerning which the Amir had more than once expressed his anxiety. His frontier on the upper Oxus would be as secure as on the Lower Oxus.[43]

The settlement of the question of the evacuation of Roshan and Shignan was the primary duty that was assigned to M. Durand, although he was instructed at the same time to endeavour to arrive at an amicable frontier, about which the Amir had differences of opinion with the Government of India.[44] On reaching Kabul, Sir Durand satisfied the Amir that the claim of the Russians was reasonable and inevitable according to the agreement of 1872-73. The Amir consented to act in compliance with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government and accepted their decision in acknowledgment of his obligation to follow the British advice in matters affecting his relations with the foreign powers. Consequently the following Agreement was signed by the Amir and Sir M. Durand on 12th November 1893.

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[40] Foreign Dept. Proceedings, July 1893, Secret Frontier No. 548, Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, London 30th June 1893, p. 27.

[41] Foreign Department Proceedings, June 1893, Secret Frontier No. 145, Rosebery to Sir R. Morier, April 18, 1893, Interview between the Russian Ambassador and myself on 10th April 1893, p. 26.

[42] Foreign Department Proceedings, January 1894, Secret Frontier, No. 207, Government of India to Secretary of State for India, London, 3rd January 1894, p. 35.

[43] Foreign Department Proceedings, October 1893, Secret Frontier No. 1, Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department to Sir M. Durand, 14th September 1893 (Confidential). Instructions for Durand's guidance, p. 1.

"Whereas the British Government has represented to His Highness the Amir that the Russian Government presses for the literal fulfilment of the Agreement of 1873 between Russia and England by which it was decided that the river Oxus should form the Northern Boundary of Afghanistan from Lake Victoria (Wood's Lake) or Sarikul on the east to the junction of the Kokcha with the Oxus, and whereas the British Government considers itself bound to abide by the terms of this Agreement, if the Russian Government equally abides by them. His Highness Amir Abdur Rahman wishing to show his friendship to the British Government and his readiness to accept their advice in matters affecting his relations with foreign powers, hereby agrees that he will evacuate all the districts held by him to the north of this portion of the Oxus on the clear understanding that all the districts lying to the south of this portion of the Oxus and now in his possession, be handed over to him in exchange. And Sir M. Durand, hereby declares on the part of the British Government that the transfer to His Highness the Amir of the said districts lying to the south of the Oxus is an essential part of this transaction and undertakes that arrangements will be made with the Russian Government to carry out the transfer of the said lands to the north and south of the Oxus."[45]

The Amir also received a letter from Sir Durand informing him that the assurance given to him by the British Government in regard to his territory when he came to the throne of Kabul, remained in force[46] and was applicable to any territory which might come into his possession in consequence of the Agreement which he had now made.[47] The Viceroy informed Her Majesty's Government that the settlement arrived at was most satisfactory and the Amir's consent to abandon peacefully his Trans-Oxus possession had removed a serious international difficulty and had facilitated the settlement of the embarrassing questions at issue between Her Majesty's Government and that of Russia. It was also the strongest proof of the friendship and loyalty of the Amir that he had accepted the British advice inspite of the sacrifice involved in its compliance.[48] For the Indian Empire, this successful Agreement constituted the most important achievement of external policy during the nineteenth century. Not only did it stop the further advance of Russia towards India but it removed a constant source of misunderstanding and irritation with that power. Moreover it paved the way for the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 which improved the relations of the two powers to such an extent that their cooperation in the Great War was thereby materially facilitated.

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[44] Aitchison, C. U.: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and the neighbouring countries, Vol. XIII, p. 218.

[45] East India Afghanistan: Treaty between the British Government and the Amir of Afghanistan, 21st March 1905, Papers presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty, No. 5, Agreement signed at Kabul on 12th November 1893, p. 7.

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[46] Foreign Department Proceedings, January 1894, Secret Frontier No. 207, Government of India to Secretary of State for India, London, 3rd January 1894, p. 35.

[47] Foreign Department Proceedings, January 1894, Secret Frontier No. 197, Durand to Amir of Afghanistan, 11th November 1893, p. 22.

[48] Foreign Department Proceedings, January 1894, Secret Frontier No. 207, Government of India to Secretary of State for India, London, 3rd January 1894, p. 37.

J. 6

The Genesis of the Indian National Congress

BY

B. L. GROVER, M.A., Ph.D.

Why was the Indian National Congress founded in the year 1885? Why was it left to an ex-Secretary[1] to the Government of India and a national of the white ruling race to organise a political organisation for the well-being of the Indians? What were Allan Hume's real motives? Did the idea of the Indian National Congress originate with Lord Dufferin? Was the Indian National Congress a product of Dufferin's Machiavellianism or Hume's liberalism or a by-product of their conspiracy? Was Russophobia the compelling motive? These questions have so far defied satisfactory answers.

It was W. C. Bonnerjee[2] who first propounded the thesis that the Indian National Congress as an all-India political organisation owed its origin to the scheming brain of Dufferin of Ava. The Viceroy sent for Mr. A. O. Hume and convinced him that the latter's proposal to set up an all-India organisation to reform social evils of Indian society would not be of much avail and instead suggested the need for an all-India political organisation which could point out to the Government the defects of the administration and also how these could be removed. The great pro-consul's idea was that the proposed organisation should perform the same functions in India which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England. Hume discussed the Viceroy's plan with the Indian politicians and all decided to work out the project. Bonnerjee's view is vouched for by Mr. Wedderburn, the biographer of Hume. This contention is also supported by Lal Lajpat Rai[3] who has further developed the theme that Dufferin-Hume worked out the plan of an 'innocuous and loyal' political organisation to serve as a 'safety-valve' for the escape of the mounting dangers that beset the British Empire. Pattabhi Sitaramayya[4] also subscribes to the general view that Dufferin and Hume worked in unison and evolved out the plan of a political organisation. The official records of the Government of India and the Private Correspondence of Lord Dufferin give an insight into the developments connected with the inception of the Indian National Congress and negate Bonnerjee's view. A broad perspective of the developments suggests that the egg of Indian nationalism had been incubated decades earlier and this national consciousness was a product of the Indian renaissance and contemporary Western influences. Russophobia worked the part of the incubator and brought the egg to a ripening point while Mr. Hume only struck the shell of the ripe egg and thus played the part of the *nurse* rather than of the *father* of the Indian National Congress.

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[1] Allan Octavian Hume joined the Indian Civil Service in 1849. He worked in various capacities like a District Officer, Secretary to the Government in the Home Department and later Secretary in the newly created Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce. In 1882 he resigned his service and settled at Simla.

[2] W. C. Bannerjee: *Indian Politics* (1898), pp. vii-viii.

[3] Lajpat Rai: *Young India*, pp. 135-38.

Russophobia and Indian Fermentation

The fear of Russian advancement in Central Asia and the apprehended invasion of Herat in the spring of 1885 kept the Indian Government at tenterhooks. As was the case with the Irish people during the American and French Revolutions, the people of India gave demonstration of their loyalty to the Crown by offering themselves as volunteers for the defence of their country. The Indian press and western-educated Indians demanded the organisation of volunteer corps. A similar demand came from the European residents in India also. The Indian citizens wanted arms for self-defence and for performance of police duties should all the resources of the Government be deployed at the frontier to meet advancing Russian armies. The 'Volunteer Movement', as Government officials called it, considerably puzzled the Government which read sinister motives in the 'volunteering craze' and an imitation of Irish methods with the ulterior objective to profit from England's difficulties. During the Viceroy's visit to Lahore in April 1885, the Indian Association of Lahore considerably embarrassed the Viceroy by confronting him with a representation for the formation of an Indian Volunteer Corps and repeal of the Arms Act.

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[4] Pattabhi Sitaramayya: *History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, pp. 22-24.

The petitioners expressed great fear and horror at the prospect of India's invasion and the resultant ravages of war. The Viceroy replied to the petitioners in a very cautious and diplomatic language: "The normal forces of the Empire are more than sufficient to maintain the inviolability of our territory and among the forces there is none more invincible than the consciousness that behind the organised and disciplined Anglo-Indian armies is stored up the unexhaustible fund of popular loyalty and courageous enthusiasm to which you have so opportunately referred",[5] while to the Secretary of State he wrote that "if the military enthusiasm of the authors of the agitation were genuine, it would be easy enough to manage it, but the thoughts of some of them are of different complexion".[6] In a subsequent communication to the Secretary of State, Dufferin wrote that the Volunteer Movement was "stimulated by designing people with a view to the creation of a Citizen Army to be hereafter used for political purposes".[7] The Military Department of the Indian Government drew up a memorandum on the Volunteer Movement which the Viceroy forwarded to high officials in India for opinion. Sir Lepel Griffin, Agent. to the Governor General in Central India, described the Volunteer Scheme as 'impolitic and dangerous' and the idea in its genesis 'insincere and factitious' and cautioned the Government that the Indian Volunteers would prove a source of anxiety in times of peace and in times of danger of war. Referring to the professed loyalty of the Indians, Griffin wrote: "Indians will be loyal in the sense that a mastiff is loyal to his master, not in the sense a son is loyal to his father. A mastiff well-fed and contented will defend his master's property, as the Indians have done and will do; but there are limits to his fidelity and under circumstances when his animal instincts are aroused or opposed he will turn on his master".[8] He likened the relation of the English and the Indian people "to those medieval marriages in which the bride and the bridegroom are separated by a naked force". Mr. J. D. Cordery, Resident at Hyderabad opined that "the widespread permission to possess arms would lead to an increase in serious crime affecting the less warlike and inoffensive portion of the population".[9]

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[5] Enclosure to Dufferin's letter to the Secretary of State, dated 19 April, 1885.

[6] Dufferin's letter to the Secretary of State, dated 19 April, 1885.

[7] Viceroy's letter to the Secretary of State, dated 1 July, 1885.

[8] Griffin's letter to the Viceroy, dated 21 June, 1885.

How could popular sentiment and enthusiasm for defending the empire be refused?—this was the Government's dilemma. A straight refusal would mean laying down in unmistakable terms the policy of distrust and exclusion of the Indians. As a way out, Grant Duff, the Governor of Madras, advocated "a Machiavellian policy of granting the desire of those who wanted to join the Volunteer Corps and then taking care that the plaything should soon have its spring broken".[10] Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, wanted to confine the Volunteer franchise to owners of land or occupiers of a considerable area and those who possessed educational qualifications. To further limit the number of volunteers, Lord Reay suggested that the examination of officers and conditions of drill be made more stringent. Other experts suggested the side-tracking of the 'Volunteer' agitation by offering some concession to the Indians like the raising of the age limit for civil service examinations, relaxation of the provisions of the Arms Act or even of granting commissions to the Indians in the regular army. Dufferin summed up his views to Lord Randolph Churchill, the Secretary of State thus: "I certainly should consider it safer to admit a certain portion of natives to responsible commands in the regular army than to put rifles and ammunition into the hands of a parcel of untrained, undisciplined and excitable Indian university graduates".[11] The Indian Government cold-shouldered the issue and the 'Volunteer Movement' petered out as the Russian danger receded.

Russophobia and the 'Volunteer Movement' worked as a lever to political activity in India. In the ferment of political ideas, the project of an all-India political organisation which was already in the air found an atmosphere very conducive for birth and growth. It was in March 1885, when the Russian danger was at its optimum point, that A. O. Hume met the Viceroy, explained to him his proposal to organise the Indian National Congress and succeeded in securing the Viceroy's neutrality, if not active support, for

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9. Cordery's letter to the Viceroy, dated 3 July, 1885.
10. Grant Duff's letter to the Viceroy, dated 24 June, 1885.
11. Dufferin's private letter to the Secretary of State, dated 1 July, 1885

his plan. Taken in this light, Russophobia did yield home dividends to the Indians.

Hume's Role

Much controversy has centred round Hume's real motives in bringing about the inception of the Indian National Congress. Why was it necessary for Hume, it is argued, to by-pass the Indian National Conference sponsored by Surendra Nath Banerjee (which was scheduled to hold its second all-India session at Calcutta in December 1885) and launch a parallel organisation of his own? That Hume was a liberal and 'deadly earnest' about the project, no one has ever denied. When Hume, like Lord Durham of Canada Fame argued for broad-basing the colonial administration and making it more representative or responsive to the public opinion, he was acting like an enlightened imperialist. Like Durham again, Hume believed that the interests of the empire would be better served by providing it with a 'safety-valve' for the escape of dangerous agitation rather than hermetically sealing the chimney-outlet and exposing the empire to the risk of a dangerous explosion. Hume thus advocated early introduction of constitutional reforms as a cure of the Indian political unrest. Dufferin differed with Hume's methods and conclusions. He did not share Hume's alarmist view of the political situation in the country and considered Hume's fears of a general insurrection as 'foolish'. He considered Hume to be an 'idealist', a man of 'unpracticable nature' who had 'a bee in his bonnet'. A mature statesman that Lord Dufferin was, he adopted an attitude of outward civility towards Hume and his other colleagues although he disagreed with their projects and policies.

Allan Octavian Hume had inherited liberal tendencies from his father Joseph Hume (a Radical leader of England) and his sentimental and soft heart leapt for the general good of humanity. In the contemporaneous ideological context, however, the good of the Indian people was not necessarily bound up with the grant of Home Rule or independence to them. It was an age of rising imperialism in Europe and even Gladstone, who virtually personified Liberalism in Europe, was led into the occupation of Egypt and Sudan. Hume's liberalism was limited, as far as India was concerned, to the provision of a clean and sympathetic administration coupled with some sort of independent representation for the Indians in the Legislative Councils.

Hume launched a frontal attack on the ways of the oppressive, heartless and race-conscious bureaucracy. He brought to the notice of the Viceroy cases of official excesses against the people. He cited the case of the Ambala Magistrate victimizing peaceful processionists. Further, he forwarded to the Viceroy a cutting from *the Mirror* regarding high-handedness on the part of Mr. Laidman, Magistrate of Mussoorie, towards three petty zamindars. To indicate the general temper of the Anglo-Indian community, Hume wrote the details of the Lucknow case which was tried in the time of Lord Ripon. An English lady, resident at Lucknow, woke up in screams one night and reported to the police that an Indian had tried to ravish her. *The Englishman* took up the cause of the European community and demanded the resignation of Lord Ripon. Fortunately for Ripon and the Indians, Justice Norris who tried the case decided, after getting the medical report of the lady, that the case was false and the lady had a nightmare and probably her mind had been inflamed by the wild talk she heard and the violent writings in the Anglo-Indian newspapers. When the Viceroy insisted that Hume should not indulge in generalities but should bring to his notice concrete cases of misgovernment, injustice and outrage, Hume was irked and wrote back: "You do not get the truth—that virtually when it is alleged that the cat stole the cream, you blandly say—"Pussy, you surely did not steal the cream?" I say that (unless when thieves fall out) the service and the race bias is so strong that you never get the truth. The race bias makes the ordinary magistrate let off the ravisher or the murderer; the service bias makes the whole official series, more or less, uphold the erring magistrate. The whole tone of the administration is rotten .... the bureaucracy is demoralized".[12]

For some inexplicable reasons Hume had great faith in the good sense of Lord Dufferin and urged him from time to time to play the hero and become the benefactor of India. In a letter of 28 June 1886, Hume urged the Viceroy "to act directly and energetically on our behalf, leaving Lord Kimberley (Secretary of State) and anyone else to like it or lump it". He further wrote: "You are big enough to do—that is what cuts me to the heart—that God should, as it were, have brought the one man who could do it—into the one position in which it can be done and yet you won't act."[13] Hume wanted the Viceroy to forthwith appoint a commission to consider and report on a definite scheme for the introduction of a representative element into the Legislative Councils. Anticipating the Viceroy's objection that the Secretary of State would not approve of such a step, Hume referred to Mayo's approach in a similar predicament: "Well, I think it is right and I mean to do it and I shall leave the Secretary of State to veto it if he likes". Hume exhorted the Viceroy to take a bold stand: "Your first duty is to the people of India whom God has committed to your charge; ranks, talents, reputation have been conferred on you by the Almighty to enable you to perform that duty effectively, unfettered by official traditions and party policy".[14] But the Viceroy would not act. Dufferin had no desire to become a hero in the sense and the way Ripon had become. Rather Dufferin was a great critic of Ripon's policy in India which, according to Dufferin, consisted in 'extensive speechyfying' and 'Midlothianizing' of India. Dufferin stated his policy thus: "Now that our holiday is over we must go to school again and my sole ambition is to become as commonplace and humdrum as possible."[15]

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[12] Hume's letter to Dufferin, dated 13 August, 1886.

Hume's altruism was not incompatible with his imperial instincts. He was a true well-wisher of British imperialism and wished its continuation in India. Fully aware of the mounting discontent in the country against the stiff and unimaginative attitude of the bureaucracy and static policy of the Government, Hume urged the Viceroy to mend matters by grant of political concessions before it was too late. In a spirited letter to the Viceroy he wrote: "I only want you, dear Lord Dufferin, to understand—to think for yourself—you who have read and realized history—what all this means—what it *must* come to, unless you and someone bestir themselves to disinfect the insalubrious streams of the administration by turning into them the purer element of *independent indigenous representation*".[16] "Perhaps" wrote further Mr. Hume, "you feel the whole thing as fully as myself, but you seem to me not to realize the danger—the absolute necessity of opening early, before the great pressure comes on new and greatly improved safety valves".[17]

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[13] Hume's letter to Dufferin, dated 28 June, 1886.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Dufferin's letter to Arthur Hardinge, Commander-in-Chief, Bombay, dated 29 December, 1884.

If the Viceroy would not take an early action to open a safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, Hume would not see things lying down. Hume could devise "no more efficacious safety-valve than the Congress movement".[18] Since a thoroughly loyal political organisation alone could subserve the imperial interests that were so dear to Hume's heart, Hume would not associate himself with the Indian National Conference organised by Surendra Nath Banerjee, a disgruntled Indian of 'advanced' political views. Hume took the steam out of Bonnerjee's ship by launching a parallel political organisation and took care to associate with it only moderate and loyalist elements. When the Governor of Bombay refused to accept the presidentship of the first Congress it was offered to W. C. Bonnerjee who ridiculed all sorts of political agitation and was the model of a loyal Indian. With the emergence of the Indian National Congress on the Indian political firmament, the Indian National Conference paled into insignificance and became extinct.

Hume's loyalty to the British crown was unquestionable. In fact his active association with the Congress had a steadying influence on that body towards loyalty to the British crown. At the Calcutta session of the Congress, Dadabhai Naoroji dwelt at length on the 'Blessings of the British Rule' and his remarks were cheered by the audience. Mr. Hume moved a resolution for three times three cheers for Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen Empress and a further resolution for the long life of the Queen.

Hume always advised his party colleagues in the Indian National Congress to look upon Lord Dufferin not as an enemy but a friend and well-wisher. "If in action a neutral" Hume main-

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16. Hume's letter to Dufferin dated 13 August. 1886.
17. *Ibid.*
18. W. Wedderburn: A. O. Hume, p. 77.

tained "Dufferin was at least a passive friend desirous of the welfare of the people and enlargment of their liberties". He, however, cautioned his friends not to expect immediate practical results. How cleverly Hume used his liaison with the Viceroy will be clear from an example. When the 'Volunteer Movement' had become a popular craze, Hume sent round a circular propagating that the Viceroy was 'a consistent and earnest' and at the same time 'a wise and prudent' friend and asking the people to have faith in him. At the same time, Hume wrote to the Viceroy: "This (circular) has so far kept our children quiet and contented, but it is desirable that, if possible, you should yourself say something to keep up their spirits. They are grumbling about the matter, of course unreasonably, but children will be children and our grown up men are few and far between".[19] It was Hume's misfortune or rather an inconsistency in his twin objectives—loyalty towards the crown and welfare of the Indians—that the spirit of loyalty he injected into the Congress organisation gradually faded out.

It was perhaps Hume's moderation and extra-Indian loyalties that made him a suspect with an extreme section of the Indian National Congress. His prestige showed signs of waning. In a letter of August 1886 to the Viceroy, Hume tried to dispel the widespread impression about his unique position in the Congress party and wrote: "If you think I am at all a Dictator, you are quite mistaken. There is no doubt that in certain matters, if I secured the assent of the higher powers, in fact if my view chanced to coincide with theirs, I could apparently do great things and exercise extraordinary influence. But, on the other hand, I am wholly powerless".[20] He compared his position in the Congress party to that of a "fly on the wheel." In a letter to the Viceroy, Hume summed up the assessment of his political colleagues about him (Hume). The Congress party. co-workers were reported having told Hume: "We really think it is partly your (Hume's) vanity. You want to do something superhuman and because you cannot, having only, as you told Dufferin a medium second class man and genius. You have to be driven before you will do anything ... You don't know it, but are really vain; it has often prevented and

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19. Hume's private letter to the Viceroy, dated 12 June, 1885.
20. Hume's letter to the Viceroy, dated 2 August, 1886.

will in the future, prevent your doing much good that you have done .... " About Hume's dealings with the Viceroy, the nationalist colleagues accused Hume of overrating Lord Dufferin in these words: "He (Dufferin) is not the true man ... You (Hume) behave to him like a child and just say what you think and feel and he gives you a glimpse of one side of his mind, that side which is most in harmony with our views and you come away with a conception of him and his character, which taking the man as a whole is not correct...."[22] Still the nationalist leaders advised Hume to remain friendly with the Viceroy lest he should maliciously thwart their organisation.

Dufferin's Attitude

Lord Dufferin could not possibly sponsor the idea of the Indian National Congress when he had considerable misgivings about the aims and objects of any political organisation of that type in India. In a personal note to Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, dated 17 May 1885, Dufferin referred to his March 1885 meeting with Hume (in which the latter broached his plan to organise a political convention of delegates from different parts of India) and wrote that, as far as he believed, the proposed Indian National Congress was going to be organised on 'the same lines as adopted by O'Connel previous to Catholic Emancipation'. "The functions of such an assembly" further wrote Dufferin in the same letter, "must of necessity consist in criticising the acts or policy of the Government and in formulating demands which probably it would be impossible to grant".[23] Referring to Hume's proposal to offer the presidential chair of the first Congress to Lord Reay, the Viceroy advised Lord Reay that the very idea of the head of the executive government of a province associating himself with such a movement was 'absurd'. Dufferin touched the basic question when he wrote to Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State: "I cannot help asking myself how an autocratic government like that of India which everyone will admit for many long years to come must in its main features remain autocratic will be able to stand the strain implied by the importation *en bloc* from England or rather from Ireland, of the perfected machinery of modern democratic

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21. Enclosure to Hume's letter to the Viceroy, dated 31 August, 1886.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Dufferin's letter to Lord Reay, dated 17 May, 1885.

agitation".[24] Dufferin was unhappy that the Indian National Congress should dabble in politics and would have very much liked it to concentrate its attention more on social and economic problems. "It is a great pity" wrote Lord Dufferin to the Secretary of State, "that these Congresses should have only occupied themselves with political questions, most of which they are incompetent to examine with any advantage. If instead of adopting that line they had discussed the great social and economic problems which are pressing for solution in India, they might have been of great assistance to the Government."[25] Dufferin cynically referred to the 'Babu Congresses' and found the level of discussions of the Calcutta Congress (1886) as 'very childish' and reminiscent of the atmosphere of an Eton or Harrow Debating Society than even of the Oxford or Cambridge Union.

Appreciating the 'loyal and friendly' tone of the Indian National Congress and apprehending no immediate danger, Dufferin outlined the policy of non-interference with the working of the Congress movement. Dufferin described himself as 'a liberal by instincts'[26] and disfavoured a repressive policy. However, to steal the thunder out of the Indian National Congress, Dufferin indicated his inclination to examine carefully the demands of the Indian National Congress or what he called 'the Indian Bill of Rights' and grant of some timely concessions coupled with the announcement that the concessions offered must be accepted as providing a final settlement of the Indian system for a period of ten or fifteen years. He actually recommended to the Home authorities a limited expansion of Indian provincial legislative councils and grant of a greater share to Indians in the administration without 'unduly compromising British Imperial supremacy'. Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State, also disfavoured a repressive policy 'on practical considerations', but cautioned the Viceroy not to be swayed away by popular applause and not to do anything which might "tend to fan the flame" and "not to go an inch beyond the necessity of the case".[27]

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[24] Dufferin's letter to the Secretary of State, 21 March, 1886.
[25] Dufferin's letter to the Secretary of State, 17 August, 1888.
[26] Dufferin's letter to Viscount Cross, the Secretary of State, dated 17 August, 1888.
[27] Lord Kimberley's letter to Lord Dufferin, dated 22 April, 1886.

If Dufferin found some writings of the nationalist press derogatory and exceeding the rules of propriety, he felt equally embarrassed at the writings of ultra-royalist bureaucrats like Lepel Griffin. Referring to Griffin's two articles entitled 'Native India' and 'Princes and People' which appeared in the Asiatic Review and were more in the nature of a reply to Hume's writings, Dufferin sent a rather tough note to Griffin: "I confess that there are passages in them which I think are calculated to cause more irritation in the minds of our native subjects than is either politic or desirable ... In dealing with subject and inferior races the rulers, above all things, are bound to be careful not to shock their susceptibilities or wound their vanity. Half our difficulties in Ireland have arisen from the bitter resentment occasioned by the slighting and supercilious tone in which *the Times* and all the English newspapers and our public writers generally have referred to the faults and less commendable characteristics of the Irish and we are now paying the penalty in the threatened dismemberment of the Empire".[28]

From the above discussion it is abundantly clear that Hume's motives were an amalgam of liberalism and imperialism, that he found in the plan of the proposed Indian National Congress an efficacious 'safety-valve' for the escape of great dangers that faced the British Empire, that he set up the 'loyal' Indian National Congress in 1885 to stunt the Indian National Conference of 'Bengali baboos' of 'advanced' views. Lord Dufferin did not sponsor the project of the Indian National Congress for even before the inception of the Congress, he had expressed considerable misgivings about the aims and objectives of any such political organisation. Nevertheless, apprehending no immediate danger from the Indian National Congress, Dufferin maintained an attitude of 'indifference' towards the movement. Russophobia worked more in the nature of a catalytic agent.

Impact of Liberal Victory in Britain on Indian Politics: 1905-6

BY

M. N. DAS

The British elections of 1905-6 carried a great significance not only for Britain but for the British empire as well. The implications of the Liberal victory were promptly realised in India. "A new Secretary of State for India will be appointed, and, more important still: How will the change of Ministry affect the position of our new Viceroy, Lord Minto?"—that was the nature of discussion among some of the Indian politicians.[1] Minto, a Conservative, was appointed by a Conservative Government in Britain to succeed a Conservative Curzon. The coming of a Liberal Government at home was bound to change the policy of the previous Government on certain vital matters like the Partition of Bengal. Equally meaningful was the entry of a few Indian sympathisers into the House of Commons. It was said: "Sir Henry Cotton and several other friends, who have advised the National Congress in the past, and who would urge its recommendations on the attention of Parliament, are in the Commons. The conditions are favourable to the introduction of some constitutional reforms, which would give to the representatives of the people an ampler, if not an effective, voice in the government of the country."[2] Thus it so happened that before the Liberal Government actually announced its policy of reforms, discussion on the subject started in India. The Indian National Congress at that time was discussing matters of constitutional changes and an opinion was on the air that some constitutional concessions were inevitable. In the fitness of things, therefore, the Congress Moderates felt encouraged by the victory of the Liberals as well as by the emergence of the English Radicals as their sympathisers in the Commons.

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[1] Minto Papers, Newspaper Extracts, Vol. I, *Indian Daily News*, December 6, 1905.

[2] *Ibid.*, *Indian Spectator*, February 10, 1906.

The Indian Government at once realised the nature of the political trends that were to follow the Liberal victory and the Radical interest in questions regarding India. The country was seen to be "at the commencement of a great change", and there was no doubt that the Congress movement was destined to assume a more aggressive turn. But the Government was not afraid of those developments. The real fear was from the side of the British politicians. On June 6, 1906, Minto wrote to the Prince of Wales giving a preliminary hint regarding his Administrations' apprehensions. "At present, if things are left alone here, I do not think the Congress movement is much to be feared; the danger exists at home, where a few Members of Parliament, with a very doubtful Indian connection, manage to keep the pot of disaffection boiling, and to disseminate entirely false views upon the position of affairs in India."[3] The contact which some Liberal and Radical Members of the Parliament began to establish with the Indian leaders created discontent among Indian Civil Servants. The Viceroy saw that the new Secretary of State, John Morley, showed willingness to cultivate more and more of similar contact between himself and the Congress Moderates. He was inclined to receive the "Indian visitors" and hear their opinion from the very beginning of his administration and especially prepared to give Gokhale the prospect of several "Expositions". Since the Indian Liberals did not advance impossible ideas to frighten Morley out of wits, the Secretary of State saw no objection to such contact increasing more and more. The Viceroy's objection was that the Indian leaders were "taken at a far higher valuation at home than they deserve." "One cannot disguise for oneself," he said to one of the Governors, "the danger ahead—the close connection of Congress with the vernacular press, generally disloyal, and the growing control of the press over newspapers throughout India—whilst at home political agitators from India, in close co-operation with Members of Parliament, are, I am afraid, bringing influences to bear on His Majesty's Government which may make things very difficult here."[4] It caused greater surprise to the Indian Government that the Liberals in power did not mind if the Radicals in Parliament did all they could to discredit the Viceroy and the bureaucracy.

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[3] Minto Papers, Letters & Telegrams, England & Abroad, Vol. I, No. 29, Minto to Prince of Wales, June 6, 1906.

[4] Minto Papers, Letters & Telegrams, 1905-6, Vol. I, No. 159, Minto to Arthur Lawley, Governor of Madras, June 29, 1906.

The Liberal Government gave an opportunity to Gokhale to discuss the Indian grievances in a broader sense with them. Gokhale began to study on the spot the spirit and working of different political schools in England. During the Budget discussions of July 1906, when Keir Hardie called for a division to place the salary of the Indian Minister on the estimates, Gokhale was himself present under the gallery. Later, he congratulated Morley for his victory through the division, but did not agree at all with his views on the economic well-being of India as propounded in the Parliament. Gokhale met other politicians to say that he was in despair, that "he had hoped when he came, to find jealous support for urgent Indian reforms: that the Parliament is ineffective; the paragon Liberal, the Secretary of State, is tepid, etc." The Secretary of State challenged him for what he said, but at the same time made it clear to the Indian leader that the Government was out to make a forward move. Those assurances made Gokhale hopeful. Through his English friends who supported his cause, he could convey it to the British Cabinet in July 1906 that the Partition of Bengal "will have been in operation for a year next September. Why not, when the year is up, start a departmental inquiry into what has happened, to show how it has worked." The Liberals seriously doubted the wisdom behind the Partition. Gokhale's suggestion for an enquiry was timely. The Lieutenant-Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Sir B. Fuller, was making the situation worse by his autocratic actions and extreme pro-Muslim attitude. In the light of popular agitation in India against the Partition, and reasonable demands of Gokhale for reconsideration, the Liberal Minister decided to stop further mischief in the new province. The recall of Fuller became "inevitable".

The Government of India prepared to be in accord with the Liberal Government at home in its desire to meet reasonable demands for reform. In view of the reception the Indian leaders were given in England, the Viceroy also prepared to agree that there were many honest men connected with the Congress movement. But the chief fear was that the Government was every day being brought more face to face with absolutely disloyal intentions, the ultimate object of which was the destruction of the British empire. Minto's Government, therefore, wanted that there should be no sympathy towards the Indian agitation from whatever quarter in England. He wrote to Morley:

> "I am afraid, that this movement is aided by constant questions in the House of Commons, which, though I readily recognise their honesty of purpose, convey the idea here that the people of India are recognised at home as a downtrodden by a bureaucratic British administration. I am very far from saying myself that this idea is accepted throughout the length and breadth of India, but our most loyal supporters, the great Native Chiefs and others, are thoroughly aware of it and recognise its danger. It is a growing danger, eagerly assisted by the Vernacular Press, and what I want particularly to make clear is that I am convinced we have got to deal, not with an honest desire for administrative improvements, but with a deliberate attempt towards the ultimate overthrow of British rule. In saying this I am only referring to what I believe to be going on in Bengal and Poona, which in no way represents the feelings of the mass of different populations in this country. But the danger exists, and it is all important that the natural sympathies of the British people should not be misled by the misrepresentation of eloquent speakers who visit England from India."[5]

While that was the feeling of the Government of India, the Indian leaders who proceeded to England could not be prevented there from narrating their stories before their known friends and other interested listeners. The leaders generally used a "language of despair". They could be challenged for what they declared, but they had had their saying nevertheless. Gokhale made it perfectly clear that he and the Indian Moderates had no intention of any unconstitutional work on their part. This led John Morley to conclude that it was to his own interest and the interest of the Viceroy that they should remain in terms with Gokhale. The latter's influence on the British Radicals in the House of Commons was very effective. He had also the strength of mind to stand for the policy of the Liberal Government and its promises for reforms

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5. Morley Papers, Minto to Morley, Vol III, August 1, 1906.

against those men who described the Liberal policy as vague, timid and hollow. "So I shall continue to believe him honest, until I find him out in tricks", said Morley.[6] He requested Gokhale not to keep up the trouble in East Bengal over the Partition question. "If your speakers or your newspapers set to work to belittle what we do, to clamour for the impossible, then all will go wrong. That is all I have to say." Gokhale, on his part, promised to do the needful in that direction. It goes without saying that he represented the force of moderation at a time of grave unrest, and he himself in turn, was influenced greatly by the English Liberals in whose new approach he reposed confidence.

The result was that the Indian authorities had to reconcile themselves with the Liberal-Moderate deals, but their fear increased on account of the increasing influence of the English Radicals on the Indian Extremists. According to the Viceroy, the anti-Partition movement in Bengal "would have gradually died out if it had been left to itself, but the Bengalee political agitators would not allow it to be so, and were very influentially supported by Members of Parliament who apparently are in entire sympathy with them." The Radicals at home always made it a point to bitterly criticise the actions of B. Fuller's Government in the new province. "Such support at home," complained Minto to the King-Emperor, "does untold harm in India. It is exaggerated here, and encourages a belief that the people of England are in full accord with the intentions of the Indian National Congress. Some of the Congress leaders are perfectly honest in their aims, but it is in the Viceroy's opinion all important that it should be known at home that under cover of Congress ambitions there is an absolutely disloyal element which is doing its best to spread disloyalty throughout India. And this movement is largely supported by ill-advised assistance from England."[7] The Viceroy produced evidences to establish his charges. He showed that Rs. 15,000 had been sent by the Congress to Henry Cotton's son to assist in the movement in England. Rs. 20,000 was sent to Gokhale while he was in England for the same purpose. Such transactions in any case made political contacts more meaningful. But the more serious evidences showed that some of the English Radicals really inspired the Indian revolutionaries to keep the anti-Partition agitation alive. From the south west of London, C. J. O'Donnell had written privately to Surendra Nath Banerjea on March 2, 1906, the following:

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[6] *Ibid.*, Morley to Minto, Vol. I, August 2, 1906.

[7] Minto Papers. Correspondence with King, No. 15, Minto to King Emperor, August 9, 1906.

"Keep on agitating and do so effectively. Large mass-meetings are the most useful. ... You have the justest of causes and I hope you will make your voice heard. Everything depends on you in India and remember a Whig does nothing unless pressed."

He advised to arrange "mass-meetings by dozens in every district, indoor and out of doors", so that Morley might yield. Surendra Nath utilised the letter well. He circulated the above extract from the letter among his partymen in the districts saying: "Our salvation lies in our own hands. The supreme moment of action has arrived. I beg you will follow Mr. O'Donnell's advice which is in harmony with what Sir Henry Cotton wrote to say a few weeks ago and hold mass-meetings throughout your District. There should be at least two or three meetings every week and the proceedings wired to the newspapers. A regular organisation should be formed for the purpose. I beg you will pay special attention to this letter. Mr. Morley's attitude is one in which his convictions are apparently at variance with his conclusion; and under the circumstances it is our clear duty to continue the agitation so that he may be persuaded to act in accordance with his convictions and the demands of a rational statesmanship."[8] Such being the case, Minto never ceased complaining. To the Prince of Wales, who was very much interested in putting down the agitation, the Viceroy said: "Much of the bad feeling, as Your Royal Highness knows, is engineered from home, and the agitators may still think it worth while to keep the fire smouldering."[9] And to the Secretary of State he said that "undoubtedly the Parliamentary connection between certain Congress leaders and Members of Parliament is a fact which we cannot ignore, and which is very much traded on here by native wire-pullers. ... I say that the less touch there is between India and the House of Commons at the present moment the better. Perhaps that is the wrong way of putting it; what I mean is the less appearance of interference there is by the House of Commons with Indian administration at the present moment the better. The more people at home know about India the better, but I am sure the more they learn the more they will appreciate the dangerous risks of interference with the political life of this country."[10] The British Radical impact on India in its substance was seen to be leading to "an over-encouragement of seeming political possibilities." Forces were set in motion which it took all the time of the Government to control.

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[8] Vide Letters of O'Donnell and Surendra Nath Banerjea as Enclosures to the Letters from L. Hare to Dunlop Smith, September 1, 1906, Morley Papers, Minto to Morley, Vol. III.

[9] Minto Papers, Letters & Telegrams, England & Abroad, Vol. I, No. 59, Minto to Prince of Wales, December 13, 1906..

The impact of the new approach from the side of the British Liberals and Radicals was not viewed with any satisfaction by the Anglo-Indian community in India. "Is the Anglo-Indian public prepared to believe," they argued, "that because the English-speaking Babus—a mere microscopic minority—are beating the big drum and are crying out for *Swaraj*, that the interests and wants of the Anglo-Indian Community and of the loyally-disposed, of the teeming population of India are to be handed over to a band of men of the type of Babu Bepin Chandra Pal?"[11] The community's main challenge was that during the several years in the past the Congress advertised its principles, and subsidised the politicians at home to support them and succeeded in being taken seriously by many Englishmen. The community recollected its own achievement during the Ilbert Bill agitation, and warned the authorities that undue sympathies towards Indians might lead the Anglo-Indians to mobilise once again.

The Liberal Cabinet's desire to give the Radicals a chance to know India and the Indian affairs more intimately became more and more pronounced. And, the Radicals made the Indian bureaucracy a target for their attack. A typical example of how the English Radicals encouraged the political movement in India was supplied by Keir Hardie who made a tour of the country during the later part of 1907. He travelled through Eastern Bengal where the anti-Partition leaders got much moral sympathy from him. He broke his journey at Delhi where he declared that "the Government of India was a European Government in a very bad form." He pointed out to the Indian people how the British policy aimed at dividing the Muslims from the Hindus to weaken their national movement. To the Muhammedans he gave the advice that they could only make progress by joining the Congress. He advised the agitators to carry on the agitation without violence. From Baroda, Keir Hardie sent to the *Daily Mail* news in which he said that the people of India "were bound gagged and at the mercy of the corruptest police in the world." At Madras he became the guest of the *Mahajana Sabha* which met his expenses by private subscription. Keir Hardie made a speech "in which he exhorted his hearers to forget their differences and to unite and declared that the people in England did not understand Indians since their only channel of communication was the official channel and the Anglo-Indian Press".[12] A son-in-law of Surendra Nath Banerjee accompanied the traveller in his tour of India, and he was really anxious to meet as many people as he could and to hear for himself different shades of opinion.

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[10] Morley Papers, Minto to Morley, Vol. V, January 2, 1907.

[11] Morley Papers, Vide Minto to Morley, Vol. V, The Englishman, April 1, 1907.

On October 16, 1907, Keir Hardie met the Viceroy. He argued with the Government of India that there was no real sedition, and that the unrest had been brought on by the oppressiveness of the British rule. He pleaded that in India it was a repetition of the policy which had ruined Ireland, and that much of the ill-feeling was due to the maladministration of local officials. Frankly enough, Keir Hardie told the Viceroy that "the Mahommedans have been systematically played off against the Hindus."[13] The visitor was aware of the difficulties involved in Indo-European racial antipathies and regretted that there was so little sympathy towards the Indians shown by the Englishmen. To him the Vernacular Press did not appear as generally bad. On the other hand, he said, much harm was done by the exaggeration of the European Press. The utterances of Keir Hardie left a deep impression on the Indian mind regarding the evil aspects of the British administration.

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[12] Minto Papers, Vide Diary of Events, M. 1069, September 25, Oct. 19, Oct. 21, and Nov. 4, 1907.

[13] Morley Papers, Vide Minto to Morley, Vol. VII, October 16, 1907.

Men like Wedderburn and Henry Cotton were writing from England to the Congress Moderates to keep up the agitation. Their direct encouragement was easier on account of the frequent visits of Indian leaders to England. The Secretary of State described the Indian visitors as the "missionaries", who found in England audiences for them, and those audiences supplied "steam to members of Parliament in want of other things to do." The Viceroy was sore about the exchange of visits. In December 1908, he complained to Lord Lansdowne that "most of our important agitators are at home and working from there—Lajpat Rai, Bepin Chandra Pal, etc."[14] His complaint was not as much against those who went to England, as against the Englishmen who listened to such Indian agitators and encouraged them in their anti-British activities. He suspected the existence of some kind of alliance between the extreme seditionists in India and some of the English ultra-Radicals. The Viceroy, drew the attention of the King-Emperor that some Radicals in England were "doing all in their power to encourage the leaders of sedition" in India, "regardless not only of the stability of British rule, but of the anxieties and dangers of their fellow-countrymen in India."[15] The Government of India also felt that the sedition was indirectly fostered by the English leftists since their opposition to repressive measures encouraged the terrorists to adopt violent methods. The Indian bureaucrats worked on their persistent policy of putting down the agitation by strong hand, while the English Radicals strongly opposed that kind of administrative expediency. Had there been no frequent comments in the House of Commons on the repressive measures of the Indian Government, the latter should have found it easier to put down the movement. The Viceroy, therefore, squarely threw the blame on the Commons when he said:

"Unfortunately the anarchical societies of the old world have gained a foothold in India and we must be prepared for isolated outrages. But they will have no political importance,—although the party at home never loses a chance of magnifying their meaning. The great difficulty in governing India is the existence of the

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[14] Minto Papers, Letters & Telegrams, England & Abroad, No. 39, Minto to Lansdowne, December 7, 1908.

[15] Minto Papers, Correspondence with King, No. 35, Minto to King-Emperor, December 20, 1908.

House of Commons. Naturally the ordinary Member of Parliament does not in the least understand this country and the perpetual questions from home enormously increase risks here."[16]

An idea was gaining ground among the Congress leaders that India could be governed from the India Office at London and that the Viceroy's Council was only a subordinate department. The attitude of the India Office itself was partly responsible for the growth of such a notion. The Secretary of State began to ignore the vast extent of the Empire, and the complicated administrative machinery which depended for its smooth working on human nature often displayed in trying conditions. The Liberal Minister threw doubt upon the value of the opinions expressed by administrators in India and he was always ready to believe what the Indian Government described as irresponsible and irregular advice from other sources. It was more or less known that growing parliamentary interference played a part in creating the above situation, and the bureaucracy suffered owing to party exigencies. The provincial governments at times suffered more than the central government on account of the attitude of Indian leaders towards the administration. To some provincial governors, the interest shown by the Liberal Government at home was nothing less than a dangerous attempt to hamper the internal administration of the country in detail. The "enemies" of the British took full advantage of it by getting behind the authorities and carrying complaints against them to England. There occurred frequent instances of that nature. Citing an example, the Governor of Bombay showed what Tilak could do behind him. The Extremist leader had sent a petition to the King. As the Governor described it, it was a rambling foolish effusion begging His Majesty to restore the powers of the House of Lords and enable it overrun the decision of the Privy Council. The petition, as submitted, could not be forwarded without violating the Petition Rules, and so it was returned by the Governor as a matter of routine to be properly addressed. The Bombay Government heard no more about it, till in a private letter Sir William Lee-Warner asked the Governor why he refused to forward Tilak's petition. Later, the matter was cleared up by a very curt despatch from the Secretary of State himself, who apparently received the petition from some one who worked as an agent in England for Tilak. The Governor complained to the Viceroy: "Of course Tilak perfectly understood that he had only to alter a few words and return his petition to us, because we had not the right to withhold it; but he saw his opportunity and the India Office played into his hands. This is a small matter; but it is typical of a very serious tendency. My colleagues and I felt the snub keenly as being wholly uncalled for, when the only irregularity was that perpetrated by the India Office."[17]

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[16] *Ibid*, Letters & Telegrams, England & Abroad, Vol. II, No. 86, Minto to Sir **E. Clouston.**

When Keir Hardie toured India, his Indian friends supplied him with information to be used in the Parliament to embarrass the Indian Government, which he did. For example, he asked a question about the application of the Press Act to some papers of Sind and Bombay, and without waiting for the fact, the Secretary of State evidently assumed that the Governor of Bombay had done something wrong, and ordered the Government of India to revise the Governor's decision. Such incidents, though trivial, belittled the position of the Authorities in India before the agitating leaders. The prestige of the good old days no longer existed, and this in fact began to demoralise the British-Indian rulers. The Indian agitation would have continued even without the Liberal-Radical influences from Great Britain. But the danger of those influences gave the administration an additional concern. On the eve of his departure the Viceroy summed up:

"We certainly have had stormy times here during the last five years, but all the same I am sorry to leave India....but though I am fit and well....the constant strain is always bearing on me—not the strain of legitimate work around me, but the perpetual and unjustifiable demands and commands from home, official and parliamentary, hopelessly ignorant of Indian affairs and full of mischief to Indian administration."[18]

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[17] Minto Papers, Correspondence, 1910, Vol. II, No. 30a, Clarke, Governor of Bombay to Minto, July 24, 1910.

[18] Minto Papers, Letters & Telegrams, England & Abroad, Vol. II, No. 273, Minto to Macnaghten, August 15, 1910.

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Mahismati and Maheswar

BY

H. D. SANKALIA

Scholars in the past have tried to identify Māhiṣmatī mentioned in the Purāṇas either with Maheshwar, at present in the Nimad District on the northern bank of the Narmada, or with Oṁkār Māndhātā or Mandla. A very positive light on this question has been cast by the excavations at Maheshwar. This has been pointed out in the article here.

Situation

Maheshwar (22°11′ N and 75°36′ E) is situated on the northern bank of the Narmada, about 50 miles due south of Indore. It is (and was) a taluka town of some importance in the Nimad (Nimar) district, under the Holkars of Indore.

Navdatoli

Almost exactly opposite on the southern bank lies the hamlet of Navdatoli (or Navdatodi) (boatman's village),[1] a place of little significance now, except as providing a crossing from the hinterland. Some 4,000 years ago, however, this place was perhaps in a more flourishing condition than its northernly neighbour. About the beginning of the Christian era it was nearly wiped off by a flood;[2] hence no trace of its existence seems to have been known to the then contemporary writers. Navdatodi has therefore no claims to literary antiquity.

Topography

The town of Maheshwar extends for over a mile from east to west along the Narmada, and less than half a mile in depth northwards. This longitudinal extension[3] is significant. It seems to have been necessitated by geography. For immediately behind, almost half the longitudinal extension of the town, towards its eastern end flows the Maheshwari river, running nearly north-south, suddenly turns eastwards, and cutting the city near the Jvālesvara temple, joins the Narmada.

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[1] It is spelt as Nauratori in Survey Sheet No. 46 N/SE 1 inch to 2 miles.

[2] This is indicated by a thin layer of river sand and gravel over the ruins of the Stupa.

[3] This is true of Mandla as well, see below, p. 644.

Another *nala* on the opposite end marks the western limit of the town. Thus the Maheshwari river and its extension at the western side could have very well formed a moat (*prākarā*), and their junction with the Narmada would make it a complete island, or as Sanskrit dramatists would describe it, a (watery) girdle. (See below p. 640).

This mile-long area is doted with high mounds and gullies, indicating a long man-made occupation and its erosion by nature. The present town is confined to the centre, while the waterfront is adorned with a built-up *ghāṭ* and magnificent temples. Most of the latter are renovations or reconstructions over the debris of earlier temples of the mediaeval (10-13th century) and perhaps pre-mediaeval period. It was the Rani Ahalyābhāi Holkar of Indore who thus revived the departed glory and sanctity of Maheshwar. The *Chhatri* and the temple built by the Holkar family dominate the scene and attract pilgrims and visitors from all over India.

Antiquity

Maheshwar is one of the few fortunate towns of India which have a well-attested history right from the modern up to the beginning of the Christian era.

XIXth Century

Leaving out the references by explorers in the 20th century, the first British Officer to visit Maheshwar seems to be Captain Dangerfield.[4] He calls it "Mhysir", and had noted large earthen vessels at the junction of the upper and lower beds in the high cliffs of the Narmada. He thought that these had been overwhelmed by a shower of earth or traditionally earthquake. Bose,[5] a geologist who went there nearly 60 years afterwards (1882), observed at the side of Mandālkho, two well-defined beds of unequal thickness: the upper about 20 feet and light-coloured, lower about 45 feet and brownish, and both separated by a very hard dark-coloured clay.[6] He was curious as to the purpose of the six ring-wells and some earthen pots. Bose had also noted the two inscriptions in the temples of Kāleśvara and Mātaṅgeśvara, dated 1622 and 1623, which identify Maheshwar with Māhiṣmati.

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[4] Captain Dangerfield. "Geology of Malwa", in Sir John Malcom, *A Memoir of Central India including Malwa* (London, 1832), Vol. II, p. 325. However, Captain Wilford seems to be the first person to refer to it and identify it with Chauli-Maheshwar. Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, in *Transactions of the Scciety institued in Bengal*, Vol. 9 (1809) p. 105

[5] Bose, P. N., "Note on earthen pots found in the alluvium at Mahesvara. (Mahesar)", *JASB.*, 1882, Vol. 51, Pt. 1, pp. 226-9.

Cunningham and his assistants who began an archaeological survey in 1861 do not seem to have visited Maheshwar.

Muslim Period

During the four cnturies of Muslim rule, we know of only two specific mentions of Maheshwar: the first, when it was captured by Ahmad Shah[7] on 17-2-1492,[8] and the other when Akbar passed through it in 1600-1601.[9] Being in the interior, the Arab and Italian travellers like Marco Polo do not appear to have gone there.

Chinese Traveller

It is also doubtful whether Yuan Chwang's Mo-hissu-fa-lo-pu-lo, identified with Maheśvarapura, is our Maheshwar[11] or Mandla of Cunningham or some third place. For, from the itinerary, it does not appear that our Maheshwar is meant, though the Chinese traveller did find there a large number of Deva temples of the Pāśupatas.

Maheśvara in Jaina Literature

Early Jaina works[12] like *Āvaśyaka-sūtra-cūrṇi* and *Ācārāṅga-sūtra-cūrṇi* speak of one Maheśa, Maheśvara, Māheśvara, Māheśvaṛa pura or Māheśvarī. According to the former work, the town of Māheśvarī was situated in Dakṣiṇāpatha, and was founded by Prince Acala, a son of Prajāpati, the ruler of Potanapura. The latter work describes the gardens and festive occasions at Māheśvarī, when wine was freely taken by citizens.

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[6] These layers correspond respectively to the man and nature-made debris and were noticed by us in our very first visit.

[7] *CHI.*, III, p. 298.

[8] The exact date is given by Diskalkar. See below footnote 67.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Watters, Thomas, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 251.

[11] Dikshit, S. K., *Proceedings, All-India History Conference, Calcutta*, 1939, p. 146.

[12] Sharma, Dasharatha, "Māhiṣmati is Maheshwar" in *J.O.I.*, Baroda, Vol. X (1960-61), pp. 306-07 and Sandesara, B.L., *Jaina Āgamasāhitya mā Gujarat* Gujarat Vidyasabhā, Ahmedabad, 1952, p. 143.

Anyone who has visited present Maheshwar will readily appreciate the remarks regarding the gardens there. The area around the present town is very fertile and even now boasts of a few mango groves and orchards. Whereas the existence of Jainism at the place is attested to by ruins of ancient Jain temples, one right on the Narmada, now almost submerged in river silt, and known as Bhartṛihari Guphā.

That the town was definitely known as Maheśvara in the 8th century is also proved by a story in *Paümacaria,*[12a] a work of the latter half of the ninth century. It calls Sahasrakīraṇa (Sahāsrārjuna of the *Bhāgavata,* IX, 5) as the Parameśvara of Maheśvarapura. Thus this is the first definite description of Maheshwar under discussion and though there is no mention of Māhiṣmatī, we shall show later that both are identical.

Mahābhārata

The *Mahābhārata*[13] also mentions a Maheśvarapura, and a Maheśvarapāda as a *tīrtha,* while according to one reading, the Maheśvarasthāna from which Rudra destroyed Tripura is mentioned in the Droṇaparvan.[14]

Purāṇas

Now a few Purāṇas, like the *Matsya*[15] and the *Padma*[16] refer to a sacred place (*tīrtha*), called Jaleśvara (or Jālesvara) on the Narmadā, and while narrating its origin they speak of Maheśvarasthāna on the same river, as the place from which

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[12a] *Ibid.*, and Bhayani, Harivallabh, *Paumacariya of Kavirāja Svayambhudeva,* Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1960.

[13] Sōrensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata,* II, p. 457, citing III (Bombay Ed.), 84, 8107 and 8097.

[14] Ch. 200, quoted in Vachaspatya Nagari Ed., Vol. III, p. 3373, cited by Dikshit, S. K., *op. cit.,* p. 141, footnote 24.

[15] *Matsyapurāṇa* (Anandashrama Ed., p. 310 ff).

[16] *Padmapurāṇa* (Anandashrama Ed., Vol. I, p. 19 ff), Adhyāyas 14-15.

Rudra thought of destroying Tripura. The *Padma* further associates Svāhā,[17] the wife of Agni, with Maheśvarapura. Since the same Purāṇa at another place[18] says that Rudra destroyed Tripura from Māhiṣmatī, Dikshit[19] argues that he is justified in equating Maheshwar with Māhiṣmatī, as Rudra and Agni are the common factors in all these stories and as at Maheshwar there is a temple of Jāleśvara. He would further place the antiquity of Maheśvarapura[20]-Māhiṣmatī[21]—at least to the 1st century B.C. as both are mentioned, though separately and at different places, in the *Mahābhārata*.

Identification

Now Diskalkar,[22] Pandya,[23] Dikshit,[24] Karandikar,[25] and much earlier, Wilford,[26] have tried to identify Maheshwar with Māhiṣmatī, whereas Mirashi,[27] Raychaudhari,[28] Pargiter and others following Fleet[29, 30] have identified Māhiṣmatī with Oṁkār Māndhātā; Cunningham[31] differing from both these thought that it might be Mandla.

Māhiṣmatī in Buddhist Literature

Māhiṣmatī, according to the early Buddhist literature, which in its present from seems to be earlier than the Puranic or or embodies stories about events which find corroboration in monuments of 2nd-1st century B.C., was situated towards (not in) Dakṣiṇāpatha. According to the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta*,[32] Māhiṣmatī was the capital of Avanti, one of the seven kingdoms (*Janapadas*) of Reṇu's empire. More specifically it lay on the highway from Paithan to Ujjain. *Sutta-Nipāta*[33] narrates a story of a Brāhmaṇa sage, Bāveri. Summarized, this says that the hermits dwelling on the bank of the Godhāvari (Godāvarī) in the neighbourhood of Alaka,[34] in the territory of Assaka, going north in search of Buddha went to Pattithāna on the east of Alaka, then to Mahissati, and then to Ujjeni, Gonaddha, Vedisa, Kosambi, Saketa, Savatthi and so on.

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[17] *Op. cit., Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa* (V), Adhyāya 17, śloka 206.

[18] *Op. cit.*, Uttarakhaṇḍa (VI), Adhyāya 115, śloka 3-13.

[19] Dikshit, S. K., *op. cit.*, p. 131. All the Puranic references here cited are taken from him, but checked and more logically presented.

[20] Droṇaparvan, Adhyāya 200 (Vachaspatya, Nāgari Ed., Vol. III, p. 3373).

[21] Sabhāparvan, critically edited by Edgerton, Introduction, p. xxvii and *JAOS*, Vol. 58, pp. 262 ff.

[22] *Proceedings, Indian History Conference, Patna Session*, 1946, pp. 61 ff. The same article also appears elsewhere. See footnote 67.

[23] *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, Vol. VIII (1940), pp. 135-38.

[24] *Op. cit.*

[25] *Ancient India* (Ed. by Vishnu R. Karandikar), Vol. I, April 1936, pp. 2-3 (of the Report).

[26] *Op. cit.*

[27] and 28. These follow Fleet. See below footnote 72.

[29] *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 440-47.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 444, footnote 1, and below also Law. B. C. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954, p. 174.

[31] *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 559.

Inscriptions

This passage depicts a living tradition as pilgrims from Mahisatī or Māhisati along with those from Ujeni (Ujjain), Pratithana (Paithan) and other places recorded their donations on the stupas as Sanchi.[35] These are not later than 1st century B.C. and some portions of them might go back to 2nd or 3rd century B.C.

Patañjali

Almost contemporary with the Buddhist tradition is the reference by Patañjali. While commenting (*Vārttika* 10 and 15) on Pāṇini (3.1.26) he says that setting out from Ujjayinī one could make sunrise (see the sunrise) at Māhiṣmatī.[36]

Purāṇas

These references imply an earlier, well established existence of the city, which the various Purāṇas try to explain, though at a much later period, and hence at times their accounts are contradictory or confusing.

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[32] *Digha-Nikāya* (Pali Text Society), ii, p. 220 f.

[33] After Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 443, citing Faüsboll, *SBE.*, X, Part 2; pp. 180-88.

[34] This may be Mulaka as given by a Ms. cited by the *Sutta-Nipata* (Pali Text Society, New Ed. by D. Anderson and Helmer Smith, London, 1913), p. 194.

[35] Bühler, "Inscriptions of Sanchi Stupa", *EI.*, II, pp. 97-116.

[36] First cited by Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 441, also Dikshit, S. K., *op. cit.* and Kane, P. V., *JBBRAS.*, Vol. 27 (1951), p. 38. Kielhorn, *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, p. 35.

Several Purāṇas, and the epics including the *Harivaṁśa*, unanimously declare that Māhiṣmatī was situated on the Narmadā, and further associate the Haihayas, a branch of the Yadu-vaṁśa with it. The names of members of the family ending with *-haya* and *-aśva* as *Dāśasva* suggest that these were Aryan-speaking people. It is also clear, whoever be the actual founder or the conqueror, that the previous inhabitants of the area were Nāgas, whom the Haihayas defeated. Of the Puranic accounts that of *Harivaṁśa*[37] is slightly elaborate, and, if truly descriptive of the site of the city, might help in its location.

Mucukunda, a son of Yadu, by one of the five daughters of Dhumravarṇa, a Nāga king, selected the Vindhya valley. Here on the Narmadā, a site full of dangerous rocks was selected and cleared for habitation. It was adorned with temples and provided with various types of roads and parks and protected with a moat[38] (*parikha*), having water all round and with also a bridge. It is also said that Māhiṣmatī was situated between the two Vindhyas, or the Vindhya and the Ṛkṣavat (Sātpuḍā) ranges.

However, in the account given in an earlier section,[39] and also in *Padmapurāṇa*, it is once said that Mahiṣmat, a son of Sahañja, a great grandson of Haihaya, one of the sons of Yadu, founded Māhiṣmatī. Again 20 ślokas later,[40] we are told that the city was conquered by Arjuna Kārtavīrya from the sons of Karkotaka Nāga. The *Vāyu*[41] and the *Matsya*,[42] both believed to be comparatively early Purāṇas, also endorse the last view.

Two other accounts in the *Padmapurāṇa* are interesting and significant. While describing the Bhumikhaṇḍa,[43] an enlarged

[37] Adhyāya 38, ślokas 14-20, p. 246.

[38] This clearly implies that the city was not founded on an island, as Oṁkār Māndhātā suggested by Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 333, and Introd., p. 9, and accepted by Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 445.

[39] *Op. cit.*, *Harivaṁśa* Parva, Adhyāya 33, slokas 4-5, p. 89. Cf. also *Padma*, VI, 115.

[40] *Ibid.*, sloka 26.

[41] Vol. II, Adhyāya 32, verse 26 (Ed. by Rajendralal Mitra, *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1888).

[42] Adhyāya 43, verse 29 (Anandashrama, Poona, 1907). Whereas according to *Padmapurāṇa* (Pārtha) Vainya ruled in the Narmadā valley.

[43] *Padmapurāṇa*, II, 27, 86-88. (Anandashrama Ed., Poona 1893, p. 173).

version of Pṛthuvainya's exploits, it says that Pṛthu gave the Haihaya and Kaliṅgadeśas to Sutas, Māgadhas, Vandinas and Cāraṇas, whereas he himself, after having made a city after his name, stayed on the bank of the Revā. This implies that the country was already called Haihaya, before Pṛthu gave it away.

The second account[44] narrates that Mucukunda, a grandson of Māndhātā of the Lunar family, though originally descended from Ikṣvāku of the Solar family through Ila(ā), became the lord of the Narmadā valley.

Mahābhārata

The *Mahābhārata* gives a few additional details. When during his *digvijaya* Sahadeva proceeded to conquer Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā after subduing Navarāṣtra, Kuntibhoja and Bhoja, the son of Jambhaka on the Carmaṇāvatī (Chambal), it was being ruled by king Nīla.[45] Since the latter was assisted by Bhagavān Havyavāhana (Agni), Sahadeva was helpless. He then propitiated the Fire God, who told him that he was bound to protect the city, as long as the king's dynasty lasted. From Māhiṣmatī, he went south to Traipura (Tripura). This passage from the *Mahābhārata* admirably fixes the position of Māhiṣmatī, between the Chambal and Tripuri in about the 1st century B.C., as would appear from references to Romā.[46]

Referring to an earlier period, the Anuśāsana Parvan tells us that Māhiṣmatī was the capital of Daśāśva,[47] a son of Manu; then of Duryodhana,[48] a great-grand-son of Daśāśva, who had married the Narmadā, and given his daughter Sudarśanā in marriage to Agni, and finally of Arjuna Kārtavīrya.

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[44] *Op. cit.*, V, 8, 39-40.

[45] The Sabhā Parvan (Critical Ed. by Edgerton, Poona, 1944), Sarga 28, verses 1-38. Also Vol. VI, Udyoga Parvan (Critical Ed. by S. K. De, Poona, 1940), Sarga 139, verse 23. Kane, *loc. cit.*, also mentions Sarga 166, but this Sarga does not contain any reference to Māhiṣmatī.

[46] Edgerton, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxviii, and *JAOS.*, Vol. 58, pp. 262 ff.

[47] Sörensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, Vol. I, p. 458, citing from Bombay Ed., XIII, 2, 69.

[48] *Ibid.*, XIII, 166 and 153.

Tripura

Tripura or Tripuri which Rudra destroyed from Maheśvara was, according to one account, in the *Matsya*, inhabited by Asura Bāṇa,[49] according to another[50] in the same Purāṇa, by Tārakāsura. The *Mahābhārata* cited above, places it immediately south of Māhiṣmatī. This would point to Tripuri, modern Tewar,[51] on the Bāṇagaṅgā, a tributary of the Narmadā.

While considering the question of identifying Māhiṣmatī of the Haihayas with that of the Kalacuris, it should be remembered that the Purāṇas never refer to Māhiṣmatī of the Haihayas while narrating the destruction of Tripura by Rudra. The parties and the places concerned are Rudra, Indra, Nārada and other gods on one side with Maheśvara as the centre; on the other Maya, Tripurāsura, Tārākāsura and Bāṇāsura stationed at Tripura.

Probably it was at a much later date that the Haihayas, Cedis and Kalacuris came to be identified, and it was during the historical period[52] that Tripuri became a second Cedi or Kalacuri capital, though it is not impossible that the stories to which the Purāṇas refer to are conflicts among the various allied clans, of which the Cedis are the earliest, mentioned as they are in the *Ṛgveda*.[53] From the various references to the Cedi country and its capital Suktimatī both in the *Mahābhārata*, and early Buddhist and Jaina literature, and the proved numismatic and archaeological antiquity of Tripuri, the above inference drawn from the collation of the Puranic and other accounts would seem quite justified. It is these traditions, viz., the association of Rudra with Maheśvara, the destruction by fire of Tripuri by him, and the protection of Māhiṣmatī by the Fire God and its long connection with Haihayas, who were later identified with the Cedis or Kalacuris—the rulers first of Māhiṣmatī and then of Tripuri—that have given ground for the identification of Maheśvara with Māhiṣmatī.

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[49] Adhyāya 187-88 (Anandashrama Ed., Poona, 1907), pp. 410-16.

[50] *Ibid.*, Adhyāya 138, but see also 129-40, pp. 234-61.

[51] Actually it—Tewar—on east-north-east of Maheswar, but might have been regarded as south of Mahiṣmatī, if Sahadeva went to it, after crossing the Narmadā.

[52] This has been already stated clearly by Raychaudhari, *Political History of Northern India* (Calcutta, 1950), p. 129. Therefore Dikshit, M. G. *Tripuri*—1952 (Nagpur, 1955), p. 9, does not seem to be justified in saying that Cedi was a general name of the *janapada* (country) right up to the Narmadā. The Cedi *janapada* comprised a part of the country south-west of the Yamunā, but beyond that was the Avanti *janapada* of which Māhiṣmatī formed the southern border.

[53] VII, 5. 37-39.

Classical Literature

Kālidāsa, Dandin, Rājaśekhara and Murāri echo this description of Māhiṣmatī. The former[54] narrates that Pratīka, a descendant of the Haihaya family ruled it at the time of Indumati's marriage. It was guarded by the Fire God and was encircled by the Revā (Narmadā) like a girdle round its hip-like[55] ramparts.

Dandin not only confirms this description but seems to give a true picture of the political conditions in Malwa and the Deccan in the 6th century A.D. as Mirashi has admirably shown,[56] though the names of the rulers might be fictitious. Māhiṣmatī was one of the kingdoms in Anupa, and its king was of the Bhoja family.

By the time of Rājaśekhara[57] and Murāri,[58] the Kalacuris had established themselves at Māhiṣmatī, though the former still takes its history back to the Haihayas, while his description of the city with moats and ramparts formed by the Narmadā, recalls that of Kālidāsa and Dandin.

Mediaeval Inscriptions

Epigraphical references to Māhiṣmatī are comparatively few and not of much value, though in their range they indicate the existence of the city for nearly 1500 years. Those of the earlier period from Sanchi stupas,[59] as pointed out above, merely mention Māhissati or Mahissati. Of the early mediaeval period, we have two copper-plate grants of one Mahārāja Subandhu[60] (A.D. 416-17 or 479-80) found respectively from Barwani and Bagh caves. Both the grants were issued from Māhiṣmatī. The former mentions a place (village) Sohajana-Padraka in Udumbaragartāpathaka, and the latter to Dasilaka-palli. Mirashi's identification is not happy, otherwise it would have been easier to locate Māhiṣmatī. He himself identifies it, in the text, with Oṁkāra Māndhātā, whereas the map which gives names of places in early *Kalacuri Inscriptions,* facing p. xxxiii, gives Maheshwar.[61] The latter is more probable, as it is nearer to Barwani and the places identified.

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[54] *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 42-43 (*Māhiṣmativapranitambakāñcīm*).

[55] Dikshit, S. K., *op. cit.*, p. 138 (equating *nitamba* with *jaghana*) argued that the river formed a semi-circle. As shown below it is not necessary to stretch the meaning this way. For, if anything, it would suit Oṁkāra Māndhāta more than Maheswar.

[56] Mirashi, "Historical Data in Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita*", *ABORI*, XXVI, pp. 22-31. The account is given in the eighth chapter of *Daśakumāracarita* of Dandin (Ed. by Peter Peterson, Part II, Bombay 1891), Ucchvāsa, 8, pp. 60-61.

[57] *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, III, Śloka 34. In his *Kāvya-mimāmsā*, p. 93, Rājaśekhara places Dakṣināpatha, south of Māhiṣmatī.

[58] In his *Anargha-Rāghavam*, Act VII, between ślokas 114-115 (*Kāvyamāla Series*, No. V, Bombay, 1887).

The next reference is of the mediaeval period, nearly 800 years later. Here a copper-plate of Paramāra Devapāla[62] was found in the Siddheśvara temple at Oṁkāra Māndhātā. It was issued from the king's residence at Māhiṣmatī and refers to Satajuna, in Mahauda-pratijāgaraṇaka. These places are identified with Satajuna, about 13 miles south-west of Māndhātā and Mahauda, or Mohad 25 miles south of Satajuna. Both Kielhorn and Ganguly[63] think that Māhiṣmatī of the inscription is no other than Maheshwar. Since the inscription was found in a stone-chest near the temple and refers to the king's residence, whose family built a number of beautiful temples at Māndhātā, it may be argued that Māhiṣmatī should be identified with Māndhātā, and not Maheshwar,. However, these places are not more distant from Maheshwar as a study of the maps would show.[64]

One very important point has been missed by all previous writers on the subject so far. Devapāla, the Paramāra, made the grant while stationed at Māhiṣmatī, and after having bathed in the Revā and after having worshipped Śiva (Bhavānīpatī), (whose shrine) was near that of Viṣṇu (Daityasūdana).[65]

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[59] *EI.*, II, pp. 97-116.

[60] Mirashi, *CII.*, *Inscriptions of the Kalacuri-Chedi Era* (Ootacamund, 1955), V, Part I, pp. 17-19, 19-21, IV.

[61] Unfortunately one inch to a mile may of this area is not available to me so that I cannot propose a more suitable identification.

[62] *EI.*, IX, p. 103.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 106 and Ganguly, D.C., *History of the Paramāra Dynasty* (Dacca, 1932), p. 210.

[64] One inch to 4 miles, Map. No. 46/0 and N. (1948).

Now the question might be solved whether Māhiṣmatī was Maheshwar or Oṁkāra Māndhātā if there were temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu (of the Paramāra period) in close proximity at either of these places. Of course, both the places have a number of temples, but at Oṁkāra Māndhātā the Paramāra ruins can be easily identified,[66] whereas at Maheshwar it is difficult and can only be done by a detailed study.

Late Inscriptions

Still later inscriptions[67] come from Maheshwar proper and one specifically calls it Māhiṣmatī. They belong to the reign of Akbar and are in Sanskrit. The details are as under:—

I. Inscription of 1565 A.D. (V. S. 1622, Śaka 1487) from the modern Kāleśvara temple. It records the restoration of a Maheśvara temple, called Ādiliṅga at Agnitīrtha, Kālāgnirudrakṣetra Daśalakṣatīrtha at Māhiṣmatī, near Maṇḍapācala in Malwa on the confluence of the Revā and Mahiṣmatī by one Mandloi Devadāsa.

II. Inscription of 1570 A.D. (V. S. 1627, Śaka 1491) from Mātaṅgeśvara temple. It records the restoration of the Kāleśvara temple by the Mandloi.

III. Inscription of 1571 A.D. (V. S. 1627, Śaka 1492) from the Jaina temple. It records the restoration of the Ādinātha temple by Mandloi Devadāsa.

IV. Inscription of 1575 A.D. (V. S. 1635, Śaka 1500) found in a Śiva temple at the Markata Sangama — of the Revā and Vedā—near Mandleshwar. It records the restoration of the temple by the Mandloi Jagannātha.

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65. Mandhātā Plates of Devapāla (V) S. 1282. *EI.*, IX, Text, p. 109, ll. 19-20.

66. For Siddheśvara temple, see *ASRI. AR.*, 1902-04, p. 57.

67. Briefly recorded, probably for the first time, though referred to by Bose in 1880, by Diskalkar, D.B. in *Magnificent Maheswar* issued by the Director of Information, Holkar State, Indore, pp. 33-34. The same article is published in *Proceedings, Indian History Congress* (Patna, 1946).

The Muslim monuments at Maheshwar contain a few Persian inscriptions.[68] These testify to the prosperity of the place in Akbar's time, and even later, but are unimportant from our point of view as they do not refer to Māhiṣmatī.

Oṁkārā Māndhātā

Oṁkāra Māndhātā or simply Māndhātā (22°12′ N., 76°0′ E.) is an island in the Narmada. It is about 38 miles above Maheshwar, but considerably distant by road. The approach from the railway is through a jungle on the southern side. Just where the site is, the river has cut through beautiful sandstone formations. The river channel is deep and narrow, with high, rocky banks. The main temple (Oṁkāreśvara) is situated on the northern side. Higher up on the same side are magnificent temples (in ruins), some with *toraṇas* of the Paramāra period. There are a number of old temples on the southern side also. When Malcolm visited it he noticed remains of fortifications on the island.[69]

Other late, mediaeval or early notices of the place seem to be few (unless it be identified with Māhiṣmatī). Puranic references are also scarce. There is one in the *Śivamahāpurāṇa*[70] and one in the *Saura Purāṇa*.[71] Both these, however, describe the sacredness of Oṁkāreśvara, but do not couple it with Māndhātā, of which there is no mention at all. However, after Fleet and Pargiter some writers[72] identify it with Māhiṣmatī.

Mandla

Mandla is situated on the right bank of the Narmada,[73] which "makes a sort of a loop round the city". There was also a fort, which on two sides was defended by a moat, while the other two were washed by the river. The inhabited city extends for a distant of two miles, along the river. "It is a long straggling place, and of very little width". This is true of Maheshwar also. Again like the latter, the place with its ghats and temples, looks beautiful from the opposite bank. However, Cunningham who inspected the place in 1873-74 did not find anything very old there. Dr. M. G. Dikshit who seems to have visited it very recently holds a similar view.[74]

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[68] Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[69] Malcolm, John, *Memoir of Central India* (London, 1832), Vol. II, p. 504. (See under Mundatta). Also *IA.*, 1896, pp. 53-56.

[70] *Śivamahāpurāṇa*, IV (Kāli rudra samhitākhaṇḍa) A. 18.

[71] *Saura Purāṇa* (Anandashrama, Poona, Saka 1811), VI, ślokas 15-18.

[72] E. G. Chaudhari, Sasi Bhusan, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1955), p. 67. He gives no new evidence. So also Law, B.C., *India as depicted in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism* (London, 1941), p. 77. See also p. 635.

[73] The description is taken from Cunningham, *ASI Reports*, Vol. VII, pp. 103-106.

Because of certain features occurring in the description of Māhiṣmatī in the *Harivaṁśa* and in the *Raghuvaṁśa,* Cunningham probably identified it with Māhiṣmatī.[75] Until, however, Māndlā's antiquity is proved,[76] it merits no consideration. Secondly, its geographical position does not fit in with that of Māhiṣmatī.

Identifications

Fleet[77] and Dikshit[78] also discussed at length Rice's statements[79] that Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Māhiṣmatī could be some place in Mysore. This from our point of view is irrelevant, as we are discussing the Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā.

We have now traced the antiquity of Maheshwar, Māhiṣmatī, Māndhāta and Mandlā in traditional literature, and accounts of travellers as well as in inscriptions. A brief idea is also given of how the first, the third and the fourth look today. From these it must have been apparent that the identification of the second with the first or with the third must rest upon circumstantial evidence.

Hitherto the most exhaustive attempts at the identification of Māhiṣmatī are those of Fleet,[80] Dikshit,[81] and Diskalkar.[82] The

[74] Conveyed to me orally on 7-2-1957.

[75] *Ancient Geography,* p. 488 (Old Edition).

[76] It should be searched for painted pottery in the layers below the fort walls.

[77] *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 429-41, and the views of Wilson and Rice cited on p. 442.

[78] *Op. cit.*, Kauṭalya, *Arthaśāstra,* Ch. 34, p. 81 (Ed. regards Mahiṣa cotton as the best. This might point to Mahiṣmatī as it lies in a very rich cotton belt).

[79] In Fleet, *op. cit.*

[80] Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 444-47.

[81] Dikshit, S. K., *Proceedings, Indian History Congress* (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 141 ff.

[82] Diskalkar, *op. cit.*

first after very nearly identifying Māhiṣmatī with Maheshwar, chose to agree with Pargiter[83] in identifying it with Oṁkāra Māndhātā. Fleet argued that though Maheshwar and Mandhata equally satisfied certain conditions, namely, that they were

(i) holy places and on the Narmada,

(ii) on the highway from Paithan to Ujjain, and

(iii) near to Tripuri (Tewar), as demanded by the *Mahābhārata,*

there was one condition, according to which Mucukunda founded the city of Māhiṣmatī on a rocky region on the Narmadā, between the Vindhya and the Ṛkṣavat. This is fulfilled by the situation of Oṁkāra Māndhātā. He, therefore, identified it with Māhiṣmatī.

Dikshit[84] and Diskalkar[85] have well contested the case for Maheshwar, citing in addition the extensive ruins of Maheshwar, and the temple of Jvāleśvara at Maheshwar, as the one referred to by Kālidāsa and some Purāṇas, or the second place called Jaleśvara on the Narmadā. Regarding the crucial point, on which Fleet tipped the balance for Māndhātā, Dikshit finds some difficulty, and suggests that *Harivaṁśa's* description of Māhiṣmatī between the two Vindhyas should be regarded as a loose expression. If so, some hills are within 5 miles of Maheshwar.

Maheshwar identified with Mahismati

I think, however, that it is not necessary to stress the case this way. It can be proved that Fleet's interpretation does not suit Māndhāta, whereas Maheshwar satisfies all the conditions. The reasons are as follows:

(1) Mucukunda is supposed to have built a moat round Māhiṣmatī. This would not be necessary at Māndhāta as the island is in the river. At Maheshwar, however, as shown in our topographical description of the place, a moat could easily have been made (and probably it was made) by

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[83] *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 445. Pargiter, *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Translation, *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1914), p. 333, note.

[84] Dikshit, S. K., *op. cit.*

[85] Diskalkar, D. B., "Maheswar through the Ages"; the same article is published in *Proceedings, Indian History Congress* (Patna, 1954), p. 60 ff.

joining the river Maheshwarī with the Narmadā. (See above p. 632).

(2) From the point of view founding a new settlement, the Māndhātā region is extremely unsuitable. It is rocky. At Maheshwar, on the contrary, are open, cultivable stretches on either side of the river.

(3) Māndhātā[86] does not lie on the highway from Paithan to Ujjain. But Maheshwar does. The road from Paithan, as the *Road Map of India* shows,[87] goes to Aurangabad. From there it passes through the Ellora and Ajanta caves, the old Buddhist settlements, and from near Jamner or Jalgaon, it crosses the Tapti at Bhusawal or Burhanpur. From either of these it proceeds to Khandwa *via* Assir, and then crosses the Narmada, probably at Maheswar, either through Khargaon and Kasrawad. Even the modern Khandwa-Indore highway crosses the Narmada at Kherghat.[88] Māndhāta lies further to the east, and there is no crossing there, or any continuation of the road northwards. Whereas from Maheshwar, Indore is due north and thence Ujjain, one of the most important places in Central India from the 5th century B.C. to 5th-6th century A.D.

As Diskalkar[89] has already pointed out, this was the main line of communication for at least the last thousand years, traversed by the British, Marathas and Mughals, and the early Muslims.

The existence of Buddhist caves, as well as stupas at Kasrawad[90] and now at Navdatoli, just opposite Maheshwar, as shown by our excavation, would prove indubitably that this must have been the ancient highway along which the Buddhist Bhikṣus went from Paithan to Ujjain and thence to the east, to Sravasti.

[86] Karandikar, *op. cit.*, p. 13 (of the Report) says the old trade-route passed through Omkara via Burhanpur. However, he gives no authority, and his arguments about the antiquity of the remains are fantastic.

[87] *50-mile Road Map of India*, Sixth Edition.

[88] One-inch to one mile Map, No. 55B/4.

[89] Diskalkar, *op. cit.*

[90] Diskalkar, "Excavations at Wasrawad", *IHQ*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-18. Also *Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, (Patna, 1946), p. 61.

The epigraphical evidence is not conclusive, it must be admitted. A 16th century epigraph from Maheshwar, however, definitely speaks of it as Māhiṣmatī. As against these we have no evidence for Māndhāta.

Numismatic data also favour Maheshwar. Not only it has yielded a series of pre-Christian coins of the Andhra, the Tribal, the very small and the normal silver and copper punch-marked coins, but recently a coin bearing the words *Mahisati*[91] in characters of the 3rd century B.C. has been found from Maheshwar itself, in addition to the one from Ujjain and two earlier ones from unknown sites.

Lastly, the excavations and explorations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli have proved the great antiquity—going right back upto the Early Stone Age—of these two sites on the Narmada. Of these, the Chalcolithic phase now dated by several Carbon-14 dates both by laboratories in America and India is pertinent to the present problem. These unquestionably prove that both Maheshwar and its offshoot or a suburb Navdatoli had been colonized by a people probably with Iranian affinities in about 2,000 B.C. Though they lived in wooden mud-plastered houses, painted white, still they knew agriculture as evidenced by several types of grains and oilseeds—including wheat, rice, lentil and linseed—from their house debris. And though we cannot with any certainty identify these people with any Puranic tribes, still there is no doubt that future work at Maheshwar (which still awaits large scale excavation) as well as in Malwa will help in solving this problem.

Conclusion

If there is any place on the Narmada known today which has a continuous chain of mounds proclaiming the site of ancient city on both the banks, which lies on the highway from Ujjain to Paiṭhan, which has Buddhist stupas near and around, which has a large number of Śaiva and Viṣṇu temples, some of the 13th century as well, a site where a moat might have been made round the city, so that the Narmada as it were formed a girdle round it, as imagined by Kālidāsa, Daṇḍin and Rājeśekhara, a site, which, at least during the last 300 years has been identified with Māhiṣmatī, a site which during the periods immediately preceding could as well be Māhiṣmatī mentioned in inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C. and 5th and 13th centuries respectively, and finally a site the antiquity of which the excavations have taken right back to the prehistoric period through a protohistoric, then such a place is Maheshwar. Excepting that no early record but coins are found from Maheshwar, calling it Māhiṣmatī, Maheshwar fulfills all the conditions for identifying it with Māhiṣmatī.

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[91] *JNSI.*, XVII (1955), p. 95 and other references therein.

Western India and the South-Eastern Islands

BY

DR. B. A. SALETORE

The contact between the central part of Western India and the South-Eastern Islands forms a significant chapter in the larger History of Greater India. When we speak of Western India, however, we mean, for purpose of this paper, that part of the land which was south of Gujarat and north of Keraḷa. The annals of the relations of Gujarat and of Keraḷa with those distant islands form a separate field of inquiry into which we shall not enter for the present. When we speak of the South-Eastern Islands we refer to the Malaya Archipelago, now termed Indonesia. Broadly speaking we might date this contact from the seventh century A.D. till the seventeenth century A.D. Before we proceed to give adequate proof of this longstanding contact extending over a thousand years, it may not be out of place to give the political background which alone might have made it possible for the people of this part of Western India to have such a long and sustained trans-oceanic relationship. In the absence of any definite date either in epigraphs or in literature, we have to assume that the Western Indian maritime enterprise to the south-eastern islands and to Burma and its neighbouring lands, is probably to be dated to the intrepid drive of the Early Cālukyas in the direction of the eastern seaboard of Southern India. From the available epigraphs of these rulers, it is evident that this drive to the east had begun under king Pulikeśin II (A.D. 609-AD. 642), when he had set up his younger brother Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana as the ruler of Vengi in the Telugu land.[1] King Pulikeśin II's reign ended in disaster. The Pallavas, who were the inveterate enemies of the Cālukyas, laid waste Bādāmi, the capital of the latter, and routed Pulikeśin II. This victory which the Pallava monarch Narasimhavarman I secured in a series of battles at Pariyaḷa, Maṇimangala, Sūramāra, and other places,[2] evidently spurred on the Cālukyas to retrieve their honour; and so we find from the time of Pulikeśin II's son and successor Vikramāditya I, Raṇarasika (A.D. 655-680), an endless struggle being waged with the Pallavas until the reign of the Cālukya king Kīrtivarman II, Satyāśraya (A.D. 746-757), who finally subdued Kañci.[3] Whatever else the effects of this long-drawn out struggle between the early Cālukyas and the Pallavas might have been, one thing was certain, that it brought the people of Western India definitely to the eastern sea-board from where their ships could have direct access to Burma and the Islands of the South-Eastern seas. That the Cālukyas were very well aware of the importance of the naval side of warfare is seen in connection with the conquest of the Mauryan sea capital of Pūri by the Cālukyan general Caṇḍadaṇḍa in the reign of king Pulikeśin II.[4]

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[1] Rice, Lewis, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 63-64 (London, 1909).

Now we have to prove our statement that it was from the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. that the Western Indian influence had reached the Malaya Archipelago. Here we have to cite the evidence of the inscriptions discovered in those Islands, and to corelate it with the evidence as gathered in the tradition, literature, and architecture of those Islands. We may begin with a few words occurring in an Old Javanese inscription, which undoubtedly have a Western Indian touch about them. Thus, for instance, in that Old Javanese inscription, among other people are mentioned the Campā and the Karṇakke. These latter could not have been the people of Carnatic, as Professor Gonda to whom we owe this information, maintains,[5] but Karnāṭaka proper. For the word Carnatic, as is well known to students of the Anglo-French relations in India, was the distortion of the word Karnāṭaka which Westerners, particularly the English, gave to a part of the Tamil land late in the seventeenth century, imagining it to be the extension of Karnāṭaka. That the word Karṇakke cannot be applied to Carnatic will be apparent when we examine the probable date of this Old Javanese record. Since Old Javanese or Kawi cannot be dated earlier than A.D. 760,[6] this inscription in Old Javanese has also to be assigned to that century or the early ninth century A.D.

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[2] Fleet, J. F., *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 322, 358 Bombay Gaz. Series).

[3] Rice, *ibid.*, p. 65.

[4] Bhandarkar, R. G. *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 183, and note (4) (Bom. Gaz. Series). See also Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 350, 404, 540-541.

[5] Gonda, J., *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, p. 25 (Nagpur, 1952).

[6] Gonda, *ibid.*, p. 32.

Another connecting link between Western India and the Malaya Archipelago is the word *Sembrani* which in Malaya means a special kind of horse, a winged and fiery steed of the mythical Pegasus type, which could perform either terrestrial, or aerial, or maritime journey.[7] It is interesting that this word occurs in Karnāṭaka records. For instance, a stone inscription found at Gaurasamudra, Chaḷḷekere tāluka, Chitaldroog district, Mysore State, and dated A.D. 1403, relates the following—That a certain Mahā-Nāyaka (not named) had a mind to see a fight with left foot advanced and right foot in the Sāmbrāṇi fashion (*yeḍa kāla cāci balada kāla sāmbrāṇi raṇava kaṇḍu mana sandam*); that Cennappa, the son of Kāmeya Nāyaka, having fought with Pelasamāmiḍi Caṇḍa Bova in the battle of Nāgārjunakoṭe, died; and that several persons (named) set up the *vīragal* (hero memorial stone) in his memory.[8] Now when, as we shall presently narrate, it was in the fifteenth century A.D. that Vijayanagara figured in the literature of Malaya; and that there was a close commercial contact between those islands and that great Empire, we may not be wrong in assuming that this particular term which, in Malayan tradition referred originally to a mythical steed, might have been applied to a novel method of marching by soldiers during warfare on land. Our assumption that this *Sāmbrāni raṇa* was a particular term used in warfare is proved by a set of beautiful carvings of warriors fighting in this fashion which have been preserved in the Hyderabad-Deccan Museum.[9] I may add here that there is a village called Sāmbrāni in the Dharwar district, evidently reminiscent of the once-close contact between the people of Maḷaya and those of these regions.

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[7] Leyden, *Malaya Annals*, p. 17; Gerini, ***Researches in Ptolemy's Geography***, p. 600, n. (3); Gonda, *ibid.*, p. 29; van Glück, *Hayagriva*; p. 38 (Leiden, 1935).

[8] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI. Ch. 42, p. 102. Rice, on the same page, in a note, writes that the phrase is not understood.

[9] The sculptures seem to be of the fifteenth century A.D., or earlier. I saw these sculptured stones on 2-2-1954, when I was in Hyderabad on an official visit as Director of National Archives, Government of India. The Museum authorities styled these sculptures as 'Suicide squads'! I cannot understand on what basis such an assumption rests!

A word of Kannaḍa origin found in Malaya is *paik*, meaning a running messenger, a guard or a watchman.[10] It is obviously the same as the Kannaḍa word *Haḷe-Paika*, meaning an old soldier.[11] A typical Kannaḍa word in the Maḷayan languages is *belañja*, *berṇiaga* meaning outlay, expenditure, going a-shopping,[12] which has evidently to be referred to the Kannaḍa words Vaḷañja, Baḷañju, Vaṇajiga, Baṇajiga,—all of which refer to the ancient traders of Karnāṭaka, who figure in epigraphical records of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[12a] It is also significant that the *linga* cult, which is peculiar to Karnāṭaka, played an important part in the history of Old Javanese and Balinese times.[13]

It is true that the above words which have a strong Kannaḍa semblance about them by themselves might prove nothing beyond the fact that they somehow or other got incorporated into the Malayan languages in the course of an age-long commercial contact. More suggestive than those words are perhaps the following: *Malaya*, *Mallika*, *Viṣṇuvardhana* and *Tribhuvana*. Concerning the word *Malaya*, Professor Gonda rightly says that we are not in a position to affirm anything definitely as its origin.[14] But the fact that the name *Malaya* in the form of *Malayu*, which was not applied to the whole Malayan word at the beginning, occurs in a Chinese record only in A.D. 644,[15] suggests that name,—which, as is well known, was given to a part of the Western Ghats falling within the confines of Karnāṭaka,[16]—was evidently transplanted to the distant south-eastern regions, as the name of the mother country from where the immigrants to the island had come.[16a] Now when we realize that, as related above, it was only in the early Cālukyan age that we see the clearest indication of the maritime strength of the people of the western coast in the region around Pūri or modern Elephanta, we may not be far wrong in suggesting that it was probably due to their trans-oceanic activities from the seventh century A.D. onwards that the name *Malaya* came to be connected so intimately with the far off South-Eastern Islands.[17]

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[10] Gonda, *ibid.*, p. 29.

[11] Rice, Lewis, *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, p. 311; *Mysore Inscriptions*. p. xxxiii ff.

[12] Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[12a] On the 'Baṇajigas, read my *Karnataka's Trans-Oceanic Contacts*, pp. 23-27 (Dharwar, 1957).

[13] Gonda, *ibid.*, p. 196.

[14] Gonda, *ibid.*, p. 224. Dr. R. C. Majumdar's fanciful derivation of this word from *Malloi*, or *Mālavas*, has rightly been rejected by Professor Gonda as being "far from proved". (Majumdar, R. C., *Ancient Indian Colonization in the Far East*, II, *Suvarnadvīpa*, pp. 19 ff. (Dacca, 1937); Gonda, *ibid.*, p. 19 ff).

[15] Gonda, *ibid.*, p. 19, 224.

[16] See my paper on *Kosmos Indikopleustus and Western India* in this Journal, April 1963, particularly the discussion of the name *male* occurring in the account of Kosmos.

The next word *mallikā*, jasmine, may now be examined. Professor Gonda affirms that the Malayan word *malati*, which seems to stand for *mallikā*, is perhaps of Sanskrit origin.[18] But it is equally probable that the Sanskrit word itself has got to be referred to the Malayan origin. The point to be noted in our discussion is the one referring to the many types of jasmine which were, as they are now-a-days, found domiciled in Karnāṭaka. For instance, there are these eleven kinds of jasmine in Karṇāṭaka—*aḍaviya mallige, kadaru mallige, kastūri mallige, kesara mallige, kolu mallige, giri mallige, jāji mallige, duṇḍu mallige, doḍḍa kāḍu mallige,*

[16a] This would be in perfect accordance not only with Dravidian grammar, which would make *ya* the final letter of the noun *male*, thus *maleya* (Cf. Kittell, *Kannada-Eng. Dicty*, p. 1314); but also with the history of many new centres having been called after old ones, as is proved by the history of not only India but of Great Britain and the U.S.A.

[17] It may be argued that the association of this name with those distant Islands, was the work of the people of Malabar, one of whose rulers was the Zamorin, a word which is rightly traced to *Samudra*, but which is supposed to be the origin of the word *Sumatra* (Read Gonda, *ibid.*, pp. 224-225). But, as against this, we may note two points: firstly as Professor Gonda admits, the origin of the name *Sumatra* is doubtful. It cannot be understood whether it has to be referred to *Samudra*, or as some maintain, or to *Suvarṇa*, as Professor Krom would have it. And, secondly, it has yet to be proved that in the seventh century A.D., the people of Malabar had established their maritime strength in such a firm manner as to enable them to colonize the distant South-Eastern Islands. But this cannot be said of the Early Cālukyas who under Pulikeśin II, had sent an embassy to the Persian monarch Khurru II. (Read Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 185; Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 352; and for a fuller account, my *India's Diplomatic Relations with the East*, pp. 174-181, and Frontispiece (Bombay, 1960).

[18] Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

sañje mallige, and *hesaru mallige.*[19] Now the Konkani equivalent of *mallige* is *mogre* concerning which a famous European medical expert, Garcia da Orta (A.D. 1534), informs us that it came from Malacca.[20] In all likelihood the jasmine was imported into the Western coast of India from the islands of the South-Eastern seas along with many commodities which we shall mention presently.

More indicative of Western Indian influence than the above are the names of some kings of Java. These are *Uttonga, Viṣṇuvardhana,* and *Tribhuvana.*[21] These are strikingly similar to the names appearing, for instance, among the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Cālukyas, and the Hoysalas of Karnāṭaka.[22] We hardly come across these names among the monarchs either of northern India or of the Tamil land, although, in the case of the latter, we do have some names which end in *uttunga.* Thus, for instance, we find king Rājendra Coḷa II (A.D. 1070) being called *Kulotunga Cōḷa.*[23] But the Tamil monarchs had already set the practice of assuming purely Karnāṭaka names since the days of Rāja Rāja I (A.D. 985) when he was called *Mummaḍi Coḷa,*[24] the former *biruda* being essentially Kannaḍa. This was obviously after the Tamil conquest of a large part of the Ganga kingdom by Rāja Rāja I.[25] The names *Viṣṇuvardhana* and *Tribhuvana,* which are noticeable among the names of the kings of Malaya, are strongly reminiscent of Karnāṭaka influence. The former is met with among the Early Cālukyas in the seventh century A.D.; and is made memorable because it was assumed by one of the most remarkable of the Hoysala rulers, Viṣṇuvardhana Biṭṭiga Deva.[25a] The *biruda Tribhuvana* in the full title of *Tribhuvanamalla* is met with among the names of the Early Cāḷukyas, the Later Cāḷukyas, and the Hoysalas as well.[26]

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[19] Kittell, *Kannada-English Dictionary,* p. 1223.

[20] Garcia da Orta, *Colloquies,* p. 36 (Markham's trans.).

[21] Gonda. *ibid.,* pp. 212-213.

[22] Read Rice, *Mysore and Coorg,* pp. 63, 67, 97.

[23] Rice, *ibid.,* p. 84.

[24] Rice, *ibid.,* p. 84.

[25] Rice, *ibid.,* p. 85.

[25a] Rice, *Ibid.,* pp. 99-101.

[26] Rice, *ibid.,* pp. 63, 67, 97.

We may now give epigraphic and architectural evidence to substantiate the statement we have made above in regard to the extension of the Western India influence to the Islands of the South-East from the age of the Early Cālukyas onwards. The epigraphic proof is supplied by the inscriptions of king Airlangga of Śrīvijaya (A.D. 1019-A.D. 1042), which relate that to the ports controlled by him, and situated at the mouth of the river Brantas in the Bay of Surabaya, and more to the north in Tuban, came merchants from various provinces of Kling (Kalinga), Arya (Northern India), Gola (Gauḍa, Bangal), Singhala (Ceylon), Karnāṭaka, Colika (Coḷa), Malayala, Paṇḍikara (Pandya), Drāvida (Tondaimandalam), Campa (Cams), and Kmir (Khmer).[27] In this connection we may recall the adventurous Karnāṭaka merchants mentioned in inscriptions of Karnāṭaka, who transported goods from the east to the west, and from the west to the east, by land and by sea.[28] The cumulative evidence of all these records proves that in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., the Kannaḍigas must have continued the earlier Cālukyan traditions of maritime enterprise which we have described elsewhere.[29]

Evidence from the architectural point of view in support of our contention that it was in the Early Cālukyan times that there was a close contact between Western India and the South-Eastern Islands, may now be adduced from the history of the most famous monuments of Borobudur in Java. According to Fergusson, they are to be dated to the seventh century A.D. The style and character of the monuments at Borobudur "are so nearly identical with those of the latest caves at Ajanta (No. 26, for instance), and in the Western Ghats, that they look as if they were executed by the same artists, and it is difficult to conceive any great interval of time elapsing between the execution of the two. If I am correct in placing the caves in the first half of the 7th century, we can hardly be far wrong in assigning the commencement, at least, of the Javan monument to the second half of that century."[30] While dealing with the group of temples at the foot of Mount Prahu on the Dieng Plateau, Fergusson wrote thus:—That these temples do not show any trace of either Orissa or Dravidian style. "They are in storeys but not in cells, nor any reminiscences of such; but they are Chalukyan in a clear and direct meaning of the term. The building like these Javan temples illustrated in the preceding pages is that at Buchchanapalle (Woodcut No. 254) which might pass without remarks if Java is deprived of its peristylar portico. It, however, like all the Chalukyan Temples we know of in India, especially in the Nizam's territory, is subsequent to the 10th century, most of them belonging to the 13th century."[31]

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[27] Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., *Śrīvijaya*, p. 83 (Madras, 1949). On king Airlangga's date, see *ibid.*, p. 82.

[28] Read my *Karnāṭaka's Trans—Oceanic Contacts*, pp. 27-28.

[29] Cf. my *Karnataka's Trans—Oceanic Contacts, passim.*

[30] Fergusson, James, and R. Phene Spiers, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, p. 422. See also *ibid.*, pp. 426-427 for a further elucidation of the subject.

The firmest evidence of the contact between Western India and the South-Eastern Islands is available when we come to the great Empire of Vijayanagara. Foreign travellers, Malayan tradition itself, and the records of the European trading companies—these are the sources of information on this interesting question of Vijayanagara's maritime contact with the Malaya Archipelago.[32] We may first take up the question of Vijayanagara and Burma. We have to go to the reign of king Narasa or Narasinga (A.D. 1496-1503).[33] While dealing with the conquests of that warlike monarch, we may maintain, on the basis of the evidence of Fernão Nuniz, that Pegu and Tennasserim paid tribute to Vijayanagara. Perhaps this has to be traced to the earlier days of king Deva Raya II (A.D. 1419-1446).[34] I have elsewhere shown that it was from Tennasserim that tin was imported into the Empire of Vijayanagara through the port of Masulipatam.[35] Of the many islands in the south-eastern ocean, Borneo, Sumatra, Moluccas, Java, Malaya and Siam had intimate dealings with Vijayanagara. From Borneo was imported camphor; from Java, pepper, lac, water melons, and sandal wood; from Sumatra, brim stone; and from

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[31] Fergusson, *ibid.*, II. pp. 430-431.

[32] This question was first dealt with by me in my paper on "Some Aspects of the Overseas Trade of Vijayanagara from the Accounts of European Travellers" in the *Dr. Bimala Churn Law Commemoration Volume*, Part I. pp. 114-127 (Calcutta, 1945).

[33] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 118.

[34] Sewell, R., *A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagara*, p. 302, and note (4); Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 112.

[35] See Saletore, *B. C. Law Com. Vol.* (*op. cit.*), pp. 114-127, *op. cit.*

Siam, bezein, sealing wax and deer skin; while the Vijayanagara ports on the eastern coast exported to the South-Eastern Islands various kinds of cloth, iron, and steel.[36]

Vijayanagara's intimate connection with the Islands of the South-Eastern seas is also borne out by the famous story of Sindbad the Sailor in which we are informed that that Empire comprised Sumatra and Java in the Malayan Archipelago.[37]

But more definite proof of the close contact between Vijayanagara and those Islands is afforded in Malayan literature itself. It refers to the incorporation of Vijayanagara in the Malayan thought as recorded in the romances of Malaya relating to the Hindu period of the mediaeval times. In one romance called *Hiyakut Maharaja Puspa Wiraja,* sometimes corrupted into *Bispu Raja,* and attributed to a scholar of the Old Malayan port of Malacca, we have the following narrative: Puspa Wiraja and his consort Kamalaksana with their sons Jaya Indra and Jaya Chandra are driven from the Elephant City (Hastināpura) by the plotting of Antarāja, the king's brother. Reluctantly the king lifts down two young parroquets for his children to play with but though he puts them back, the mother-bird pecks her young for smelling of man. Lost whilst he is taking his consort across a river, his two sons are adopted by two fishermen. While he hunts for them, a sea captain abducts his consort. An elephant chooses him as king of Samantapura Nagara or Frontier City, where his two sons become court heralds. The sea captain arrives from Bijaya Nagaram, capital of a Deccan kingdom, and the two boys are told to guard his ships, while he is feasting at the palace. Waking from a dream that a young man has given her two lilies, their mother comes out of a cabin and kisses them. The king sentences them to death but the watchmen of the four gates refuse egress to the execution telling four tales (narrated). Next day the king learns the truth about his wife and sons. This romance, we may note by the way, can be dated approximately to the later sixteenth century A.D., in view of its being a finer version of the fourth tale of a Muslim Malayan work called *Hikayat Bakhtua* which in turn cannot be dated earlier than A.D. 1511.[38]

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[36] Saletore, *ibid.*

[37] Birdwood, George, *A Report on the Old Records in the India Office,* p. 107.

In the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (later fifteenth and early sixteenth century A.D.), after the Javanese romances come South Indian episodes, one of which runs thus:—Of the children of Sang Sapurba and his wife born from the vomit of Śiva's bull, one Sang Maniaka became king of Bentan, Singapore and Malacca, and sent for his brother Sang Jaya Nantaka to become crown prince. Discarded on account of his popularity, Sang Jaya Venkata, disguised as a fisherman, is taken by a Tamil merchant from Perma Dewan (perhaps a reminiscence of Purindan) to Kalinga to be king. Again after his last trip to Majapahit, Hang Tuah (who has been assigned to A.D. 1459), and who had learnt Tamil in Majapahit, is sent to Vijayanagaram, where a merchant Nala Sang Guna, or Narasingam, gave him anchorage at a spot reserved for the Franks, and announced his arrival to the king of Kishdinan, which name Professor von Ronkel has surmised to be an old form of Kittinan, the Tamil form of Kṛṣṇarāja. Hang Tuah visits (obviously in Vijayanagara) the 1,000 mosques where the *anjuvanattar,* a caste of Muslim weavers, pray, and also a temple of Sitambalam (Cambalam ?) "Store for Travellers". He eats dainties cooked in the Negapatam fashion, shows his horsemanship, and does the mango trick. The Tamil king sends Hang Tuah to China, where like another envoy in the *Malayan Annals*, he contrives to see the Emperor by lifting his head to eat string beans.[39]

In another Malayan chronicle, we are informed that Hang Tuah on his way to Vijayanagara met the hero of the *Hikayat Iskandar,* the prophet Khadir, who foretold his voyage to China and his safe return.[40]

It is evident from the above Malayan chronicles that the memory of king Narasinga, of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great, and of the city of Vijayanagara had left a deep impression on the mind of the Malayan people—a fact which can be attributed only to a very close and intimate contact between that great capital of the Hindu Empire of Southern India and the distant peoples of the South-Eastern Islands.

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[38] *Memoirs of the Malayan Branch of the R.A.S.*, XVII. Part III, pp. 34-47, 86. I am indebted to my younger brother, Dr. G. N. Saletore, M.A. Ph.D., Keeper of the Records of the Government of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad, for this reference, which he placed at my disposal about ten years ago.

[39] *Memoirs of the Malayan Branch, op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 47. Perhaps this chronicle is to be dated to the sixteenth century A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 63).

Western India's contact with China may be dated to the early Cālukyan times, although we are not on such definite ground in this matter as we are with the one relating to the Islands of the Malaya Archipelago mentioned above. The source of information relating to the contact between China and Western India is a Chinese work called *Liang-se-Kung-tse-ki* (Mirrors of the Four Lords of the Liang Dynasty, A.D. 500-556), written by Chang Yue (A.D. 667-730). The story relates to a crystal mirror but is abrupt and incomplete. Berthold Laufer's translation of the relevant passage may be stated thus:—A large junk of Funan (ancient Cambodia), which had hailed from Western India, arrived in China, and offered for sale a mirror of a peculiar variety of rock crystal, one foot and four inches across its surface and forty *catties* in weight. It was pure white and transparent on the surface and in the interior, and displayed many coloured things on its obverse. When held against the light and examined, its substance was not discernible. On inquiry for the price, it was priced at a million strings of copper coins. The Chinese Emperor ordered the officials to raise the sum, but the treasury did not hold enough. Those traders said—"This mirror is due to the action of the Devarāja of the Rūpadhātu. On felicitous and joyful occasions, he causes the trees of the gods to pour down a shower of precious stones, and the mountains receive them. The mountains conceal and seize the stones, so that they are difficult to obtain. The flesh of big beasts is cast into the mountains; and when the flesh in these hiding places becomes so putrified that it phospheresces, it resembles a precious stone. Birds carry it off in their beaks and this is the jewel from which this mirror is made."[41] Nobody in the Empire understood this and dared to pay that price. There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the exact meaning of the word *p'o-li* which has been translated as rock crystal or as glass.[42]

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41 & 42. Dr. Laufer, Berthold, Dr. *Optical Lens in Toung Pao*, Vol. XVI (1915), pp. 202-203. See also Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notes of South India*, p. 84, and note (2) for an account of this discovery.

Admitting that the above account is incomplete, that *Liang-se-Kung-tse-ki* is only a narrative and not a work on commercial geography, and that the exact meaning of the Chinese term *p'o-li* is still a matter of speculation, we have in the above story the fact that the Western coast of India was in touch with China in the seventh century A.D. Now on the basis of the following we may assume that the term Western India used by the Chinese could have referred only to Karnāṭaka proper, although the possibility of that term being used for Gujarat is certainly not ruled out. In this connection we have once again to remember the fact that, in the seventh century A.D., the Early Cālukyas had already established their reputation as a great maritime power by their decisive naval victory which they won at Pūri over the ancient Mauryas.

We have now to see whether in the Chinese annals themselves there is any reference to the Early Cālukyas. In a Chinese Encyclopaedia of the eleventh century A.D., as preserved in the writings of the mediaeval Chinese historian Ma-Twan-Lin, and as gathered by Professor Chavannes, we have the following interesting details:—In the 3rd month of the 3rd year Ti'-ien-Cheou (692), the king of the kingdom of Eastern India, Mo-lo-pa-mo; the king of the kingdom of western India Che-lo-ito (Śilāditya), the king of the kingdom of the South India (Tche-leou-k'i-pa-lo) (Cālukya Vallabha), etc., all came to render homage and make presents.[43] None of these rulers has been identified by historians till now.[44]

We may restrict ourselves to only two rulers—Śilāditya and Cālukya Vallabha. The Śilādityas known to Indian history may be grouped thus—Harṣavardhana Śilāditya of Kanouj (A.D. 606-647);[45] seven Śilādityas of Valabhi; a Śilāditya of Malwa; a Śilāditya of Mewar; and a Śilāditya of the Early Cālukyan house. Eliminating Harṣavardhana Śilāditya of Kanouj on chronological grounds, we come to Śilāditya of Mālwā (Mewar) mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, assigned by him to AD. 648,[46] and identified by scholars with Śilāditya I, Dharmāditya of the Maitraka family (A.D. 570-610).[47] There were seven Śilādityas of Valabhi—Śilāditya I mentioned above; Śilāditya II; Śilāditya III (A.D. 666);[48] Śilāditya IV (A.D. 691); Śilāditya V (A.D. 722); Śilāditya VI (A.D. 760-766) for whom it is difficult to assign dates; and Śilāditya VII (A.D. 766-767).[49] The dates of none of the above except that of Śilāditya IV (A.D. 691) agree with the date A.D. 692 given in the Chinese account. But excepting his name nothing is known about Śilāditya IV which would justify his association with trans-oceanic enterprises to distant China.

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[43] & 44. I have discussed fully the identity of these Indian rulers in my *I.D.R. East*, pp. 194-206. I could not do so earlier when I had written this paper.

[45] Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 171.

[46] Watters, Yuan Chwang, II. p. 246. See also Saletore, R. N., *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 73 (Bombay, 1943).

We now come to the Guhila king Śilāditya whose date is still a matter of speculation. It is opined that he lived about two centuries before Śilāditya VI of Valabhi.[50] This precludes the Guhila king's being connected with China. We are, therefore, left with the last name—that of the Early Cālukya ruler. In the history of the Early Cālukyas, there was a Satyāśraya Śilāditya of Gujarat, the son of Dhārāśraya Jayasimhavarman, who was the son of Pulikeśin II. This ruler Satyāśraya Śilāditya reigned from A.D. 671 till A.D. 692. Two of his records have been found—the Navsāri copper plate grant dated the 30th January 671, and the Sūrat copper plate grant dated A.D. 692.[51] These enable us to assert that Satyāśraya Śilāditya of Gujarat did exercise political sway, and that he possessed two important ports—Navsāri and Sūrat—under him. Now when we realize that this was the age of the Early Calukyan supremacy when the Cālukyan hegemony had been cast over Gujarat in the west and Veṅgi in the east; that the ruler Satyāśraya Śilāśraya Śilāditya was the king of Western India; that the Early Cālukyas had, as already referred to above, established their maritime supremacy on the western seaboard; and that the last known date of Satyāśraya Śilāditya (A.D. 692) agrees admirably with the date 692 as given in the Chinese historical account, we may identify Śilāditya mentioned in that account with Satyāśraya Śilāditya of the Gujarat branch of the Early Cālukya house. The exact circumstances leading to the despatch of presents to the Chinese monarch in A.D. 692 cannot be determined at the present stage of our investigations.[52]

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[47] Saletore, R. N., *ibid.*, pp. 75, 76.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

[49] Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 315, 382; *History of Gujarat*, p. 117 (Bom. Gaz. Series); Ray, Hemchandra, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, pp. 1153, 1154, 1155; (Calcutta, 1936); Saletore, R. N., *ibid.*, pp. 74; 75; 95; 142; etc.

[50] Ray, *op. cit.*, II. pp. 1153, 1158, 1163-1165.

[51] Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 363, 364, 670.

The next ruler mentioned in the Chinese Encyclopaedia is called Cālukya Vallabha. This name may be again referred to the line of the Early Cālukyas amongst whom was Vināyaditya Rājaśraya (A.D. 680-696).[53] He was the son of Vikramāditya I, who was the son of Pulikeśin II. Hence Vinayāditya was another grandson of Pulikeśin II, and, therefore, a contemporary of Satyāśraya Śilāditya mentioned above.[54] Certain considerations about this ruler may be noted. He had, among other titles, the following—Śrī Prithvīvallabha; he is reputed to have conquered a number of kings of South India (who are all named); he levied tribute from the kings of Kaveras or Kameras (unidentified), the Pārasikas (unidentified),[55] and the king of Simhala; and acquired the *pāli-dhvaja* and the signs of the river Gangā and the Yamunā. Of these the last insignia denoted a victory over a paramount ruler of northern India.[56] It is not improbable that that ruler might have been one of the later kings of Magadha.[57] Whatever that might be, the Cālukya Vallabha referred to in the Chinese account was evidently Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, both because the date A.D. 692 falls within his reign, and the title *Cālukya Vallabha* had been assumed by him. We may assume that his embassy may have been sent over-land to China, since his north Indian victory over a paramount lord of that region might have given him easy access to the trans-Himalayan roads to China. The above considerations enable us to assert that it was during the reigns of the two Cālukya brother-rulers, Satyāsraya Śilāditya and Vinayāditya Rājāśraya that Western India had diplomatic relations with China.

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[52] See my *I.D.R. East*, pp. 195-197 for a discussion of the problem connected with the Śilādityas.

[53] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 63.

[54] Rice does not mention Satyāśraya Śilāditya in the Early Cālukyan genealogy (*Mysore and Coorg*, p. 63). But Fleet mentions both the grandsons of Pulikeśin II. (Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 336. Genealogical Table).

[55 & 56] When I had written this paper in 1954, I had failed to gather any details about this ruler. The reader is again kindly referred to my *I.D.R. East*, pp. 198-201, where I have given more facts about the Khmers and the Pārasíkas.

[57] I have likewise now identified the paramount ruler of Northern India. See my *I.D.R. East*, pp. 200-201.

In this connection we may note that the Chinese historians were aware of that part of Western India which formed a part of the Hoysala Empire. We have to read Chau Ju-Kua's work entitled *Chau-Fan-Chi* which, according to Professor Friederich Hirth, has to be assigned to the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.[58] We have shown elsewhere that the word *Hu-Cha-la* occurring in that work could have referred only to Hoysala, that is, to the extensive Empire of Hoysala Vīra Ballāḷa II (A.D. 1173-A.D. 1212).[59]

That Western India, and, therefore, Vijayanagara, was well known to the Tibetans through whose country alone an over-land embassy to China might have been sent by a Karnāṭaka monarch, is proved by the fact that the memory of both Karnāṭaka and Vijayanagara lived in the mind of the Tibetans. This is corroborated by the following references in the *Tibetan Geographical Summary of Indian Place Names* written by the Tibetan scholiast named Shabs-drun, a Tibetan abbot, who wrote his work between A.D. 1722 and 1747. The place names are given thus—"To the South beside the Ocean, Ka.na.ta (Karnāṭa), Vidya-nagara (Vijayanagara), Kon.Ku.na (Konkan), Tu.mu.ra.ti (Tamralipti), Dra-pa-li (Dravida)"[60] etc.

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[58] Hirth, F., *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for* 1896, p. 58.

[59] Saletore, *The Identification of Hu-cha-la mentioned in the Chinese Accounts* in the *Journal of the Karnatak University*, III. No. 2 (June 1959), pp. 30-40.

[60] Sarkar, S. C., *Ancient Indian Geography* in the *Indian Culture*, VII. pp. 173, 187.

Tirunavay Mamakam

BY

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The word *Māmākam* is the Malayalam colloquial variant of the Sanskrit *Māghamagha*, that is, the *Magha* asterism of the month of *Māgha*. It is the name of the festival which had been celebrated till A.D. 1766 at Tirunāvāy in Malabar (Kēraḷa) and is still celebrated at Kumbakonam, Ujjain, Prayāg and Haridvar, on the day presided over by the asterism of *Magha*, in the month of *Māgha*, of the year *Mahāmāgha* of the *Jovian Cycle* of twelve years, when the moon and Jupiter come together in the sign of *Simha* or *Leo*. Shortly after the Māmākam of 1766, Haidar Ali of Maisūr conquered Malabār, and the *Māmākam* ceased to be celebrated at Tirunāvāy.

Kēraḷa Māmākam and other Māmākams

The Kēraḷa *Māmākam* differed from the other *Māmākams* in important respects. The former was associated with the advent of Goddess Gaṅga at Tirunāvāy for the festival of its Lord, while the latter are held sacred as commemorating the arrival of the bearer of *Amṛtakalaśa* or pot of Nectar, not for distributing the priceless elixir of immortality, but for a few minutes' rest on his way to the abode of the immortals, who by the by did not stand in need of it. Further, the Tirunāvāy festival lasted for thirty days, while the others are of much shorter duration. Lastly, the Kēraḷa *Māmākam* was intertwined with the history of Kēraḷa, and had thus a political and secular importance, totally absent in others.

Tirunāvāy

Tirunāvāy is a village in Ātavanāḍ or Ātanāḍ, meaning the land of the Ātans or Ceras. The Viṣṇu shrine where the *Māmākam* was celebrated stands a mile and a half from the station of the same name on the present Madras—Mangalore railway. The village was originally called Nāvā, Nāvāy, Nāvaiyūr, literally boat, ferry, harbour, port, on account of its situation on what had once been the mouth of the Bhāratappuḷa. Like other rivers of Kēraḷa, the Bhāratappuḷa also managed to block its mouth with the silt it brought down every year from the hills, and finally abandoned it in a year of exceptionally heavy rains, scouring a new channel between the temple of Viṣṇu and the temples of Brahma and Śiva, and disgorging its waters in the sea at Vākayūr, a mile to the north. It was here that Cēramān̲ Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi Nārmuṭi defeated Nannan II, and compelled him to abandon all his claims to Pūḻināḍ, the sandy region stretching from the mouth of the Bhāratappuḷa to the Payasvini or Kāsargōḍ river. The *Periplus* refers not only to Tirunāvāy (Naura) but also to the present Tīṇṭilam as 'Tundis a village of great note near the sea.'

With the formation of the new mouth at Vākayūr, the old mouth at Tirunāvāy became a *Kāyal* or backwater, extending from the temple to the present railway station and beyond. Gradually the *Kāyal* was filled up. Till A.D. 1731 at the latest, however, it must have remained deep enough to allow the country *Kappals*, or ships, to engage in mock-fights during the *Māmākam*. As the river shifted its mouth to Ponnāni, the *Kāyal* was completely cut off from the sea, and it became *Iṭakkuḷam*, literally midway tank, providing red lotus for the worship of the Lord. But this lotus tank disappeared when it was filled up for the railway, the name however surviving in the station built on its site. In 1958, this name also disappeared, the present Tirunāvāy taking its place. The name *Kāyal* however still remains in the revenue records.

Nāvāyuramma becomes Nāvārama

The Viṣṇu shrine of Tirunāvāy is peculiar in that *Lakṣmi* or Goddess of Prosperity, is worshipped here in a separate shrine of her own. She was originally the presiding deity of the village, popularly called *Nāvayūramma* or *Mother of Nāvayūr*. Her name was however transformed into *Nāvārama* that is Rama or Lakṣmi of Nāva, when the Viṣṇu shrine came into existence.

Nāvāramēśan

Tradition ascribes the Viṣṇu shrine to the *Nava Yogis* or nine *Yogis*, sons of Ṛṣabha. The image that is worshipped is the ninth, consecrated by the youngest brother, Karabhaja, standing over eight images, one above the other, which all went down immediately after their consecration, one after the other by Karabhaja's brothers., Ravi, Hari, Antarikṣa, Prabuddha, Pippalāyana, Avirhōtṛa, Dramida, and Camasa.

There is nothing to indicate when exactly the temple was founded. It must have become famous by the time of Nammāḷvār and Tirumaṅgaiāḷvār, who have praised it in their songs. Of the ancient Cēra kings, Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi Nāṛmuṭi (A.C. 110-135) was associated with Vākayūr near Tirunāvāy, and Iḷañcēral Irumpoṛai (A.C. 195-211) and Māntaran Cēral Irumpoṛai (A.C. 210-250) are addressed by the poets as *Toṇḍiyūr poruṇa* or protector of the people of Ṭondi, which must be the present Tiṇṭilam and the Tundis of the *Periplus.* Any one of them could have founded this temple. Iḷañcēral Irumpoṛai's grandfather, Śelvakaṭuṅko (A.C. 165-190) is said to have set apart the revenues of Okantūr, malayalamized into Akannūr, for the worship of Viṣṇu. If this village had been in Ātavanāḍ, Śelvakatuṅko must be regarded as the founder of the Viṣṇu shrine.

Origin of Tirunāvāy Māmākam

Before the Maisūrian invasion of A.D. 1766, the annual festival of the Lord of Tirunāvāy had lasted for thirty days beginning from the *Puṣya,* or eighth asterism, of the month of *Puṣya* (Tamil *Tai,* Malayalam *Makaram,* English *January-February*) and ending with the *Āṛāṭṭu* or ceremonial immersion of the *Utsava vigraha,* or small image taken out in procession, in the river, on the day of *Magha,* or the tenth asterism, in the following month of *Māgha* (Tamil *Māśi,* Malayalam *Kumbham,* and English *February-March*). From one point of view, therefore, the *Māmākam* was the annual festival of the Lord in the *Mahāmāgha* year.

As has been said elsewhere in connection with Guruvāyūr (*Journal of Indian History,* Vol. XL, p. 854), the temple festivals of Kēraḷa had a three-fold aspect, a *secular* aspect marked by processions, fire works *etc.,* a *political* aspect corresponding to an annual review of the administration, and a *religious* aspect involving special rites and ceremonies for the restoration of the divine *Caitanya,* or energy, that might have been impaired for some reason in the year that was past. In some temples, off and on, special ceremonies were performed to add to the divine *Caitanya* in the image.

At Guruvayūr it had been the *Viśvabali*. As Tirunāvāy was a royal temple the original induction rites themselves were repeated *mutatis mutandis* in the course of the annual festival of the *Mahāmāgha* year.

The temple itself was in all probability founded in the *Mahāmāgha* year. It is the holiest of the twelve years of the *Vyāḻavaṭṭam* or *Jovian Cycle*. *Māmākakollattil malaṭiyum peṟum*, in the *Māmāka* year even the barren will bring forth, is the proverb. (And statistics shows that the number of births reaches its peak in the *Mahāmāgha* year.) One of the most important rites of induction is the immersion of the image in the waters of the Ganges as was done by Śeṅguṭṭuvan, the predecessor on the throne and an older contemporary of Śelvakatuṅko, to the image of *Kaṇṇaki* or *Kaṭuṅṅallūramma*, before its consecration. As a literal repetition of this rite was not possible, the *Mūlavigraha*, or original image in the central shrine, and the smaller *Utsavavigraha* had their *abhiṣeka* with the Ganges water every day of the festival. And for the *Āṛāṭṭū* pots and pots of Ganges water were emptied into the flowing water of the Bhāratappuḻa as the priests invoked Goddess Ganga's presence. Thus, the advent of the Gaṅga became inseparably associated with the *Māmākam* of Tirunāvāy, and a dip in the waters of the Bhāratappuḻa during the *Māmākam* came to be believed as conferring the same religious merit as in the holy waters of the Ganges itself!

Māmākam, a Royal Celebration

Tirunāvāy was one of the few temples of Kerala founded by kings. With its affairs looked after by them, they were the *Rakṣapuruṣa* or Protector of the temple and its festivals in general and of the Māmākam in particular. The latter was attended by their feudatories from all over Kēraḷa, which from the beginning tended to invest it with a national, as distinguished from a local, importance.

War between the Zāmorin and the Veḷḷātṛi for Tirunāvāy and Māmākam

With the decline of the Cera empire, the management of the temple and the conduct of the *Māmākam* devolved upon the Veḷḷāṭri or chief of Vaḷḷuvanāḍ. In the course of the thirteenth century the Zāmorin made himself master of all the country between Pantalāyini and Ponnāni. With the expansion of his empire, the population of his capital, Kōḻikkōḍ (Calicut) naturally increased. And the Zāmorin found it more and more difficult to obtain the necessary food supplies. He turned his eyes therefore to the rice fields of Val̤l̤uvanāḍ and Pālghat, which together formed the Granary of Central Kēraḷa.

The Brahmins, if they were so minded, could have prevented a war between these chiefs by their influence over them as fathers, cousins, and brothers-in-law (sister's husband). But the could have-been peace makers themselves were divided. The rules of the Pārthivapuram śāla founded by Karunandaṭakkan in the ninth century show that the Brahmin boys received in their Vedic colleges a training not only in Vēdas and *Śāstrās* but also in arms. So the rivalry between the two neighbouring villages of Panniyūr and Śukapuram in Vedas and *Śāstrās* gradually led to a bitter and protracted war between them; and by their personal relations with chiefs and nobles, they drew every one of them into their *Kūrmatsaram* or civil war. The Zāmorin became the champion of Panniyūr and the Vel̤l̤aṭri and Perumpaṭappu (Cochin) of Śukapuram.

On grounds of self-interest the Moors urged the Zāmorin to attack Tirunāvāy. Through the Bhāratappul̤a they hoped to penetrate to the interior, to Pālghat, Cittūr and Kollangōḍ, and ultimately to Pol̤l̤ācci in the Coimbatore District.

We do not know how exactly the war broke out. In an age when war was a pastime and murder a sport, a chance word is enough to engage two peoples in a deadly conflict. It began with one *Māmākam* and ended with the next. The Zāmorin himself led the main army; joined by Veṭṭem (Beṭṭem), he attacked Tirunāvāy from his base at Tṛpṛaṅṅōṭ. To prevent help reaching the Vel̤l̤atri from Perumpaṭappu, the Ēṛāḷpāḍ crossed the river and established his headquarters between the Brahma and Siva temples on the opposite bank.

The Vel̤l̤aṭri's men fought like lions, but in the end the Zāmorin's diplomacy prevailed. His minister, Maṅgāṭ Accan, seduced a junior branch, that of Kaṭannamaṇṇa Iḷaya Vakayil Vel̤l̤ōṭi. The Zāmorin seduced the Vel̤l̤āṭri's goddess herself! It is but natural for combatants to pray each to his own tutelary deity. But, with an originality all his own, the Zāmorin prayed to his adversary's deity also for help. He installed her in his temple at Kōḻikkōḍ (Calicut), and began to worship her. Gradually, this new tactics of the Zāmorin began to tell upon the enemy. It undermined his *morale*. As time went on, the Veḷḷāṭṭri's soldiers "began to see their own deity fighting in the ranks of the Zāmorin's army against them." With their goddess herself turned against them, they lost all hope. Two of their princes died fighting. At last they withdrew. The Zāmorin occupied Tirunāvāy and became the *Rakṣāpuruṣa* of the *Māmākam*.

War for Tirunāvāy reflected in the Māmākam

All those who had taken part in the war received rewards commensurate with the importance of their services. The *Perunila* or "standing in state" by the Zāmorin as a demonstration of his power and a proclamation of his new status as the *Rakṣāpuruṣa* of the *Māmākam* originally enjoyed by the Ceraman emperors became an important feature of the *Māmākam*. The processions of the Zāmorin became more and more imposing, while those of the Lord survived only as a religious rite confined to the priests. The appearance of the *Cāvers* of the Veḷḷāṭṭri to kill the Zāmorin, though only to be killed, became one of the most eagerly awaited and exciting events of the festival. Lastly, the original significance of the *Māmākam* as an annual festival of the Lord and a twelve-yearly re-enforcement of his *Caitanya* gradually became blurred, and *Māghamkuḷikkal*, or ceremonial bath in the river in the month of *Māgha*, came to prominence. And for this reason the *Māmākam* was now and then, though at long intervals, celebrated in two successive years, as in 1694 and 1695.

Advent of Gaṅga associated with Jupiter in Simha (Leo)

In course of time the advent of Gaṅga at Tirunāvāy became inseparably associated in the popular mind with the presence of Jupiter in *Simha* (*Leo*) in the month of *Māgha* as its cause. It was argued: at the *Māmākam*, Gaṅga appears at Tirunāvāy; the *Māmākam* is celebrated in the year of *Mahāmāgha*; in the year of *Mahāmāgha* Jupiter is found residing in *Simha* (*Leo*) in the month of *Māgha*: so the presence of Jupiter in *Simha* (*Leo*) in the month of *Māgha* brings Goddess Gaṅga to Tirunāvāy.

Jupiter may occupy the sign of *Simha* (*Leo*) in the normal course. He may take also a leap to *Simha* (*Leo*) by *aticāra*, or acceleration, while residing in the previous sign of *Kaṭaka* (*Crab*). Thus Jupiter may be found in *Simha* (*Leo*) in two successive years;

by *aticāra* from his normal residence in *Kaṭaka* (*Crab*) and also in the normal course. If Jupiter occupies *Simha* (*Leo*) in two successive years, Gaṅga also appears at Tirunāvāy in the corresponding years, and the *Māmākam* has to be celebrated accordingly!

Māmāka Talpūyam

The *Māmāka Talpūyam* is the *Talpūyam* of the year previous to the year in which the *Māmākam* has to be celebrated. *Talpūyam* is the Malayalam form of the Tamil *Taippūśam* or the asterism of *Pūśam* in the month of *Tai*, corresponding to *Puṣya* of the month of *Pauṣa*. The flag for the annual festival of the Lord is hoisted under the asterism of *Puṣya* in the month of *Pauṣa*. The *Māmāka Talpūyam* served the purpose of proclaiming to the world at large the decision of the Zāmorin to celebrate the *Māmāka* in the ensuing year, so that the necessary preparations might be made by all those who were concerned: the Zāmorin's own feudatories and officers; merchants who would like to avail themselves of the grand festival; learned men who wanted to take part in the various competitions that were arranged; wrestlers, acrobats, jugglers and others too numerous to be mentioned, who were eager to exhibit their skill in their respective arts and crafts; and above all, the subjects of the *Veḷḷatri* who would like to come and die for the honour of their *Nād* and chief according to the well-known rules of vendetta.

The Zāmorin would arrive at his palace at Vākayūr before sunset on the asterism of *Puṣya* in the month of *Pauṣa*, ostensibly to arrange for and supervise the *Dhvajārōhaṇa* or raising of the flag with which the annual festival began. In Kēraḷa the flag is raised in every temple belonging to the Nampūtiri Brahmins and chiefs at night. As time went on, the Zāmorin ceased to be personally present in the temple for the rite, sending a deputy to represent him.

Next day, at sunrise or a little after, he would appear on the *Maṇittara* or platform facing Tirunāvāy and bow three times towards the Lord. Then, the Eṛaḷpad who must have also come the previous day to his residence on the opposite bank, would proceed towards Vākayūr, make his obeisance to the Zāmorin, and ascending the platform stand by his side. Then, the *Lōkar*, comprising the Ten Thousand of Kōḷikkōḍ (Calicut) led by their hereditary commanders, the Kōḻikkōḍ (Calicut) Nāyar and the Ērnāḍ Menon, would be brought before the Zāmorin and the Ēṛāḷpāḍ by Maṅgāṭ Accan and Tinayāncēri Iḷayatu, to perform their homage, which done the Zāmorin and the Ēṛāḷpāḍ would retire, the former to his palace at Vākayūr, the latter to his quarters on the left bank.

Preparations for the Māmākam

As soon as the rains ceased in August-September, the preparations for the grand festival were set on foot. On an auspicious day, at the auspicious hour, "a letter was written to Pāṇḍy." This is a relic of the days when the peoples of Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya had fought shoulder to shoulder against the Cōḷa aggressor. Though the Pāṇḍyas were superseded by the Vijayanagar rulers on the political stage and the Pāṇḍyan family itself had become extinct, a formal letter was written: old customs die hard.

Then invitations were sent to friendly chiefs, followed by circular letters to the feudatories to come and attend the festival as in times past. Down to and including the very last *Māmākam* of 1766, the chief of Vēṇāḍ had sent his representatives and offerings to Tirunāvāy.

By October-November, the timber and bamboo required for the festival would have all arrived at Tirunāvāy, floated down from the Nilambūr forests to Cāliyam, and thence dragged by elephants to their destination on the Bhāratappuḻa. The Parappaḷḷi Nāyakan was in charge of accommodation, Tunnāra Cakravaṛti, or Tailor Imperial of decoration, the Koṭuṅṅallūr (Crāṅganore) Rāja of feeding, and the Muslim *Kāzi* of *Kōḻikkōḍ* (Calicut) and *Sahabantra Kōya* or *Farmer General of the Customs* of fire-works. The Koṭṭōlpaṭanāyakan maintained watch and ward over the right bank of the river while the Vayyāvināṭṭu Nampiṭi stood guard over the left.

At the auspicious hour fixed by the Āḷūr Koṇikaḷ the *Muhurtakkāl*, or the ceremonial decorated post, was planted, and work begun on the *Maṇittara* or *dais* for the Zamorin's *Perunila* or Stand in State. Every one, from the Zāmorin downwards to the Paṛaya drummers, had their appointed quarters on the vast sandy plains stretching from the river bank on either side of the river, or on the sandy bed of the river itself. The Zāmorin took up his residence at Vākayūr. The great well into which the fertile imagination of William Logan, the author of the monumental *Malabar Manual*; dumped the dead bodies of the *Cāvers* trampled to death by the Zāmorin's elephants (!), provided water for the Zamorin's palace. All along the sandy lane from the *Maṇittara* to the western gate of the temple rose the camps for the princes of the Zamorin's family below the Ēṛāḷpāḍ or heir apparent, the ministers, and the great feudatories. The princesses had their quarters between the Vākayūr palace and the river. Others had their pavilions to the east of the temple, each *Nāḍ* or province decorating its pavilion so as to serve also as an exhibition of its peculiar products. On the sandy bed of the river near the *Nīrcāl*, or water-course, were the tents of the eighteen *Saṅghas* of Brahmins, corresponding to the traditional eighteen *Nāḍs* or divisions of Kēraḷa. The centre of interest in the river was the *Nīrāṭṭukuḷippantal* or the bathing pavilion of the Zāmorin.

On the opposite bank, were the residences of the Ēṛāḷpāḍ and his Brahmin military adviser, the Tirumanaśśēri Nampūtiri. Here also a platform was erected for the Ēṛāḷpāḍ's *Perunila* or Stand in State, much smaller, of course, than the *Maṇittara* of Vakāyur.

Talpūyam (*First Day of the Festival*)

On the day of *Puṣya* in the month of *Pauṣa* (January-February) the Zāmorin and the Ēṛāḷpāḍ would have moved to their respective residences in good time before sun-set. At night, at the auspicious hour of *Puṣya*, the annual festival and the *Māmākam* festival would be inaugurated in the temple by the *Dhvajārōhaṇa* or flag-hoisting. Next morning, the Zāmorin and the Ēṛāḷpāḍ made their appearance, the former on the *Maṇittara* at *Vākayūr*, the latter on his platform, and bowed thrice towards Tirunāvāy. A salute would then be fired from the *Katinas* or mortars, and the *Perunila* or 'Stand in State' would come to an end, the Zāmorin and the Ēṛḷpāḍ retiring.

Evening Procession of the following Twenty-five Days

Next day, after sunrise, the Zāmorin, wearing a simple coat and cap, would proceed in his litter to the *Nirāṭṭukuḷipantal* in the river. The ceremonial bath over, he had also his dinner here, the feudatories coming and paying their obeisance in between. The dinner would be followed by *Purāṇam vāyana* or the reading of *Rāmāyaṇa*. Towards evening, fully decked from head to foot in his crown jewels, the Zamorin would get upon the richly caparisoned elephant, called on that account, the *Ponnaṇiññāna*. Even the big chain of one hundred and fourteen solid links that circled its huge body was made of 22-carat gold. He was supported on the elephant by a member of the Brahmin Talappaṇṇa's family. Slowly emerging from the river at *Kūriyāl* or stunted banyan tree, the procession turned towards the temple.

Perfect order and sacurity were maintained. The one-mile road from Vākayūr to the temple was protected by barred palisadings on either side, placed at two spears' length apart, with armed guards, posted two to six deep, at every three feet. In front went the Māppiḷḷas (Muslims) with their *Vādyams*, or musical instruments, followed by those of the Paṛayas and the Īḻuvas. Next came the *Muraśapaṇṭārakkūttam*, or royal drummers, followed by the fifth, fourth, third, and second princes of the house. Behind them came chosen damsels, decked at their best, sprinkling water from silver salvers to 'purify the ground' for the *Paḷḷimārāti*, or sacred door panel, representing the *Śrivaḷayanāḍ Bhagavati*, the *Tirumātāṅkunnu Bhagavati*, who was the guardian deity of the Veḷḷāṭri from whom Tirunāvāy had been wrested, and his own tutelary deity, the *Neṭiyirippu Bhagavati*, both of whom were represented by their respective swords. Last came the imposing array of elephants with the Zāmorin on the *Ponnaṇiññāna* in the centre.

Getting down from his elephant at the western gate of the temple, the Zāmorin proceeded on foot, supported on either side by Punnattūr Nampiṭi and the Nandavanattil Nampi, to the central shrine. After making his obeisance to *Nāvārameśan* and receiving sandal-paste and flowers, he moved to *Rama's* (*Lakṣmi's*) shrine. After duly paying his respects to her also, he came out of the temple at the western gate; and once more getting upon the *Ponnaṇiññāna* or state-elephant, returned to Vākayūr, and dismounted from his elephant to the accompaniment of a salute of 101 *Katinas* or mortars.

Special Akampaṭis or Bodyguards

In this manner for twenty-five days, from *Āyilyam* (*Ahi*) to *Tiruvātira* (*Ārdra*) went on the simple procession to the river in the morning and the elaborate procession in the evening to the temple and thence back to Vākayūr. By this time the crowd would have swollen to unmanageable proportions. Not only were the guards along the route re-inforced, but special *Akampaṭis* or bodyguards, were arranged. On the twentieth day, for the *Akampaṭi* or guard duty, appeared the Thirty thousand of Ēṛnāḍ under Vayyavināṭṭu Nampiṭi; on the twenty-first Kaṭannamaṇṇa Iḷaya Vakayil Veḷḷōṭi; on the twenty-second the Fifth Prince; on the twenty-third the Fourth Prince; on the twenty-fourth the Third Prince; on the twenty-fifth the Ēṛālpāḍ or Second Prince; and on the twenty-sixth the Ten thousand of Kōḻikkōṭ (Calicut) under Kōḻikkōḍ (Calicut) Talaccanna Nāyar and Ēṛnad Menon.

Theft of the Elephant's Chain

These *Akampaṭis* however were no proof against a Brahmin Pandit or Professor of *Cōra Śāstra* or *Science and Art of Stealing.* He was an East Coast Brahmin. East Coast Brahmins were specially welcome at the Zamorin's court. He liked to pit them up against his own courtiers so that the latter might be stirred out of their self-complacency and benefit by emulation. It was the East Coast Uddaṇṭan who brought out and revealed the local Kākkaśśeri. The Brahmin adept in *Cōra Śāstrā* boasted that he would steal the chain of solid gold encircling the body of the state elephant; and pay the penalty if caught red-handed. This was a challenge which Maṅgāṭ Accan, the hereditary minister, could not but accept, if only to maintain his reputation. The guards were doubled every where, and special guards were posted all round the state elephant. But for once at least, the famous Maṅgāṭ Accan was foiled. The Brahmin laid his plans very carefully. Some of his own disciples managed to get themselves appointed as special guards round the state-elephant. The *Cōra* Professor himself carefully studied the features and habits of the Talappaṇṇa, who would be supporting the Zāmorin on the state-elephant. Pretending himself to be a physician, in a month of continuous feasts when a physician could not but be a welcome friend, he soon made friends with Talappaṇṇa, and on the day he intended to carry out his plan, he managed to send him away to a safe distance by giving him a purgative which he sorely needed, and boldly took his seat behind the Zāmorin on the state-elephant without arousing the least suspicion, having managed to make himself an exact double of the absent Talappaṇṇa in appearance, behaviour, mannerisms and speech. With his disciples prowling near and round the state-elephant, he chose the psychological moment when everyone's attention would be diverted to the huge beasts toiling up the river bank, to unclasp the gold chain round the elephant, and get it removed, substituting at the same time a chain of plated gold, so that the removal was not detected till after the procession, when the elephant's trappings were all laid aside. Needless to say, our Professor of *Cōra Śāstra* received rich rewards, and also a standing invitation to be present at every *Māmākam* to safeguard the palace valuables.

Perunilas and Fireworks

The twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth were the days of *Perunilas* and fireworks. There were no processions. At sunset on the twenty-seventh, the Zāmorin appeared fully decked on the *Maṇittara,* while the Ēṛalpāḍ also made his appearance on the platform on the opposite bank. On the twenty-eighth, while the Zāmorin and the Ēṛālpāḍ had their *Perunilas* on their respective platforms, the Raja of Veṭṭem (Beṭṭem) had his *Perunila* on a platform erected at the foot of the *Kūriyāḷ.* Next day, the twenty-ninth, the Third Prince had his *Perunila* under the *Kūriyāl* while the Zāmorin and Ēṛālpaḍ held theirs on *Maṇittara* and the left bank respectively. On all those days, with the onset of darkness began the fire-works off at *Kāyal.* They consisted of various kinds of rockets, simple rockets, repeating rockets, and rockets bursting with a shower of fire-flowers of various kinds; shooting stars, balloon lights and air-dynamites; fire-fountains of various types, simple fire-fountains, fire-fountains throwing up fire-flowers of various colours, and roaring fire-fountains called elephant-scarers; fire-wheels, pyramids of fire-wheels, and fire-wheels throwing out criss-crossing rat-rockets; and water-rockets, diving and coming up, zig-zagging and circling round and round in the water to the infinite amusement of spectators. Last came the mock fights between ships; six small ships representing country craft would surround and engage a big ship representing the Portuguese enemy, the fight ending appropriately with the enemy ship bursting into flames.

Homage and Allegiance

After the fire-works at night on the twenty-ninth, the religious rites of the *Māmākam* came to a close with the *Āṛaṭṭu* or ceremonial immersion of the *utsavavigraha* in the waters of the Bhāratappuḻa and the hauling down of the flag raised a month back on *Puṣya* or *Pūyam*.

Next day, the thirtieth day, witnessed the crowning political event, the homage of the Ēṟāḷpāḍ and the Ten Thousand. After sunrise, fully decked in his crown jewels, the Zāmorin would proceed in state from Vākayūr to the *Maṇittara,* and mounting on the platform, bow three times towards the Lord of Tirunāvāy, which was followed by a salute from the *Katinas* or mortars. Immediately, the Ēṟāḷpāḍ also would appear on his platform, and a salute would be fired from there. This would be followed by two volleys from the musketeers on the right bank and two volleys also from the left bank.

The Ēṟāḷpāḍ would then descend from his platform, and after prostrating before it, take his seat in the litter with the Brahmin chief of Tirumanaśśēri by his side. The procession would then move towards the right bank. Entering the river, crossing the *Nircāl,* and emerging on the road at *Kūriyal,* the Ēṟāḷpāḍ would descend from his litter and bow towards Tirunāvāy. Then, turning towards Vākayūr, he would prostrate on the ground; rising up, he would proceed on foot, accompanied by Tirumanasēri; prostrating, again, twice on the way, he would prostrate towards the Zāmorin, a fourth time, at the foot of the *Maṇittara.* Rising from the ground, he would, as commanded by the Zāmorin, mount on the platform, and take his place on the Zāmorin's right. The Ēṟāḷpāḍ would be followed by the other princes and the Raja of Veṭṭem (Beṭṭem). The Muslim Kōya and the Kāzi would come last and stand on the Zāmorin's left.

An Ancient Promise Renewed

This was followed by a ceremonial and symbolic renewal of an ancient promise. The Ten Thousand were the hereditary followers of the Poṟḷātiri. The Poṟḷātiri was the ruler of Polanāḍ before the Zāmorin occupied it and founded Kōḻikkōḍ (Calicut). At the approach of the Zāmorin, the craven Poṟḷātiri withdrew. The Ten Thousand however refused to submit to the Zāmorin. As the price of submission they demanded precedence over his own Thirty Thousand of Ēṟnāḍ. Always seeking to secure his object without bloodshed, the Zāmorin agreed, and sent Maṅgaṭ

Accan and Iḷayatu to convey his promise to the Ten Thousand sitting as the *Niḻalkūṭṭam* or sovereign assembly.

By the time the Kāzi and the Kōya had appeared on the platform, all the Nāyars and feudatories except the Ten Thousand would have taken their place below the *Maṇittara*. The Ten Thousand would have assembled in their *Niḻalkūṭṭam* at Accantara near Vākayūr. After the arrival of the Ēṟāḷpaḍ, the Accan and the Iḷayatu would proceed to Accantara and convey the Zāmorin's promise to the *Niḻalkūṭṭam*. The *Niḻalkūṭṭam sammatam mūṇṭu*, the assembly agreeing by acclamation, the Accan and the Iḷayatu would bring them under their hereditary commanders, the Kōḻikkōḍ (Talaccanna) Nāyar and Ēṟnāḍ Menon, with tom-toms and other paraphernalia of a formal procession to the *Maṇittara* to make their obeisance. This done with a salute of 101 mortars the Zāmorin would retire and the grand *Mahāmāgha* festival would come to a close.

Cāvers

One of the most exciting events of the *Māmākam* was the appearance of the *Cāver,* literally one who is determined to die. The *Cāver* had very little in common with those who died, like Āndai, to accompany their friends, or like the followers of Cēraman Perumāḷ who committed suicide to serve him in Kailās. It was one of the rules of *Kuṭippaka* in Kērala that a murder should be avenged by the murder of the murderer or a member of his family. The *Cāvers* came into prominence during the Cōḷa-Kērala conflict of A.D. 988-1120. The wanton aggression of the Cōḷas was really a private murder, though on a large scale, to be avenged according to the laws of vendetta.

Two of the Veḷḷāṭṟi's princes had been killed in the *Māmākam,* and it became incumbent upon the Veḷḷāṭṟi's Nāyars to murder an equal number of the Zāmorin's princes. Even by killing the Zāmorin, the Veḷḷāṭṟi would not become the ruler of Tirunāvāy and Protector of the *Māmākam* as Alexander Hamilton, and following him, Sir James Frazer, wrongly believed. In 1506 the Perumpaṭappu or Cochin Raja sent about one thousand *Cāvers* to avenge the death of Prince Narayanan and his two nephews at the battle of Iṭapaḷḷi in 1503: they were of course all cut down. The Cochin chief made only one attempt, but the Veḷḷāṭṟi sought his revenge at almost every *Māmākam,* goaded to it by the poignant memories of ancient greatness revived by the *Māmāka Talpūyam*.

With the mind constantly dwelling upon the national humiliation, it was only natural that the more emotional among the Veḷḷātri's Nāyars should hear voices, or see their tutelary goddess in dreams and hear her, urging them to proceed to Tirunāvāy and retrieve the national honour. On the day sacred to her, all those who had received her commands met at Tirunelli to make their last offerings to the *manes* of their departed ancestors, and subsequently started in procession to Tirumātāṅkunnu to receive her blessings. Receiving flowers and saffron powder from the chief priest, and taking the *Cāver's* oath that they would not return till they had avenged the death of their princes, they took their last meal and turned their steps toward Tirunāvāy. Strange to say, everyone of them carried a chart with him indicating the most auspicious time for his death. It was an indelible humiliation for the *Cāver's* kinsmen and eternal damnation for his own soul to be captured alive and punished like a traitor.

Guided only by the astrologer, the *Cāvers* had made their attempts at different times, in the morning, evening, and even at night after the Zāmorin had retired to his bed. Before the *Cāver* actually started on his death-dealing and death-receiving mission, he surrendered what was still left with him of material wealth to the Brahmin *Saṅgha* of Vaḷḷuvanād, the members of which wished him a glorious death. Though many of them had been captured and punished as traitors, a few of them had almost succeeded in their murderous mission before they were cut down. Boys in their teens and old men past sixty are also known to have sacrificed their lives as *Cāvers* at the *Māmākam* for the honour of their *Nād* and chief.

Moral of Tirunāvāy

It is not possible to conclude this paper without comparing Tirunāvāy and Guruvāyūr dedicated both to Lord Viṣṇu. Tirunāvāy has a moral to teach us. It is now all in ruins; with its massive door-posts and pillars all cracked, the whole structure may topple down at any moment. On the other hand, Guruvāyūr, one of the smallest shrines in Kēraḷa, bids fair to outstrip Tirupati as a pilgrim resort. The causes of Tirunāvāy's decline can be easily discovered. Founded and maintained by the earthly power, its greatness vanished also with the disappearance of that which had sustained it. Though of the princes of Kērala, the Zāmorin was the most devout, his *Māmākams* tended to become more and more earthly and less and less spiritual. His processions tended to increase in pomp and splendour, while those of the Lord gradually receded to the background as an inconspicuous religious rite concerning only priests. Further, the precincts themselves were defiled by the shedding of blood, caused by the appearance of the *Cāvers*. The *granthavaris* or palm-leaf chronicles of the *Māmākams* tell us about *Perunilas* and processions, fire-works and *Cāvers*, while those of Guruvāyūr are concerned with religious rites, worships, and ceremonies. Though now fallen very low from ancient standards, the old rules are still to some extent observed at Guruvāyūr. But with modern tendencies steadily creeping among both the priests and devotees, the seemingly perennial fountain of spirituality at Guruvāyūr may gradually choke up, and unless we restore the ancient standards prescribed in the *Sastras* the spring may dry up altogether.

Sarasvati through the Ages

BY

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I

Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, commands today millions of votaries in India and greater India. Originally a river constituting one of the Triple stream—the Ganges, the Jamna, and the Sarasvati—she is believed to flow as an undercurrent in the sands of the Punjab. River Sarasvati, personified and deified as a river goddess, developed as the goddess of learning and consort of Brahma, the god of wisdom as time passed on. The Aryans gave Sarasvati a specific form and elevated position in their mythology and ideology. In Buddhism and Jainism, which though reactionary in the beginning, in their development assimilated the entire Hindu pantheon, Sarasvati assumed several forms. In these, as in the Brahminical Hinduism and Bhāgavata cult, Sarasvati is omni-present as the goddess of learning. With the development of the sciences of architecture and sculpture, her position had become precise. Temples raised to Sarasvati and Brahma are, by far, less, compared with temples of other gods and goddesses, but special shrines or niches are set apart for Sarasvati in temples of Vishṇu and Gaṇēśa. Sculptures through the ages reveal the different stages in the saga of Sarasvati's career—a river goddess, minor deity adoring Brahma or Vishṇu and as presiding goddess in shrines and temples built for her. Manifold forms, emblems, insignia and paraphernalia in sculptures and icons of Sarasvati present comprehensive range and marked differences from age to age, religion to religion and region to region in India and outside.

Image cult in India had prevailed even long before the Harappa Culture (B.C. 2754—B.C. 1500). The valleys of River Sindhu (Indus) and its tributaries Sarasvati and Drishadvati had been the first Indian home of the Aryans. This Vedic Sarasvati was earlier known as the valley of Ghugger.[1] Thus Sarasvati, originally an important sacred river in the Rigvedic Age became a river goddess consequent on the innate instinct of the Aryans for nature worship. "The cool and transparent and tasteful water of the rivers was frequently compared to the milk of the affectionate mother which nourishes men as their best drink both signified by the same word payas. This tendency of holding the rivers as mothers coupled with the tendency to deify them seems to have been responsible for the origin of the development of the worship of the river goddesses of India."[2] Like the Ganga deified as a river goddess and as a mother goddess even during marriage ceremonies in Bengal and like the Yamuna, also a river goddess who mythically associated with the sun god, rose in prestige as a goddess as her banks were scenes of amorous love scenes of Krishṇa and the Gōpis of Brindāvan, besides Aditi and Prithvi, of the other Vedic goddesses, Sarasvati shines as one of the most important goddesses, still worshipped on a large scale.

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[1] A. Goswami: *Indian Temple Sculpture*, p. 7.

The historical development of River Sarasvati took, however, a different course. The hymns in Rigvēda in praise of her regard her not merely as a river but as a presiding deity over the river. A verse in Rigvēda adores her as the best among the mothers, the best among the rivers and the best also among the goddesses. She had a share in oblations offered in the sacrifices. Sautramaṇi the last among the seven kinds of the haviryajñas, consisted in the main of the offering of the sura i.e., wine to the Aśvins and Sarasvati. In the next phase of her evolution Sarasvati has been identified with vāch or word. This was the turning point in her evolution as the goddess of learning in India and the Eastern countries —Tibet, Java and Japan. Philosophically Sarasvati represents the stream of knowledge of the eternal one and as such she is the logos (word) the Indian synonym of which is Vāch. Thus Sarasvati, the river could be identified with Vāch.

In Vedic literature, goddess Sarasvati has often been associated with two other goddesses—Iḍā and Bhārati. Some commentators opine that these three goddesses represent the three aspects of the same goddess of speech. A legend has it that at one time both the Gandharvas—celestial minstrels and the gods competed to win over Vāgdēvi by pleasing and propitiating her by songs and playing on the lyre. This and similar legends give the clue as to how Sarasvati began to evolve as the goddess of learning and of all fine arts in later times.

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[2] Svāmi Mādhavānanda and R. C. Majumdar: *Great Women of India*, pp. 55-56.

In the Puranic Age the tendency was to assimilate the conception of Sarasvati with the conception of Śakti; consequently she was regarded as a particular aspect of the great mother—the all pervading power. The sacred Gāyatrīmantra daily recited by the Brahmins invokes the lord to direct their intelligence which became later personified as goddess Gāyatri, the consort of Brahma and the mother of the four Vēdas. In later days Gāyatri has been identified with Sarasvati i.e., Vāgdēvi. According to one interpretation goddess Gāyatri is one aspect of the three parts of the day of the infinite power—Gāyatri in the morning, Sāvitri in the noon and Sarasvati in the evening. Sarasvati means the goddess of lustre in accordance with the interpretation of Saras—the first component part of Sarasvati—to mean lustre by some commentators. As the goddess of learning, Sarasvati has some times been regarded as the daughter of Brahma emanating from his mind i.e., mānasakanya and dwelling in his mouth. She is also described as Śakti or wife of Brahma; and as emanating from the mouth of Śrī Krishṇa and as the daughter of Śiva by Durga. During the worship of Durga in autumn, Lakshmi and Sarasvati accompany the mother as the two daughters or the three may represent the Śaktis of Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahma. Sarasvati as Śakti has been associated with each of the Trinity—Brahma, Vishṇu and Śiva, by turn. Sarasvati is generally worshipped on the ninth day of the Dasara by invoking her presence in Granthas and offering fruits, flowers, sandal and incense.

Sarasvati finds place as an important goddess in Buddhism and Jainism. In Vajrayāna Buddhism, Sarasvati has been generally associated with Manjuśrī, the god of learning, just as in Hinduism with Brahma, the god of wisdom. After A.D. 300 with the adoption of the entire Hindu pantheon of gods and goddesses by Buddhism and Jainism—Sarasvati became one amongst them. In the Tantric Age she was absorbed into Buddhistic goddesses. In Śvētāmbara and Digambara sects in Jainism, Sarasvati presents a diversity of forms and names as Śrutadēvi and sixteen Vidyā dēvis.

II

In Hindu iconography, Sarasvati has several forms with wide variety in emblems and vehicles. A snow-white goddess in white garments, she has everything associated with her as white, in keeping with her purity. Sarasvati is generally seated upon a white lotus. She may have either two hands or four hands. In the former case, she is shown with the book and the rosary and in the latter, the noose and the hook in addition or as an alternative, Vīṇa and the Kamaṇḍala. In accordance with Amśumadbhēdāgama, Sarasvati is seated on white lotus and holds akshamāla in one of the right hands, while the other is shown in the pose—vyākhyānamudra and in the two left hands she holds a book and a white lotus respectively. She wears jaṭāmakuṭa, kuṇḍalas of rubies, yajñōpavīta and various ornaments. But according to Vishṇu-Dharmōttara, Sarasvati should be represented as standing on a white lotus in samabhanga with Kamaṇḍala instead of lotus in one of her left hands and Vīṇa with bamboo stick carried in the right hand.[3] According to Pūrvakaraṇāgama, she has pearl ear-rings. Sarasvati wears jaṭāmakuṭa with crescent moon and has three eyes and blue neck in accordance with Sūtasamhita of Skāndapurāṇa. Possessing amkuśa, vīṇa, akshamāla and pustaka in her hands as prescribed in Dēvīmāhātmya of Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa, Sarasvati is conceived obviously as Śakti of Vishṇu.

Sarasvati or Vajrēśvari referred to in the Mayūrbhanja as a goddess of both Hindu and Buddhist tāntrikas is described in the Pancharātrāgama as having three eyes and four hands holding the staff, the book, the rosary and waterpot, all emblems of Brahma. Dhēnuvāgīśvari or Saubhāgyavāgīśvari are the two allied forms of Sarasvati, beautiful and mild in appearance, but as Śaktis they possess three eyes, and wear jaṭāmakuṭa and the crescent, all Śaivaite attributes. When represented as Śārada, the form in which she is worshipped at Śringēri Mutt in Mysore presiding over sixty-four sciences, she has four faces and ten hands.[4]

Sarasvati holding amkuśa and pāśa is in common with Ganēśa and some other deities. The representation of Sarasvati in some images holding Vīṇa in the left hand and playing on it with the right hand is similar to Dakshiṇāmūrti. Her possession of pustaka as an emblem is in common with Brahma, her consort. Sarasvati's possession of an akshamāla is in common with Brahma and Śiva and rarely with other deities. As for headgear, kēśabandha is prescribed for Sarasvati.

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[3] T. A. Gōpinātha Rao: *Hindu Iconography,* I-11,, p. 377.

[4] H. Krishna Sastri: *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses,* p. 105.

As goddess of learning of later days, Sarasvati has the swan as her vāhana and in her most widely accepted icon of the present day, she is seated on a white swan. But swan had not been the only carrier of her through the ages. In some images lion is the vāhana and in some others most common in South India the goddess is seated on the peacock. Occasionally lamb is also found as Sarasvati's vāhana and lambs are frequently sacrificed to her. Thus Sarasvati has diverse affinities.

Sarasvati in Buddhist iconography has five different forms with appropriate names. The Buddhists believe that like Manjuśrī and Prajñāparimita, Sarasvati bestows knowledge, wisdom and memory. Sādhanamāla prescribes several sādhanas concerning her. Mahāsarasvati has been conceived as twelve years old, full of lustre surrounded by four small deities. Her complexion is white with facial expression kind with eternal smile. She has two hands, the right held in abhaya pose and the left holding a lotus. She wears white scented flowers and pearl necklace and is draped in white clothes. Vajravīṇāsarasvati, also white in complexion, compassionate with peaceful disposition like Mahāsarasvati has two hands playing on Vīṇa, her principal emblem. Like Mahāsarasvati she is attended by four smaller divinities. The third form is Vajraśārada seated on a lotus and has a crescent in the crown and three eyes and two hands, the right holding a lotus and the left a book. She too may be attended by four smaller deities. Āryasarasvati also called Vajrasarasvati has a different appearance and is conceived as a girl of fourteen. She is white in complexion with a lotus stem in the left hand with Prajñāparimita book on it. The last and the fifth type Vajrasarasvati[5-6] has been given a form entirely different from the

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[5-6] V. Yasoda Devi: *Sarasvati in Buddhist Art*—Bharati, Vol. 38, Part II, pp. 93-94.

above four by the Buddhist liturgical texts. She has three faces and six hands, red in complexion with hair red and stiff. Her right face is blue and left face is white. She is seated on a red lotus in Pratyālīḍhamudra. In the right three hands, she holds lotus with Prajñāparimita book, sword and katri respectively and in the left three hands Brahmakapāla, jewel and disc in descending order. Sādhanamāla says that the book and kapāla may be replaced by mere lotus.

The Jain Śrutadēvi admitted both by Svētāmbara and Digambara sects approximates very closely to the Brahminical conception of Sarasvati. Śrutadevi means the goddess of Śrutis i.e., the Vēdas. Her description shows that she is on par with Sarasvati. Iconography prescribes Śrutadēvi four hands, three holding a lotus, a book and a rosary and the last held in varada pose. The Svētambaras give her the vehicle swan and the Digambaras, a peacock.[7] Both swan and peacock agree with the conception of Sarasvati as a river goddess in Hinduism. Śrutadēvi presides over the extensive Jain literature. She heads the collective body of the sixteen Vidyādēvis and her worship is prior to that of other deities. The Jains worship Śrutadevi on jñānapanchami i.e., Suklapanchami in Kārttika.

"Of all the conceptions in Jain iconography the conception of Vidyādēvis or goddesses of learning is most original. In no other Indian religion, the goddesses of learning are so numerous." These sixteen goddesses have names and attributes identical with those of the Jain Yakshiṇis. Thus modelled after the Yakshiṇis Vidyādēvis preside over the sixteen arts and sciences. Jain texts say that by worshipping them the devotee acquires knowledge, character, religion, efforts and mental qualities of many kinds. In brief the Vidyādēvis are as follows:

(1) Rōhini according to Śvētāmbara Jains rides a cow and holds in her hands a conch, rosary, bow and arrow. According to Digambara Jains she has an urn, conch, lotus and fruit in her hands.

(2) Prajñāpti is on a swan and has in her three hands lotus, śakti and citrus respectively and another hand in varada pose according to Śvētāmbara texts. The Digambara image of Prajñāpti on peacock bears a sword and a disc.

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[7] B. C. Bhaṭṭāchārya: *Jain Iconography*, p. 164.

(3) Vajrasrinkhala seated on a lotus has four hands, one held in varada pose and the rest holding a lotus, a chain and a club according to Śvētāmbara texts. According to the Digambaras, she has only a chain.

(4) The Vidyādēvi Vajrāmkuśa has two forms according to the Śvētāmbaras and rides an elephant holding a sword, a vajra, a shield and a spear. Sword and shield are replaced by varada pose and citrus in the second form. The Digambaras represent her as driving an aerial car and holding in her hands a goad and a lute.

(5) Apratichakra or Jāmbūnada rides an elephant and has discs in four hands according to the Śvētāmbaras. The Digambaras call her Jāmbūnada who riding a peacock bears sword and spear in her hands.

(6) The Vidyādēvi Purushadatta rides a buffalo and keeps one hand in varada pose and holds a sword, a citrus and a shield in other hands according to the Śvētāmbaras. The Digambara form rides a peacock and her emblems are vajra and lotus.

(7) The Digambara image of Kāḷi Vidyādēvi rides a deer and has staff and sword in her hands. The Śvētāmbara forms are two, seated on lotus with either two hands, one holding a club and other in varada pose or four hands with rosary club and vajra, and the last in abhaya pose.

(8) Mahākāḷi Vidyādēvi of the Śvetāmbaras rides a man and has in three hands rosary, fruit and bell and has the last in varadamudra. Vajra and abhaya are substituted for fruit and varada in a second form. The Digambara image stands on a corpse holding bow, sword, fruit and weapons in her four hands.

(9) Gauri Vidyādēvi according to Śvētāmbara texts rides an alligator and has one hand in varada pose and the other three hands holding club, rosary and water-lily. The Digambara form also on alligator has the symbol of lotus.

(10) Gāndhāri Vidyādēvi of the Śvētāmbaras is on a lotus with two hands with staff and vajra or four hands, one in varada pose and another in abhaya pose, the other two holding a staff and vajra. The Digambara Gāndhāri rides a tortoise suggesting her connection with the Yamuna, as the preceding Vidyādēvi's connection with the Ganga.

(11) Mahājvāla or Jvālāmālini rides a cart or a boat according to the Śvētāmbara Jains. The Digambara form of the Dēvi rides a buffalo.

(12) The Vidyādēvi Mānavi of the Śvētāmbaras is on a lotus, has one hand in varada pose and holds rosary and boughs of a tree in two hands. The Digambara form is blue in complexion and on a blue lotus riding a boar and holding a trident.

(13) Vairōṭi Vidyādēvi of Śvētāmbaras rides a snake and has in her hands sword, snake, shield and snake respectively. The Digambara form has a lion and a snake.

(14) Vidyādēvi Achyutāpa, according to the Śvētāmbaras rides a horse and holds in her hands a bow, a sword, a shield and an arrow. The Digambara form has horse and sword.

(15) Mānasi of the Śvētāmbaras has two forms. The first type rides on a swan and has two hands, one in varada pose and the other holding a vajra. In the second form, the Dēvi rides a lion with four hands, one in varadamudra and the others holding vajra, rosary and vajra respectively. The Digambara form has the snake vehicle.

(16) Vidyādēvi Mahāmānasi rides on a lion and has four hands, one in varada pose and the others holding a sword, kamaṇḍala and a lance respectively. The Digambara form rides a swan and has in one hand a rosary, the other hand in varada pose and holds goad and garland in the other hands.

III

"In India art found its home in the temple which was not only the physical core but soul of the community. It was the home of the Dharma." "Indian sculpture had been almost synonymous with iconography." Mānasāra Silpaśāstra says that "the features of the image are determined by the relation between the worshipper and the object of worship."[8] Temples of Sarasvati are Sarada Pitha at Kashmir, Sarasvatī Sadana at Dhar built by Rājabhōja, of Vāgēśvari at Benaras, at Gadag and in a village near Tanjore. Goddess Sarasvati has a place in Śaivaite and Vaishṇavite temples, besides Buddhist and Jain shrines.

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[8] A. Goswami: *Indian Temple Sculpture*, p. 5.

According to Śivapradōshastōtras, during the evening dance of Naṭarāja at Kailas with a divine chorus, Bhārati plays the Vīna while Brahma beats cymbals, Lakshmi sings, and Vishṇu plays the drum. Sarasvati along with Yamuṇa has been included in the representation of the triple river as the triple headed goddess on the head of Gangādharamūrti Śiva. According to Vishṇupurāṇa, Brahma is seated on a chariot drawn by seven swans with his two consorts—Sarasvati on his right and Sāvitri on his left. The goddesses should be depicted extremely beautiful adorned with all ornaments. The figure of Sarasvati according to Rūpamanḍana should be located to the south of Gaṇēśa in any temple of Gaṇēśa. Sarasvati constitutes the śakti of Samkarshaṇa among the twenty-four śaktis corresponding to the twenty-four images of Vishṇu. Some functions of Sarasvati are similar to those of Hayagrīva, also a god of learning like Brahma. Of the sixteen forms of Dēvi, she is represented as Sarasvati when two years old. According to Padmapurāṇa, Sarasvati is one among the eight śaktis of Vishṇu. All these eight goddesses are represented with four hands, the two upper holding lotuses, and the lower two held in abhaya and varada poses. Gāyatri, Sāvitri and Sarasvati represent the three Vēdas and the three fires, the last being Āhavaṇīya.[9]

According to Markanḍēyapurāṇa, Dēvi takes the forms of Lakshmi, Mahākāḷi and Sarasvati—Rajas, tamas and sattvic attributes of nature. The sattvic form of moon-like splendour with akshamāla, ankuśa, vīṇa and pustaka in four hands generated by Mahālakshmi is known by the names Mahāvidya, Mahāvanī, Bhārati, Vāk, Sarasvati, Ārya, Brahmi, Kāmadhēnu, Vēdagarbha, Dhī and Īśvari. In the temple of Gauri, the images of Bhagavati and Sarasvati should be located in specified places. In some parts of the country, Lakshmi and Sarasvati are described as the daughters of Śakti, just as Gaṇēsa and Karttikēya are her sons.

Of the idols of Sarasvati, known so far, the one found at Ghantasāla[10] in Andhra is perhaps the earliest belonging to the 3rd century B.C. Its make resembles the Mohanjodaro art. This Sarasvati is standing in samabhanga posture, wearing a karanḍamakuṭa and has four hands—the upper right holding a lotus bud, lower placed on the head of a swan, upper left holding a noose (?) and the lower left hanging softly. A beautiful swan is depicted behind the goddess, and faces right. To almost the same age belongs the representation of Sarasvati on a Bharhut railing pillar in a standing posture playing on harp.[11]

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[9] H. Krishna Sastri: *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 189.

[10] A. Rea: *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Pl. XXXI; M. Bapinidu: *Andhra Sarvasvamu*, pp. 124, 516; G. V. Subbayya: *History of Ghantasala*, p. 73.

In the Gupta Age„ goddess Sarasvati is represented on the reverse of the lyrist type of coins of Samudragupta, just as Lakshmi on the battle axe type of coins, and Ganga on the Tiger type. She is nimbate seated to left on a modha or wicker stool, wearing loose robe, close fitting cap and jewellery, holding a fillet in outstretched right hand and cornucopia in the left arm. Though no symbol is given, the vīṇa or lyre on the obverse suggests[12] her as Sarasvati as vīnāpāṇi—the goddess of music and not Lakshmi for the absence of lotus. Though peacock is also the carrier of Sarasvati and thus connected with her, the goddess feeding peacock on the reverse of the Tiger slayer type of coins of Kumāragupta I has been identified with goddess Durga. An instance of Sarasvati in tribhanga posture is on the reverse of one of the Rājalīla type of coins of Samāchāradēva (C. 550-575 A.D.), a predecessor of Śaśānka of Gauḍa. The goddess is standing on a lotus, her left hand is resting on a lotus with bent stalk whereas by her right hand she draws up another lotus with long stalk in front of her face as if to smell it. There is a lotus bed with a stalk under the right hand and below it a swan trying to snatch a lotus leaf in the front by its open beak.[13]

IV

The Paramara art, prolific in sculptural output resembled the contemporary Rajput style. The image of Sarasvati installed by King Bhōja (C. 1000 A.D. to 1055 A.D.), the greatest builder and lover of art of the dynasty, in the main hall of the Sarasvatī Mandir i.e., temple at his capital Dhar shows Paramara sculpture as its best. The image is preserved in the British Museum, London.[14] In this image Sarasvati is represented as standing in samabhanga posture, on a pedestal wearing kirīṭamakuṭa with some hair hanging loose behind, patrakuṇḍalas, a neklace, and a single hāra. She has four hands, the upper right holding a sūla, and the upper left, a deer, and the two lower hands are broken. She wears armlets, three girdles with festoons of pearls, and four anklets. She is fully draped. Above is a celestial being and on the right side of the goddess, a male attendant with beard beating a drum and just below on the left is a damsel dancing trampling on a lion. Thus, here in this instance of Sarasvatī, a lion is shown instead of a swan. In the image from Chattisgram, Sarasvati wears a huge conical kirīṭa-makuṭa, chakrakuṇḍalas, two necklaces and yajñopavīta. She has four hands and is playing Vīṇa with the lower two hands. She is *pūrṇōruka* wearing anklets and is seated in vīrāsana with her right foot resting on a lotus. In this case, Sarasvati's vāhana is ram and neither swan nor lion.[15]

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[11] *History and Culture of Indian People,* Vol. IV, p. 314.

[12] R. M. Mukharji: *The Gupta Empire* (3rd Edition), 1959, p. 35.

[13] A. S. Altekar: *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire,* p. 328

[14] *The History and Culture of Indian People,* V, p. 658.

The image of Sarasvatī in the temple of Sarasvatī at Gadag[16] is a fair example of Chāḷukyan art. She is seated in padmāsana and her four hands are broken at elbows. She wears jaṭāmakuṭa, makarakuṇḍalas, three necklaces, two hāras, armlets and yajñōpavita. On the front side of the slab constituting pītha, is depicted in the midst a pretty swan with women in dance postures on both sides. The image at Bagali is another specimen of Chāḷukyan art. This Sarasvatī is seated on padmāsana and has four hands holding a book in the upper right hand, a rosary in the lower right, a noose in the upper left hand and a book in the lower left. She wears a crown, kuṇḍalas, two necklaces, two hāras, flower garland, armlets, bracelets, and girdle with pearl hangings. An image of dancing Sarasvatī in Western Chālukyan style of the 10th century A.D.[17] is depicted with six hands, the right upper left holding paraśu, the middle and the lower are found broken and the upper left holding branches of the Kalpa tree, the middle is broken and the lower left s holding and playing the Vīṇa. She wears a crown, makarakuṇḍalas. grievēyaka and the girdle. She dances in the bhujangatrāsita mode—left foot reaching the right thigh. The image of Sarasvati in the Mahāmanṭapa of the Kallēśvara temple is seated on a moulded base with a canopy behind. Another image of Sarasvati is in the Kattēśvara temple at Hirahadagalli seated with piers behind supporting a scroll work of canopy. She has four hands of which one of the right hands is broken at the elbow. A swan is depicted on the pedestal. A fine stone image of Sarasvati is in the Mahākūṭēśvara temple at Māhākūṭa[18] (Bijapur District).

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[15] S. K. Sarasvati: *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, Pl. XXXII, No. 149.
[16] H. Consens: *Chalukyan Architecture*, pp. 109-112.
[17] Madras Government Museum: *Illustrations of Indian Sculpture* Gravely, pl. 21.

In Hoysala art "the ornamentation is heavy, elaborate and unrestrained." The Vīṇādhara image[19] of dancing Sarasvati in the Hoysalēśvara temple in Halebid (Dwārasamudra) is conceived as a śakti of Śiva with six arms holding padma, akshamāla, ankuśa, pāśa, vīṇa and pustaka, one in each respectively. She is flanked by two chauri bearers and near her feet, the vāhana swan is shown. She wears jaṭāmakuṭa and is decked with various ornaments. This masterpiece of Hoysala art is elaborately embellished and is in accordance with Dēvīmāhātmya of Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa. Another image of Sarasvati dancing, also from Halebid, has facial expression exactly similar to that of Vīnādharamūrti. Her crown is smaller but there is chatra, prabhāmaṇḍala and tōraṇa as in the image of Vīnādhara Sarasvati. She possesses four hands holding in the upper right a śūla, in the upper left a noose and in lower left a kamaṇḍala. She wears kuṇḍalas, two necklaces, two hāras, flower garland, bracelets, yajñōpavīta, and girdle with pearl tassles. As for her posture, her left foot is placed just below the right knee and her right foot rests on a lotus. On the left is a man beating cymbals, another standing with hands in anjali pose and on the right is a man beating a drum.

In Andhra country, besides the Ghanṭasāla specimen, there is a beautiful image of Sarasvati in the Chāḷukya Bhīmēśvara temple at Bhīmāvaram.[20] Seated in padmāsana, on a lotus, she has four hands, with akshamāla in the upper right hand, the lower right is in abhaya pose and the upper left is with vīṇa and the lower left a book. She wears kirīṭamakuṭa, makarakuṇḍalas, two hāras, and yajñōpavīta. She is draped upto the knee. In the temple of the Heroes at Kārempūḍi against the eastern wall is the image of Sarasvati in sitting posture. This image of the Haihayas has four arms—three are found destroyed and the fourth is holding a club. Beneath is shown a swan, her vāhana.[21] There is another image of Sarasvati on a swan near a maṇḍapa in the temple at Durga in Palnad. The upper half of the image is damaged. In the Bhramarēśvara temple at Śrī-śailam[22] is the image of a Dēvi seated on a pedestal containing the figure of a swan. Evidently a Sarasvati, this image has six hands, the upper right hands holding pāśa and paraśu, and the upper left hands, ankuśa and another object. The lower right hand is in abhaya pose and the lower left in varada. This Dēvi wears a kirīta-makuṭa and patrakuṇḍalas.

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[18] A. R. 1938-39.

[19] A. Goswami: *Indian Temple Sculpture*, pl. 112.

[20] Prof. M. Rama Rao's Index.

The temples of Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍachōḷapuram are monuments of Chola art at its zenith. The image of Sarasvati from Gangaikoṇḍachōlēśvara temple at Gangaikoṇḍchōḷapuram is most graceful. She is seated in padmāsana, and has two hands, the left holding a book and the right is found broken. She has a huge kirīṭa-makuṭa and a chatra over it with a Kalpa tree in the background. She wears kuṇḍalas, two necklaces, one hāra, bracelets, and girdle with pearl festoons. She has bodice and is fully draped. On both sides of the Dēvi are women bearing chauris and wearing jaṭā-makuṭas.[23] On both sides above, are depicted celestial devotees. Another image of Sarasvati from the Brihadīśvara temple at Tanjore is of larger size and forceful execution. The goddess is seated in the ardhaparyankāsana. She has two hands, the right is found broken and the left is holding a book. She wears jaṭāmakuṭa, ornaments and bodice. There is beautiful umbrella with branches of a tree above. A Chāmaradhāriṇi is seen on either side and Gandharva above. The deity's expression suggests sublime spiritual feeling. It has been suggested that the image may represent Lalita.[24] There is an image of Sarasvati with Brahma of the Chōḷa times in the temple of Koranganātha, near Trichinopoly. The image of Sarasvati in the Sarasvati temple at Kuttanur on the Arisili river, eulogised by poet Ottakkuttan is lost. There is an inscription on the pedestal in Tamil characters of the 12th century A.D. The idol of Sarasvati i.e., Śārada in the front hall of the Velama court at Rachakonda, adored by Poet Laureate Śrināthā is also lost.

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[21] V. Yasoda Devi: *The History of Andhra Country 1000 A.D. to 1500 A.D.*, *JA.H.R.S.*, XXVI, p. 9.

[22] *J.A.H.R.S.*, XXVI, p. 120.

[23] A. A. 1940-41: T. A. Gopinatha Rao: *Hindu Iconography*, I-II, Pl. CXIV.

[24] K. A. N. Sastri: *The Cholas*, pp. 729, 759, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 54.

The image of Sarasvati[25] playing on Vīna from Madura is a specimen of Nayak School which reached its climax under Tirumalanayaka (A.D. 1523-1557) at Śrīrangam, Kumbakōṇam and Madura. After 1565 A.D. the Nayak art was a development of Vijayanagara School which reached its high watermark under Krishṇarāya. This image is in tribhanga posture playing Vīṇa with both hands. She wears several ornaments.

V

Among the several examples of Hindu art abroad, there is a very pleasing image of Sarasvati represented enthroned and with special attribute mongoose in the Javanese sculptures. Another image also enthroned is from Jagyokaita in Java.[26] She wears a kirīṭamakuṭa, kunḍalas, one grievēyaka, yajñōpavīta, udarabandha, bracelets and anklets. She is draped upto the knee. She has two hands, with a rosary in the right hand and the left holding a mongoose placed on the lap. As for the pose, her right leg rests on a lotus and the left leg touches the knee of the right leg. An image of Sarasvati from Tibet plays the Vīna holding it high near the chin above the neck.

Not merely as a separate goddess of learning, Sarasvati is also depicted as a river goddess individually and in conjunction with other river goddesses, as an attendant deity and with Brahma, with other goddesses and in groups of Saptamātrikas. The large panels of Ganga and Sarasvati in the entrance porch of the Kailāsanātha Temple[27]—one of the world's masterpieces of art at Ellora built by Krishna I of the Rashtrakutas, are dignified and charming. Their tall and slender proportions recall those of rockcut caves at Mahābalipuram. In the words of Dr. Rene Groussett "we should pause before certain of these figures in demi-relief between the columns of the entrance porch of Kailāsa representing the three river deities Ganga, Yamuna, and Sarasvati. In such works as these with their noble beauty of rhythm worthy of Athens or Florence, Indian sculpture perhaps reaches its apogee. At any rate the two river goddesses at Ellora offer an ideal feminine beauty which we shall find again at Barabudur and which free from any Greek influence almost succeeds in rediscovering our own classic ideal by its own exalted qualities." At Elephanta the triple headed goddess representing Ganga, Yamuna and Sarasvati—on the head of Siva in Gangādharamūrti stone panel[28] is of gigantic and rare workmanship.

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[25] A. Goswami: *Indian Temple Sculpture*, Pl. 138.
[26] V. A. Smith: *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, Pl. 112-A.
[27] A. Goswami: *Indian Temple Sculpture*, p. 32, Fig. 78, 79.

In the image of Viśvarūpa Vishṇu of the period of the empire of Kanauj. Sarasvati and Lakshmi flank the image. Sarasvati here is depicted in the usual traditional style. From Mathura images,[29] Sarasvati like Panchita and Hariti reveals medieval traits. In the Śiva temple at Aihole (Bijapur District) in the sculpture of Brahma on padmāsana, Sarasvati and Sāvitri are shown on the right and left of the god respectively carrying flower garlands held over the head of Brahma. On the right side is depicted the swan. On a slab in the Durga shrine in the Palnad among the goddesses with their vāhanas with gods and their vāhanas in another is depicted Sarasvati on her swan. This is the panel of the Saptamātrikas. In the Hoysalēśvara temple at Halebid is the standing image of Brahma, the two women on either side each carrying a chāmara representing Sarasvati and Sāvitri.

In Buddhist art, Mahāsarasvati is found mostly in sculptures of Tibet and China. An image of Vajravīṛa-Sarasvati is in Peiping and Vajraśārada mostly in Nepal. Probably the Nalanda image of Kotisri is the same as Vajraśārada. The images of Āryasarasvati or Vajrasarasvati are also found in Nepal. The image of Sarasvati, the consort of Bōdhisatva Manjuśrī[30] is graceful and closely resembles the Nepalese work.

As for examples of Śrutadēvi, the Jain goddess of learning the image in Lucknow Museum[31] is found with head broken. She has two hands, the right is broken and the left holds a book. She is in sitting posture and wears bracelets and upper cloth. There are two attendants, the one on the right asks for and the one on the left does anjali with his hands. The image from Deogarh stands in dvibhanga posture and has four hands, the upper right holding a chakra, lower right in abhaya pose, upper left holding a bough and the lower left, a book. She is dressed with karaṇḍamakuṭa, kuṇḍa-

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28. T. A. Gopinatha Rao: *Hindu Iconography*, II-I, 317-318, Pl. XC.
29. S. K. Saraswati: *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 152.
30. V. A. Smith: *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 170, Pl. 120.
31. B. C. Bhattacharya: *Jains Iconography*, Pl. XVIII, XIX, XX.

las, necklaces, hāras, and anklets. She is fully draped. There are three celestial beings above. Another image of Śrutadēvi from Pullu (Bikanir District) is beautiful standing in tribhanga posture. She has two hands holding a garland of flowers. She wears a lalāṭapaṭṭa, three necklaces, two hāras, armlets and bracelets. There is prabhāmaṇḍala around her head. In an image from Pindawara in Sirohi, not only the lotus symbol but the sun also is shown above the crown. Occasionally in Jain Navagraha slabs, Sarasvati appears at either of the ends, showing her solar association.

Of the Vidyādēvis, there is an image of Mahāmānasi in tribhanga posture at Deogarh.[32] She has two arms both found broken. She wears a kirīṭamakuṭa, two necklaces, two hāras, bracelets, two girdles, with pearl tassles and three anklets. She wears an uttarīya and there is a prabhāmaṇḍala. The image of Rōhiṇi from Jhansi is in sitting posture with prabhāmaṇḍala. She has two hands and her right leg is found broken and the left leg is placed near the thigh of the right leg, resting on vrishabha. The image of Nirvāṇīdēvi has four arms holding parasu in left upper hand, left lower hand held in abhaya pose, right upper holding a peacock and in the right lower hand the object held is not clear. As for the pose, the right leg is hanging down while the left leg folded reaches the thigh of the right leg. There is a prabhāmaṇḍala and Dēvi wears two necklaces, two armlets and two bracelets. In the image of Duritāri or Prajñāpti, the vāhana is ram. In the image of Gauri or Manavi, the vehicle is swan.

At Mahur[33] is a sculpture of Vidyādēvi belonging to about the 13th century—the Kākatīya age. She stands with four hands holding a book, a rosary, a lute and a goad. On the pedestal is a swan with a garland. In the Jain Basti at Penukonda, there is stucco sculpture of Sarasvati. In the Kalyāṇamanṭapa is the idol of Sarasvatīdēvi called Ratnagiri Sarasvati Ammavāru as it was brought from Ratnagiri[34] (Madakasire Taluk).

In the north in the Delwade temple[35] on Mount Abu—the outstanding specimen of the Western School in its Jain aspect is found conventional art and not vivid naturalism. "Even the Vidyādēvis are too regular to be human and too rigid to be divine. Though there is perfection of detail in these figures and composition is unique, but as is usual in Jain temples the human body is toned down in the interests of a rounded stiffness. The rhythm of the lines is exquisite, but vigour is subordinated to refinement." The ceiling in the Dilwara temple shows four Vidyādēvis. The brackets placed athwart the lower ring of the dome have representations of the Jain Vidyādēvis. There is another Vidyādēvi with an attendant. Another panel has four Vidyādēvis including Apratichakra on Garuda and Vajraśrimukhala on lotus. Still another ceiling in the temple depicts sixteen Vidyādēvis with four yakshiṇis with female attendants in four corners.

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[32] B. C. Bhattacharya: *Jains Iconography*, Pl. XIII & C.

[33] *J. of Indian History*, Vol. 26, p. 47.

[34] *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 170.

[35] A. Goswami: *Indian Temple Sculpture*, p. 46, Pl. 93, 94, 95.

VI

Thus inspite of large diversity in forms and details of the various types of images of Sarasvati in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, there pervades an underlying unifying factor in regarding her as the sublime goddess of learning and fine arts in particular, by far superior to other gods and goddesses in the world of wisdom which is exemplified in art through the ages within and without India.

Jatasankara Stone Inscription of Vijayasimha

BY

SHRI BALCHANDRA JAIN, M.A.

The inscription which is edited here, was found at Jaṭāśankara, 8 miles from Hatta, the headquarters of a tahsil of the same name in the Damoh district of Madhya Pradesh. It was removed to Damoh and was kept in the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow for a long time. Later on, the slab was sent to the Central Museum, Nagpur where it is now exhibited in the inscription gallery.

The inscription was noticed by late Rai Bahadur Hiralal under the title of the Damoh inscription of Vijayasimha in the first edition of his list of the inscriptions in the C.P. and Berar and again as the Jaṭāśankara stone inscription in the revised second edition of that book published in 1932. The Rai Bahadur also published a summary of the record in his Damoh Dīpaka,[1] a gazetteer of Damoh district in Hindi and quoted a few verses from this inscription in the Nagari Pracharini Patrika.[2] The inscription thus remained unedited so far.

Jaṭāśankara is a lonely place having a deserted fort which was built by the Bundela chiefs. The fort stands on a *nālā*, on the other side of which is a small Śiva temple[3] which contains a small inscription of two Hindi verses, one in savaiyā chhanda which praises Śiva and the other, a dohā invoking blessing on Bakhateśa, apparently the same as Bakhatabalī, ruler of Shahgarh who was tried for having taken part in the mutiny of 1857.[4] Besides this, there are ruins of many temples and a number of images, assignable to the 11th-12th century, A.D. are scattered.

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1. 2nd edition, pp. 11-12.
2. Vol. VI, Samvat 1982.
3. The site is called as Jhārakhaṇḍī by local people.
4. The verse runs as follows:
   Maṇika Śobha viśāla Swāmi bati Śivabhāla |
   Sevaka Śambhūnātha ke tuma Bakhateśā dayāla ||

The inscription under discussion is incised on a stone slab measuring 30 × 115 cm. It contains 44 lines of writing.[5] The record is in good state of preservation except at the end where a portion of the stone has now broken away. A few aksharas, here and there, are also damaged in the existing text.

The *characters* are Nāgarī of the early 12th century A.D. The form of *dh* has developed a stroke upwards; *bh* and *t* are similar in forms; so is the case with *ch* and *v;* the difference between *tt* and *tv* is sometimes quite unintelligible. The record is in Apabhranśa and Sanskrit, the one being the free translation of the other. The language is corrupt and many mistakes occur therein. Except for 'om namah śivāya' in the beginning and 'mangalam mahāśrī and śubham bhavatu, at the end of the Apabhransa portion, the whole record is in verses. As regards orthography, there is nothing important to mention except the errors of both the composer and the engraver.

The record is not dated and if there was any date, it is now lost, the inscription being damaged at the end. It opens with adoration to Śiva and mentions in verse 2 poet Ralha,, who composed the record and king Vijayasimha who is said to have been devoted to the worship of Bhumbhukadeva. The object of the inscription is to record the merits and conquests of Vijayasimha.

Verse 3 recites that in Viśvāmitra gotra, there were born Gaṇḍa and (his son) Vaddhaḍa. Verse 4 refers to Vijayapāla as the successor of Vaddhaḍa and former's son Bhuvanapāla as the conquerer of the great hero named Kāi. Harshapāla, the successor of Bhuvanapāla is stated, in the next two verses, to have defeated in battle four kings namely the (kings) of Kalachuri, Gūjara and Śaśahara (Saśadhara) families and the king of the Dakshiṇāpatha. Harsharāja's son was Vijayasimha who in the next verses is described as a virtuous man devoted to the worship of Bhumbhukadeva and is said to have scattered the Duccen forces of Jangapa near the Mahāgaḍha fort. He fought at Chittoḍa, conquered the Delhi armies and the Gurjaras were driven away by him to Godaha. The Sanskrit portion of the record which is a free translation of the Apabhransa text furnishes no further information except that the above named four kings are referred to there as the Kālinjareśa, the Dāhāli, the Gūrjara and the Dakshiṇeśa respectively.

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[5] There were some more lines but the stone is broken away.

As regards the identity of the kings mentioned in this inscription, late Rai Bahadur Hiralal thought that 'the absence of any regal titles indicates that the persons named in the record were perhaps commanders of the armies who overran a number of countries including Dāhala, the Kalachuri kingdom which included Damoh... it is possible that they may have been related to the Guhila princes of Mevāḍa....in that family there was one Vijayasimha who married Śyamaladēvī, daughter of Udayāditya of Mālavā, by whom he had a daughter Alhaṇadevī who was married to Gayākarṇa of Dāhala.'[6]

The logic of the late Raibahadur that the absence of regal titles indicates that the persons praised in the record were not kings, is not acceptable as we have many inscriptions of the well-known dynasties which describe the kings without any reference to their regal titles. Again, this Vijayasimha cannot be identified with Guhila Vijayasimha as none of the names of the ancestors of this king is found in the dynastic list of the Guhila princes.

In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to identify with certainty, any of the persons mentioned in this record. However, I would like to suggest that these may have some connection with the Chandelas of Jejābhukti whose rule was definitely extended upto the limits of the modern Damoh District of Madhya Pradesh. Two inscriptions of the times of the Chandela kings named Bhojavarman and Hammīravarman are found in that district. The findspots of those inscriptions are not far away from Jaṭāśankara.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Chittoḍa is modern Chittor, in Rajasthan. Dhillī represents Delhi and Godaha to which the Gurjara king was driven away may be identified with Godhara.

Bhumbhukadeva, the god to whom Vijayasimha is said to have been devoted may be another name for the monkey-god Hanuman.

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[6] *Hiralal's list*, 2nd edition, p. 53.

TEXT

1. || Om. namah si (śi') vāya || Abha ? ya vījaka vilāsavāsa Gaurīśa ī-
2. sa Hara amara sajurajaramaraṇa-thala saravara sumesa || Gau-
3. rikanta andhaa bhiṇata kalikuṭṭhaviṇāsaṇa suhakaraṇa roragha-
4. ḍagaḍua viddhansa || Suhakaraṇa charaṇa tibhuvaṇa-haraṇa sukavi Ralha
5. parisukkhai Bhumbhukadeva supasāu kari Vijayasīhu tua paa nava-
6. i || Visāmitta gotta uttima charita vimala pavitto Gamṇa[|*] Araa Gha-
7. ḍaghaḍaṇo saṁsijapa Vadhdhaḍo bhuvāṇa || Vadhaḍa paṭi parithiau kha-
8. ttiu Vijayapālu [|*] Jene Kāiu raṇi nijiṇiu taha suta
9. Bhuvaṇapālu || Kalachuri Gujara Sasharah Dakshiṇavai supaaṇḍa
10. Chahurāaha raṇi vijiṇaṇa Harisarāa bhuvadaṁḍa || samguri bhamgari
11. raṇa rahasu gataharisa ḥaa kiyathu [|] haya ibha paṭṭhi para suhaḍa sa-
12. muhu na kovi samathu || Vaḋhdhaḍu Vijayapālo Huvaṇavālu bhuvaṇa
13. mahaṇi Harisarāja Bharadhavalo Vijayasīhu dhuradharaṇo || chā-
14. ī sūro suhavo selakhaṇakaa kuśalo Guhilauto Savvagu-
15. ṇo sua sangari Harisarāa[sta]ga bhumbhuka-deva soṇaura paura muṁ-
16. ga sagu uddario Vijayasīhuṁ varahamma dhoriu dhamma bhaṁdaṇo
17. dhiro | jene raṁjiu Jagapau raṇi duggā (gga) Mahāgaḍha heṭṭhi [|] Vi-
18. jayasīhu taraa ṭhiaha ariaṇa tiahiṁ nayaṭṭhi [|*] Vijayasī-

19. ha rahi ari sira kappari [|] Māria dakshiṇadala khala vappari [||] Durgga

20. Mahāgaḍha talia bhiḍaau [|] Sahai ta Koi haapaṭṭhihi chaḍhia-

21. u || Jo chittoḍahaṁ jujhiau jiṇe Ḍhilīdalu jitu [|] so supasaṁ-

22. sahi Ralha kai Harisarāa nia sutu. || Bhumbhuka-devaha pa-aṇusaraau |

23. sattiṇa paurisa tibhuvaṇu haraau || Dhammiṇa Rāma Juhi-ṭṭhila bhūle-

24. u Vijayasīhu valivā ātavalau || Khedia Gūjara Godahai

25. Kīyaathiyaṁ māri Vijayasīha kita saṁbhahula paurisa kaha saṁsā-

26. ri || Bhumbhukadevaha paa paṇavi paaḍi ākitti samattha Vijayasīha

27. diḍha chittu kari āraṁbhia supasattha || mangalaṁ mahāśrīḥ || su (śu) bhaṁ bhavata (tu)

28. Oṁ nattā (tvā) gaṇādhipaṁ vāṇī viriṁchiṁ kṛishṇa-mumā-patiṁ prāraṁbhitamahāślā (ślo)

29. kāṁ nirvvighnāṁ vo prasa (sā) datah || Visvamitre (visvā-mitre) śubhe gotra (gotre) mahāthaṁ (mahārthe) dvavvaḍa pu-

30. ro? (rā) putai (putro) cha rajñah Gaṁḍāya gajaghatā nirmma-dīkṛitā || Tanmūrte (mūrtih) samutpato (samutpannah)

31. Vijaya-pālo mahābalah svabhujadaṇḍa chaṇḍābhyāṁ kshatri-yah (yāh) samare jitāh ||

32. Kāi nāmā mahāvīryah samare yena nirjitaṁ (tah) saṁśritaṁ (to) ḍe (bho) jadevena bhuvana-

33. pālena dhīmata (tā) || Śrī Harsharāja tava vikramatīkshṇa tapah soḍhuṁ na sakya

34. Samare ripavah prachaṇḍa [:] Ākulitapaurusha [Vīrya] hīnāh spṛi-

35. śanti te charaṇapaṁkaja (je) jīvanāya || Jittā (tvā) kāliṁ-jaresaṁ (śaṁ) sabalabalina-

36. majitaṁ cha ḍāhālikaṁ darppishtaṁ (darppiṇaṁ taṁ) sāha-rītyaṁ tamapi kuśamarātinaṁ (marātiṁ)

37. [Śrī] Gurjaraṁ jitvā śrīdakshiṇo (ṇe) śaṁ nijabhuja-balaih sadbodhasaṁsiddhaye

38. Jñātvā śrīkāla (lā) gnirudrasamumakhyo ? prāṇa-mokshaṁ cha chakra | Tasyātmajo
39. Vijayasimha kshitau prasiddhah satyena dharmma (dharmeṇa) yasasā (yaśasā) ḍraḍhavikrameṇa [bhu]
40. bhukadeva-charaṇāmbhujadlīyānabhaktā (bhaktyā) prāsāda-kīrtitakalikula-
41. lena || Śrī Vijayasiṁhaguṇakirtilatā-nibaddhā [Śrī Ralha]
42. rumitāgra............laṁkārabaddhā || ....sa (śa) te baddhā..................
43. .... guṇadānajanānuragai || .... radbhuja-daṇḍacha-....................
44. ....kīrtitaroh phalai suprabu............
45. ....ṇirnirjitya.................

Studies in the History of Kasi

BY

RAJENDRA BIHARI PANDEY, M.A.

The kingdom of Kāsī which now corresponds to the modern city of Bārāṇasi or Benāres and its adjoining towns, was once counted among the most powerful states of ancient India and one of the Mahājanapadas of Jambudīpa.[1] Ancient Indian texts have preserved abundant information about Kāsī, a peep into which would reveal the glorious days of its rulers and the high prestige that it often enjoyed under the patronage of some of its able administrators from the period that synchronized with the final disintegration of the Videhan monarchy to the time of the Buddha.

The capital city of Kāsī was Bārāṇasī which, according to the Jātakas, was the chief city in all India.[2] The name Vārāṇasī or Bārāṇasī is derived from the joint name of the two streams which bound the city to the north and the south—the Baraṇā and the Asi. From the joint name of these two streams, the Brāhmaṇas derive Varāṇasī which is said to be the Sanskrit form of the name Benāras.[3] The Jātakas refer to various other names of Bārāṇasī in previous ages[4] like Surundhana,[5] Sudassane,[6] Brahmavaddhana,[7] Pupphavati,[8] Rammanagara,[9] and Molinī.[10] Bārāṇasī is also called Kāsinagara and Kāsīpura.[11]

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[1] *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 213, Vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.

[2] *Jātaka*, I, p. 262, II, p. 250; iv, p. 245.

[3] Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, (S. N. Majumdar), p. 500.

[4] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part III, p. 73.

[5] *Jātaka* (Fausboll), IV, p. 104.

[6] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 119; v, p. 117.

[7] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 119; v, p. 312.

[8] *Ibid.*, vi, p. 131.

[9] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 115.

[10] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 15.

[11] E.g., *Jātakas*, v. 54; vi, 165; *Dhammapada Commentary*, I. 87.

According to Rhys Davids, the city proper included the land between the Baraṇā and a stream called the Asi, as its name suggests. He further remarks that the city might have included the suburbs at the time when it was the capital of an independent kingdom and thus extended twelve leagues, or about eighty-five miles.[12] According to the Jātakas, the city extended twelve yojanas.[13]

Extent of Kāsī Janapada:

The kingdom of Kāsī seems to have embraced under its subjugation an extensive dominion consisting of a number of neighbouring provinces, owing to which its capital city had to be shifted from time to come. According to the majority of texts, the capital of Kāsī was Bārāṇasī. But, in the time of a king named Aśoka, the capital was in Potali.[14] Similarly, in the time of Udayabhadda, the seat of Government was in Surundha.[15] The absence of a permanent capital city of Kāsī during these days suggests that these cities of Potali and Surundha did not form parts of the permanent kingdom of Kāsī, but came under its jurisdiction at different intervals during the reigns of some of its more powerful kings.

In the Jātakas, the extent of Kāsī kingdom is given as three hundred leagues.[16] It was bordered by Kosala on the north, Magadha on the east and Vatsa on the west.[17] The Aṅguttara Nikāya refers to it as a wealthy and prosperous country, "having an abundance of seven gems.'[18] The economic prosperity of this country induced the neighbouring kings who began to look at it with eager eyes. The Bhojājānīya Jātaka rightly remarks that "all the kings around coveted the kingdom of Benāres."[19]

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[12] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 18; viii Ed., Calcutta, 1959.

[13] *Jātaka*, vi, p. 160; iv, p. 377; *Majjhima Nikāya Commentary*, II, p. 608.

[14] *Jātaka*, II, p. 155.

[15] *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 104 ff.

[16] *Ibid.*, v, p. 41; iii, 304, 391.

[17] *Camb. Hist. of India*, Vol. I, p. 216.

[18] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 213; Vol. IV, pp. 252, 260; see *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 75.

[19] *Jātaka*, I, 178.

Reference of Kāsī in Early Literature:

Like other cities in ancient India, Kāsī was also known by its people, the Kāsīs which finds its first appearance in the Atharva Veda.[20] Their close connection with the Kosalas and the Videhas is well attested by the Vedic texts; for example, the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta sutra mentions a common priest of the peoples of Kāsī, Kosala and Videha named as Jala Jātukarṇya in the days of Śvetaketu who was a contemporary of Janaka.[21] The political activity of Kāsī seems to have commenced from the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[22] which mentions Śatānīka, son of Satrājita who took the horse of King Kāśya of Kāsī and performed the Govinata Yajña. Afterwards the king of Kāsī performed the Yajña. The Upanishads[23] speak of Ajātaśatru, another king of Kāśī. The Baudhāyan Śrauta Sūtra[24] says that Āyu, son of Purūravā, renounced the worldly life and wandered in the countries of Kāsī, Kuru and Pañchāla.

In the period of Rāmāyaṇa, the kingdom of Kāsī came into much prominence. Vaśiṣṭha counts the king the Bārāṇasī among the pious kings and asks Sumantra to invite them.[25] The epic also mentions Purūravā as the king of Kāsī.[26] But, elsewhere, Puru, the son of Yayāti, is represented as residing in Pratiṣṭhana and ruling over the Kāsī Kingdom.[27]

Kāsī played a vital part in the period of the Great Epic., the Mahābhārata which mentions it as a powerful country competent enough to take active part in political activities. The Kāsī kings are represented as at daggers drawn with the Vītahavyas. The Mahābhārata mentions Hariyaśva, grand-father of Divodāsa, as the King of Benāras who was assasinated by the relations of King Vītahavya in a battle fought on the land between the Gaṅgā and the Jumna. Sudeva, his son, was installed on the throne of Kāsī who also met with similar fate at the hands of the Vītahavyas. His son Divodāsa became the successor of the Kāsī throne who is said to have founded the city of Benāres. Again, the Haihayas attacked him and defeated Divodāsa who fled into the forest and took refuge in the hermitage of the sage, Bharadvāja. There, on the advice of the sage, he performed a sacrifice and was blessed with a son named Pratardana, who, when grown up, was sent by Divodāsa to suppress the Vītahavyas. The Vītahavyas were completely crushed and their king took shelter in the hermitage of the sage, Bhṛgu.[28] Somewhere in the Mahābhārata Divodāsa, king of Kāsī, is mentioned as the son of Bhimasena and his son, Pratardana was born from Mādhavī, daughter of Jayātī.[29] In the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata, we are told that before the commencement of the Rājasūya ceremony, Bhīṣma had conquered Suvāhu who was the king of Kāsī at that time.[30] Bhīṣma had also once forcibly abducted the three princessses of Kāsī, Ambā, Ambikā and Ambālika for the marriage of his brother Vichitravīrya.[31] It seems that at the time of the great Kurukshetra War, the king of Kāsī turned to be a friend and supporter of Yudhisthira and took the side of the Pāṇḍavas in that war.[32] Alībhū was the king of Kāsī who was a contemporary of Yudhisthira and was killed by the son of Yasudāna.[33]

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[20] *Vedic Index*, II, p. 116 n.

[21] *Śān. Sr. Su.*, xiv. 29. 5.

[22] *Śatapatha Br.*, xiii. 5. 4. 19.

[23] 23. *Satapatha Upanishad*, II, 101; *Kausitaki Up.*, iv. 1.

[24] *Baudhayana Srauta Sūtra*, xviii, 44.

[25] *Rām.*, Ādikāṇḍa, 13th Svarga.

[26] *Rām.*, *Uttarakṇḍa*, 56th Ch., Sl. 25.

[27] *Ibid.*, Ch. 59, Sl. 19.

Kāsī, as a kingdom (Janapada) is also mentioned in the Purāṇas which contain much interesting information about the Kāsī kings. The Vāyu Puraṇa mentions a king named Kāśa, the son of Dharmavṛddha of the Nahusa family.[34] Kāśa's sons are Kāśara, Rāṣtra and Dīrghatapā. Dīrghatapā's son was Dharma.[35] According to Harivaṁśa, Dirghatamā was the eldest son of Kāśa.[36] The same text also mentions a king of Kāsī named Saunihotra whose son was Dhanvantari,[37] who later became the king of Benāres. A long list of the family of Dhanvantari is given in the Vāyupurāṇa.[38] According to the Purāṇas, Divodāsa was the great grandson of Dhanvantari. He was the famous king of Benares in whose time the entire city was deserted owing to which the king left it and founded his kingdom on the banks of the river Gomatī.[39]

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[28] *Mbh.*, xiii, 30.
[29] *Mbh.*, v, 117.
[30] *Mbh.*, ii, 30.
[31] *Mbh.*, v, Chs. 172-194.
[32] *Mbh.*, v, 72.
[33] *Mbh.*, vii, 6.
[34] *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. 92.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Harivaṁśa*, Ch. 29.

The Padmapurāṇa refers to a king of the Yaddu dynasty named Bhadraśrenya, son of Mahīsamana as acquiring Benares. Bārāṇasi, thus, temporarily shifted under the command and governance of a new line of rulers. But, we are further told that King Divodasa defeated the sons of Bhadrasrenya and recovered the lost kingdom of Benares. Durddama, the youngest son of Bhadrasrenya who was spared of his life by Divodasa, recovered his paternal kingdom in course of time. But this could not remain with him for long as Pratarddana, son of Divodasa again won it.[40]

We are already told that Benares was deserted owing to a curse of Mahatma Nikumbha in the time of Divodasa and was subsequently occupied by a raksasa named Khimaka.[41] But things were not left to remain like this. Alarka, king of Kasi, the grandson of Pratardana according to Vayupurana, reestablished the city of Benares after killing that Rakshasa.[42] In the Vishnupurana, Krishna is said to have burnt the city of Benares.[43] Besides, a number of references about the Kasi kings are found in the Puranas,[44] but without any proper chronological sequence.

Benāres also figures as an important place in the Jain Literature. According to the Jains, the first Jain Tīrthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha was born in Benāres in about 817 B.C. He belonged to the royal family as his father Aśvasena was the king of Benāres,[45] Pārśvanātha is also said to have obtained Kevala Jñāna on the 84th day seated under a certain tree near Benāres.[46] Besides, Benāres had close connections with the last Tīrthankara, Mahāvīrā and his famous disciples. At the death of Mahāvīra the king of Kasi is said to have instituted an illumination on the Poshada which was a fasting day; for, he said, "When the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter."[47] There lived at Benāres many notable house-holders devoted to the teachings of Mahāvīra, viz., Chuḷanipiya,[48] Sūrādeva,[49] etc.

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[37] *Ibid.*, Ch. 31.

[38] Ch. 92.

[39] *Harivaṁśa*, Chs. 31-32, Cf. *Brahmapurāṇa*, Ch. 13, Sl. 75.

[40] *Padmapurāṇa*, Sristi, Ch. 12.

[41] *Harivaṁśa*, Chs. 31-32, Cf. *Brahmapurāṇa*, Ch. 13, Sl. 75.

[42] *Vāyupurāṇa*, Ch. 92.

[43] *Vishṇupurāṇa*, 5th Aṁsa, 34th Ch.

[44] *Vāyupurāṇa*, 89, *Skandapurāṇa*, *Ayodhyāmahātmye*, Ch. I, *Kurmapurāṇa*, Ch. 34, Ślokas 32-33; *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, Ch. I.

[45] *Heart of Jainism*, p. 48.

Though the kingdom and the kings of Kāsi figure prominently, both in the Brahmanical and the Jain texts, it is only the Buddhist literature that throws considerable light on the history of Kāsī and gives a graphic account on the subject. The period marked by the Jātakas and the Buddhist texts is undoubtedly that which should be distinguished from the Brahmanical age which is characterised with confusing and conflicting accounts on various aspects.

Kāsī merely figures as a country or Janapada in the Vedic and Purāṇika texts. The Aṅguttara Nikāya[50] and the Bhagavatī Sūtra,[51] however mention Kāsī in the list of the Sodasa Mahājanapadas; which shows that Kāsī, by that time, must have acquired the status of a much bigger state than an ordinary Janapada both in extent of territory and the political influence that it exercised upon the neighbouring kingdoms. The period of the Mahājanapadas undoubtedly marks a great transition during which the small states turned into big powers. Its capital city, Bārāṇasī, was regarded as one of the four places of pilgrimage for the Buddhist monks. Therefore, Bārāṇasī must have been a big centre of religious activities where the Blessed One made frequent visits. It should be recalled that Ānanda, the favourite disciple of the Buddha had already suggested and named Kāsī Bārāṇasī as a suitable place for the parinibbāna of the Buddha.[52]

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[46] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[47] *Jaina Sūtras*, Vol. I, p. 266.

[48] *Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II, pp. 90-98.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[50] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 213; Vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.

[51] *Bhagavatī Sūtra*,

[52] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 146.

The dynastic history of Kāsī is steeped in utter confusion. The kingdom of Kāsī might have witnessed and passed through the state of anarchy and utter confusion owing to the failure of heirs at Bārānasī and also the deposition of princes and the succession to the royal throne of the worthy rulers belonging to other families. The Jātakas often refer to such a state of affairs. This is the main reason why there is no unanimous opinion among the different sources about the dynasty of Kāsī princes, and, therefore they are ultimately referred to as not belonging to one and the same dynasty. In certain Jātakas, some of the kings of Kāsī are mentioned as coming from Magadha.[53]

In the Jātakas and other Buddhist texts many rulers of Kāsī had the cognomen, 'Brahmadatta', which, however, does not refer to any particular ruler,[54] but probably to a dynasty of rulers; for, we find the reference of a group of one hundred Brahmadattas in certain Puranas,[55] and the Mahābhārata,[56] too mentions the "hundred" Brahmadattas. In the Dummedha Jātaka,[57] the reigning king and his son (Kumāra)[58] have this epithet or surname. In another Jātaka, King Udaya of Benares is addressed by a Pachchela Buddha as "Brahmadatta" which is distinctly stated to be a 'kulanāma' or family designation.

Dr. Raychaudhury has rightly pointed out that the Brahmadattas were not, however, all of the same extraction; for example, the king-elect of the Darīmuka Jātaka was originally a Magadhan prince, while some of the other Brahmadattas were of Videhan lineage. The best example of this fact is provided by the Mātipasaka Jātaka[59] where the Brahmadatta of Kāsī has the Videhan affinity. Similarly, in another Jātaka, prince Sotthisena, son of Brahmadatta, king of Kāsī is called Vedehaputta.[60]

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[53] Cf. *Jāt.* 378, 401, 529.
[54] See Dr. D. R. Bhandārkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 56.
[55] *Matsya*, Ch. 272, 71; *Vāyu*, Ch. 99, 454.
[56] *Mbh.*, ii. 8. 23.
[57] *Jātaka*, No. 50, Vol. I, p. p. 126.
[58] Cf. *Susima Jātaka* (411); *Kumma Sapiṇḍa Jātaka* (415); *Atthana Jātaka* (425), etc.
[59] *Jātaka*, No. 455.
[60] *Ibid.*, 519.

Kāsī and Videha:

Kāsī once seems to have been at daggers drawn with the great Janaka, the king of Videha· Ajātasatru, the king of Kāsī who was a contemporary of Janaka is represented in the Kaushitaki Upanishad as being jealous of the latter's fame as a patron of learning. A passage in the Bṛihad Upanishad[61] alludes to frequent struggles between the heroes of Kāsī and those of Videha. The Mahābhārata also refers to the old story (Itihāsam Purātanam)[62] of a great battle between Pratardana who was the king of Kāsī according to the Rāmāyaṇa,[63] and Janaka, king of Mithilā. The Pālī commentary, Param-attha-jotikā[64] states that the Licchavis who succeeded to the dynasty of King Janaka as the strongest political power in North Bihār, and formed the most formidable element of the Vajjian confederacy, were the off springs of a queen of Kāsī. "This indicates a belief in later ages that cadets from the royal family of Kāsī established themselves in Videha."[65]

Rise of Kāsī:

Just before the rise of Buddhism, probably in the seventh century B.C., Kāsī rose into prominence and came to be recognised as a very strong power in eastern India and ultimately got its name carved in the list of the "Solasa-Mahājanapada" of considerable extent and power. The rise of Kāsī into a formidable power was probably made possible only after the subversion of the Videhan monarchy in which it had a great hand. The rulers of Kāsī are represented as ambitious for power and victories. The constant exertions of these ambitions and aggressive rulers must have resulted in the expansion of its power and prestige among the contemporary powers.

Many Jātakas refer to the superiority of its capital Bārāṇasī or Benāres over the other cities. The Guttila Jātaka says that the city of Benares is the chief city in all India.[66] The city extended over twelve leagues.[67] It was really a big city in comparison to other cities of its time like Mithilā and Indrapatta which were each only seven leagues in extent.[68] Bārāṇasī became an eyesore to many of the neighbouring kings probably because of its unprecedented glory which she had acquired within no time. A Jātaka informs us of a league of seven kings drawn around this enviable city but without any avail.[69] The Bhojājāniya Jātaka also makes a similar statement that "all the kingdoms round coveted the kingdom of Benāres".[70] In the Mahāsīlava Jātaka, the remark of the ex-minister of Kāsī 'Sir, the kingdom of Benares is like a goodly honey comb untainted by flies', is a glorious tribute to Kāsī.[71]

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[61] *Brihad. Upanishad,* III. 8. 2.

[62] *Mbh.,* xii, 99. 1-2.

[63] *Rām.,* vii. 48. 15.

[64] Vol. I, pp. 158-165.

[65] *Pol. Hist. of A. India,* p. 84, 1953 **Ed.**

[66] *Jātaka,* No. 243.

The prosperity and greatness of Kāsī has equally been recognised in other Buddhist texts. The Mahāvagga refers to its glorious days in former times when it possessed immense resources.[72] All these statements suggest the fact that the kingdom of Kāsī at one stage must have been an imperial power much stronger than its neighbours which had drawn it in keen contest with the ever jealous powers of Bāratavarsha, all of whom coveted the kingdom of Benares. "Benares in this respect resembled ancient Babylon and mediaeval Rome, being the coveted prize of its more warlike but less civilized neighbours."[73]

Kāsī Imperialism:

In certain Jātakas, the Kāsī monarchs are described as aspirants for the dignity of the chief king of all kings and lord of the whole of India.[74] Being a prosperous country, Kāsī wanted to make a way for its future greatness at the expense of other countries. As early as the period of the Brāhmaṇas, a king of Kāsī named Dhritarāshṭra attempted to offer a horse-sacrifice but was foiled in his attempts and was subdued by Śatānīka Sātrājita in consequence of which the Kāsīs down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, gave up the kindling of the sacred fire.[75] The Jātakas furnish accounts of certain Kāśi monarchs who went a step forward and achieved glorious victories for themselves.

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[67] *Sambhava Jātaka*, No. 515; *Sarabha-niga Jātaka*, 483; *Bhuridatta Jāt.* 543.

[68] *Suruchi Jātaka*, 489; *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jāt.*, 545.

[69] *Jātaka*, I, pp. 178, 181; II. p. 90.

[70] *Jātaka*, I, p. 178.

[71] Ratilal N. Mehta's *Pre-Buddhist India.*

[72] *Mahāvagga*, x. 2. 3; *Vinaya*, I. 342.

[73] Rāichaudhury, *Pol. Hist. of Ancient India*, p. 98, 1953 Ed.

[74] *Bhaddasāla Jātaka*, 465; *Dhonasakha Jātaka*, 353.

Kāsī and Kosala:

The mutual feud between the Kāsī kings and their neighbouring power, the Kosalas was the predominant feature of the pre-Buddhist age, which lasted long. The struggle probably lasted many a generation. The Jātakas furnish ample information about these struggles. According to some Jātaka,[76] Brahmadatta the king of Kāsī once went against the king of Kosala with a large army. He entered the city of Sāvatthī and imprisoned its king. There he set up his own officers known as Rājayutte to look into the affairs of the newly acquired territory and himself returned to his kingdom with a large booty. But, somehow or other, the Kosala prince Ċhatta managed to escape in disguise and in due course of time recovered the lost kingdom by his strategic tactics. In another Jātaka,[77] again, a king of Kāsī known as Brahmadatta seized the Kosala city by the help of his large army and assassinated the king and taking away his queen to Bārāṇasī, made her his queen-consort. Another Kāsī king named Manoja started his career of conquest by first annexing the kingdom of Kosala.[78] At another time when Dīghiti was the king of Sāvatthī, again, a king named Brahmadatta is said to have been the king of Kāsī who, too, waged a war against Dīghiti and killed him in an encounter and thus acquired the kingdom of Kosala.[79] In this combat, prince Dīghāyu, the son of Dīghiti, however escaped in disguise and later on became a close associate of his belligerent neighbouring Kāsī king, Brahmadatta who being much pleased with his conduct, made him his son-in-law by giving him, the hands of his daughter, and thus restored his father's kingdom. Dr. Rāychaudhury has rightly pointed out that the reference in the Mahābhārata[80] to Kāsī princesses, the mothers of Dhritarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, as Kauśalyā, possibly points to the traditional union of the two realms of Kāsī and Kosala in the period when part of the epic was compiled.[81]

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[75] *Sat. Br.*, xiii. 5. 4. 19.
[76] *Jātaka*, III, p. 115 f.
[77] *Jātaka*, vi, pp. 426 ff.
[78] *Jātaka*, v, pp. 315-316.
[79] *Jātaka*, iii, p. 487; pp. 211-13.
[80] *Mbh.*, i. 105. 47 ff; 106. 2, 13; 113. 43; 114. 3 f; 126, 16; 117, 24.

Expansion of Kāsī Kingdom:

The Kāsī monarchs were content neither with their mere kingdom, though a prosperous one, nor with the annexation of the neighbouring power of Kosala. They had probably become aspirants for an all-India sovereignty which could place them ahead of all the kings. But their victories against Kosala proved to be a tonic for them that could infatuate them for further conquests and annexations. They succeeded in their struggle for capturing power and imperial dignity to claim for themselves the imperial titles of Sārvabhaumya, Samrāṭ and Ekarāṭa. The Kāsī kings therefore turned their arms first probably towards the south and the north. The smaller states of Vidarbha, Kalinga and Assaka, which had shown signs of disruption and dis-integration owing to mutual quarrels and hostility, provided ample opportunity to the ever-ambitious monarchs of Kāsī to make their footsteps resound across the Vindhayas. The Assaka Jātaka informs us that the city of Potali, the capital of Assaka on the Godāvarī was captured by the Kāsī king who made the king of Assaka his vassel.[82] The further expansion of Kāsī kingdom is shown in the sona-Nanda Jātaka[83] where Manoja, king of Bārāṇasi is said to have subdued the kings of Kosala, Anga and Magadha. King Manoja was probably the first to achieve the glory of his successful campaign throughout India and acquired for himself the title of 'Aggarājā'. The first kingdom that fell as his prey was the neighbouring power of the Kosalas. After humbling their pride he turned his arms towards Aṅga and usurped it. Infatuated with his success over these kingdoms he brought Magadha, Assaka and Avanti under his sway,[84] and thus, became an all India sovereign.[85] Elsewhere, he is described as "Rājādhirāja Manoja va jayatam pati".[86] Somewhere, again, he is addressed as Bhārata.[87]

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[81] H. C. Raychaudhury, *Pol. Hist. of Ancient India,* p. 98 fn., 1953 Ed.
[82] *Jāt.* No. 207.
[83] *Ibid.,* 532.
[84] *Jāt.,* Vol. V, p. 317.
[85] *Ibid.,* p. 316.
[86] *Jāt.,* Vol. V, p. 322-G. 127.
[87] *Ibid.,* p. 317-G. 94.

The ascendancy of Kāsī is not only confined to the annexation and conquests of the eastern and southern kingdoms. We are told of several Kāsī monarchs extending their conquests as far as Gandhāra in the extreme North-west of India and invading its capital city, Taxilā. Though their advance towards the North-west was effectively checked, we twice hear of them preparing for an attack on the city, but they were repulsed and hence made retreat without achieving their object.[88] It was quite natural because the city of Takshasilā itself was formidable and impregnable to enemies.

It is very difficult to absolutely rely upon these accounts furnished by the Mahābhārata, the Jātakas and other Buddhist texts referring to the achievements of the individual kings, unless some corroborative evidence comes to our rescue in this difficult task of attributing these achievements in chronological sequence and preparing the chronology of the kings belonging to different dynasties and different ages. However, the only plausible inference that can be drawn is that Kāsī, at one stage before the birth of Mahāvīra and the Buddha, must have emerged as an imperial power more formidable than any other power, ever-ready to accept the challenge of its competitor.

The eclipse of Kāsī's glory:

Kāsī, which the early Buddhist texts count among the great powers of India, and the rulers of which were once aspiring for the dignity of the chief kings of all kings, and lords of the whole of India began to show symptoms of disruption and disintegration. The mighty power collapsed against the rising power of Kosala and then finally became an integral part of the Magadha Empire in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

The glorious days of Kāsī were of little duration and its fate could not help it any more. The power could not withstand the tides of time and Kāsī ultimately fell into the close grips of two mighty opponents from the North and the East. In the north, its old and bitterest antagonist Kosala was eagerly looking for a proper opportunity to take revenge on it for the age long conflict and to swallow it. In the east, the kingdoms of Aṅga and the allied Nāgas were the other adversaries of Kāsī. The Dadhivāhana

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[88] *Jātaka*, II, pp. 217-8; III, pp. 159-60.

Jātaka[89] informs us that a king named Dadhivāhana was occupying the throne of Bārāṇasī. This undoubtedly refers to the evil days of Kāsī.

It is interesting to note that the Jātakas refer to a tribe known as Nāgas whose hostility with Kāsī is very much reflected in these tales. A Jātaka story tells us that Benāres was invaded by a Nāga king, Dhataraṭṭha who wanted to marry Princess Samuddajā of Bārāṇasī and hence marched with a great force towards the city.[90] This matrimonial alliance produced friendship between the king of Banāres and the king of the Nāgas. In another Jātaka, the Nāga king Champeyya is said to have interceded in the Anga-Magadha conflicts and set the Magadhan king over both the kingdoms and thus received from him a tribute in return for his services.[91]

But, the power that really proved disastrous to Kāsī was that of the Kosalas, its neighbour which was already hostile to it. The Jātakas and the Mahāvagga refer to bitter conflicts between these two powers in which success seems to have crowned Kāsī at first, but ultimately the tables were turned in favour of Kosala. Though in this age-long conflict, Kosala was humiliated several times at the hands of Kāsī kings, it was probably never absorbed but remained under the suzerainty of the latter. The opposition and mutual hostility grew so old and became so grave that at a later stage Kosala did not allow Kāsī to enjoy for long the position of a sovereign state and the fruits of its aggressive policy. The light of its ancient glory began to flicker. Now came the turn of Kosala and it paid Kāsī in its own coin. The Mahāsīlava Jātaka speaks of King Mahāsīlava of Kāsī who was deprived of his realm by the ruler of Kosala.[92] In the Ghaṭa[93] and Ekarāja Jātaka,[94] Vaṅka and Dabbasena, sovereigns of Kosala are said to have won for their country a decided preponderence over Kāsī. Two unnamed Kosala kings are said to have invaded and successfully captured the kingdom of Benares.[95] The final annexation of Kāsī was probably achieved by Kaṁsa as the epithet 'Barānasiggaho', i.e., "seizer of Benāres" of Kāsī is a standing addition to his name.[96] Rhys Davids rightly observes: "The interval of time between Kaṁsa's conquest of it and the rise of Buddhism could not have been very long because the memory of Kāsī as an independent kingdom was still fresh in the minds of the people in Buddha's time and even later, when the Aṅguttara Nikāya was composed."[97]

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[89] *Jātaka,* II, pp. 101 ff.
[90] *Jātaka,* VI, pp. 165-66-GG, 753-9.
[91] *Jātaka,* IV, pp. 454-5.
[92] *Jātaka,* No. 51.
[93] *Ibid.,* 355.
[94] *Ibid.,* 303.

The kingdom of Kāsī, however, formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy in the time of Mahākosala, father of Pasenadi about the middle of the sixth century B.C. The Jātakas inform us that a village of Kāsī producing a revenue of a hundred thousand was given by Mahākosala as pin money to his daughter Kosaladevī whom he married to King Bimbisāra of Magadha.[98] Kāsī continued to be a part of Kosala Kingdom even in the time of Mahākosala's son and successor, Pasenadi. The conversation between the Buddha and Lohichcha in the Lohichcha Sutta[99] attests to this fact. When the Buddha asks Lohichcha this question: "Now what think you Lohichcha? Is not king Pasenadi of Kosala in possession of Kāsī and Kosala?' the latter replies, "Yes, that is so, Gautama". On the other hand, the Mahāvagga[100] also draws our attention to this fact and informs us that a brother of Pasenadi acted as the Viceroy of Kāsī.

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[95] *Jātaka*, I, pp. 409-10; V. P. 430.

[96] *Seyya Jātaka*, No. 282, *Tesakua Jātaka*, No. 521; *Buddhist India*, Rhys Davids, p. 25.

[97] Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India*, p. 25

[98] *Harita Mata Jātaka*, No. 239; *Vaddhaka Sukara Jātaka*, No. 283.

[99] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, 288-97.

[100] *S.B.E.*, xvii, p. 195.

The Concept of Humanity in Indian Culture

FROM THE VEDIC AGE UPTO THE AGE OF THE SMṚTIS AND SŪTRAS

BY

DR. (MISS) ANIMA SEN GUPTA

The subject I have chosen is a difficult one. In the first place there is no historical record of Indian thought. In the absence of thorough chronological recording of thoughts and facts of life of the ancient Indian people, it is generally difficult to trace chronologically the origin and development of any ethico-philosophical concept in India. This article covers the period from 2000 B.C. to 600 A.D.

We find that the Indians of the ancient period cared more for the truth realised: they did not attach any importance to the life and the date of the propagator of a particular form of Truth. In fact, they were more interested in enjoying the flowers and fruits of the tree of religion than in trying to find out the planters. So, the proposed attempt to trace the root of the concept of humanity in Indian culture is based mainly on the dates which have so far been collected through the strenuous efforts of several oriental scholars.

Concept of Humanity in Vedic period

The period extending from about 2000 B.C. to 600 B.C. is generally known as the Vedic period. This period is divided into three parts, namely (1) the age of the Samhitā: (2) the age of the Brāhmanas: (3) the age of the upaniṣads. The age of the Samhitā refers to the period when the Mantras or the hymns were composed by the Ṛṣi-poets of the vedic age. The brāhmanas are the elaborate ritualistic treatises, whereas the upaniṣads consist of the revelations of the mystic philosophers.

The general theory about the pre-upaniṣadic age is that this was an age when the march of mind reached merely the plane of half-personified forces of nature together with a pantheon of Gods and Goddesses who were to be propitiated by hymns and sacrifices. The prayers that were offered unto various Gods were intended mainly for worldly things, riches, children and the like. Life in that age was simple, fresh and full of hopes and expectations and consequently the people of the Vedic age used to take pleasure in life and work. They were not at all gloomy or pessimistic. Life was a good thing to them and they were out in the world to enjoy life to its full brim. All sights and sounds of nature used to create a mysterious atmosphere for them and in this environment they used to breathe a freshness of life which inspired them to offer prayers in solicitation and admiration of various Nature Gods. In the beginning, they were more interested in the visible aspects of Nature which used to influence directly their limited pleasures and pains. So, they had a very strong desire for winning the good grace of the presiding gods of these natural phenomena and the result was an objective approach to the realm of superior values.

Although this objective outlook of the Vedic thinker could not discover the underlying unity between the cosmic principle and the individual self, still it succeeded in giving expression to an intense urge for greatness and nobility of human life which had really emerged from the depths of the evolving ideals of human perfection and human glory.

The characteristic that distinguishes man from beast is his capacity to discriminate between good and evil. It is this ethical sense and spiritual discrimination that constitutes the highest prerogative of man as the glory of humanity lies mainly in the fullest manifestation of his inner excellences (both moral and spiritual).

Man's endeavour to achieve this inner moral and spiritual growth is actually his *sādhanā* for the attainment of the ideal of humanity and such strivings and endeavours were clearly visible among the people of the Vedic age. Since the higher God-heads were believed to be the superior powers excercising living influences on the social life of the Vedic people, the sages who were the leaders of the society had tried to disclose through their prayers not only the way of pleasing the deities but also the truth that these gods should be regarded as the manifestation of a Supreme Spirit behind and above, controlling and moving all objects and phenomena. The supreme purpose of life, therefore, ought to be to grow into higher varieties of spiritual existence. Indeed, it was the journey of the Vedic seers up the hill of their true being that had found finest expression in and through these hymns and prayers. When the Vedic sage uttered,

Ṛcô A Kṣare parame vyoman
Yasmin devā adhiviśve niṣeduh
yastanna vedo kimṛcā kariṣyati
ya ittadviduramṛtāste bhavanti
(Ṛgveda)

he was not making an attempt to please the supreme God or gods (who were supposed to be His various manifestations) for personal pleasures only: on the other hand, he was declaring that one should seek to know the supreme God without whose knowledge ṚK mantras would be of no use to him. To see Truth and to know Truth is the privilege of man and not of beast. Hence to attain the greatness of manhood, one should seek to enrich mind with the knowledge of the highest and the best; because the spiritual progress is the only thing that can make him immortal. So, it can be safely suggested that the concept of manhood as the realisation of the socio-moral excellences of human life was present in a positive form even in the dim past of the Vedic age.

In fact, it is the very idea that the socio-moral good is closely connected with the spiritual good in the form of true knowledge of the Supreme Being, that has found a fine expression in the acceptance of the Ṛta both as a cosmic law and a moral law in the Ṛgvedic age. Virtue and righteousness ought to be practised by human beings as no group life or social life is possible without it. Transgressors of socio-moral rules are sinners as they work for the degradation of both human life and the life of the society. That is why, in the *yajurveda*, we find the sages offering their heartfelt prayers unto the Supreme Being in these words:

> "May the creator, the fountain of happiness and knowledge inspire us for the performance of the noblest deeds with our organs .... May a thief and a sinner be never born amongst us"
>
> — Yajurveda—Chapter 1 No. 1
> English translation by Devi Chand —

Human aspiration to rise to the higher level of existence by getting rid of all the impurities of his soul through divine grace has repeatedly found expression through innumerable passages of the *yajurveda* some of which are cited below:

> Chapter 1: No. 3: "May He purify us through the store of true knowledge and all sciences contained in the Vedas and elevating selfless deeds."
>
> Chapter 1: No. 6: "Who prompts you to do good deeds? It is He the Great Lord who guides us on the path of virtue. Why does He do so? For the performance of noble virtuous deeds and fulfilment of the vow of leading a truthful life."
>
> (English translation by Devi Chand)

What actually should be the connotation of nobility or virtue was of course not very analytically and scientifically considered in that age: yet the very fact, that even in that far off age the moral and spiritual excellences of the human soul were alone regarded as the elixir of humanity, cannot be denied. It was the sincere belief of the vedic age that in order to attain the greatness of human life and purity of human existence, one ought to pay due respect to the law of righteousness which was upheld by God himself.

Even the ritualistic sacrifices were performed not for gaining purely personal benefits, but for enhancing the social good as well. There are many passages in the *yajurveda* proving conclusively that the development of the feeling of sociality was an important trait of perfect human character. Socio-ethical virtues were, in their opinion, very intimately related to spiritual perfection. Some such passages are quoted below:

> Chapter 1: No. 9: "O ye men, increase the store of goods acquired by honest and fair means to be used in the service of humanity. May your life be constantly dedicated to this principle. May the spiritually-minded people also not give up this humanitarian work."
>
> Chapter 1: No. 11: "I resort to agriculture and craft for removing poverty and ministering happiness to all."
>
> Chapter 1: No. 13: "We should all perform agreeable *yajnas* for the attainment of God, for noble acts, for the acquisition of fine virtues and for

> temporal and spiritual advancement. "With the aid of yajñas purify all substances and human beings. Yajñas will remove all your physical and other defects."
> (English translation by Devi Chand)

These passages clearly prove that the sacrifices were not mere mechanical performances of the rituals of the Vedic religion. On the contrary, these were of great social, psychological and ethical values. Even when the sacrifice was accorded the supreme position, it was described as the producer of rain and the giver of spiritual knowledge, both of which were necessary for the good of the whole society. The only thing that was not clearly expounded by the seers of this age was the total merging of the perfected human soul in God in the trans-empirical state of existence. The vedic thought and discipline was otherwise primarily ethical as the moral law was admitted by the vedic sages as the law of life given by God to human beings. Hence, it can be safely suggested that one should pay due respect to the religious teachings of the Vedas as well, if one wishes to trace the origin of ethical concepts of Indian philosophy from the historical point of view.

Humanity in the Period of Upaniṣads

Coming to the age of upaniṣads (700 B.C. to 600 B.C.) we find that the greatest contribution of this period to Indian culture is the declaration of the identity between Brahman and ātman. The soul or the principle of consciousness manifesting itself very prominently through living beings of the world is the ultimate reality and by nature it is pure and non-attached to worldly things. Due to beginningless ignorance, it forgets its own nature and gets entangled in the vortex of worldly life. Therefore, the sole purpose of the soul is to gain back its purity by removing all the impurities through ethical culture. According to the upaniṣadic thinkers, the moral excellences alone constitute the perfect personality of man and so these are very intimately connected with the spiritual realisation of an individual self. In fact, according to the upaniṣads, there can be no true spiritualism unless it is based upon the pure foundation of morality. The perfection of manhood is synonymous with moral acquisition and the perfection of morality culminates naturally in spiritual realisation. It is because of this fact that the upaniṣads have recognised clear-cut distinctions between the path of the worldly pleasures and the path of the good. The path of the good is that of morality flowering automatically into spiritual enlightenment and self-realisation. The path of the worldly pleasure leads to the fulfilment of worldly desires relating to the body only and does not render any help to a man in his self-realisation. The upaniṣadic ideal, therefore, is the moral regeneration of man accomplished through the practice of humanity—a regeneration which is the only instrument that can help him to rise above the temptation of this worldly life and enjoy the enternal bliss of his true being.

The human glory includes culture of certain socio-ethical virtues such as self-control, charity with sympathy, compassion, truthfulness, love, forgiveness, humility etc. Personal purity and nobleness of heart are to be valued by man because these are the guiding stars that lead him to final goal. Indeed, these are the qualities that have been given a very important place in the upaniṣads.

Humanity and the common and relative duties of the Smṛtis, epics and the sūtras (200 *B.C. to* 300 *A.D.*).

The varṇavibhāga or class distinction made its first appearance in the age of the Ṛg veda. It was, however, pushed back to a certain extent in the age of the upaniṣads. During the period of the smṛtis and the sūtras this system received a new orientation and through this social scheme an attempt was made to reconcile between the socio-ethical good and the spiritual good of self realisation. The main object of the division was to regard the inner self of man as the highest reality and also to realise the vastness and divinity of this self in and through all socio-moral institutions. The individual was regarded merely as a functioning component of the social organisation. The main motive of each individual soul was to realise the vastness and magnanimity of the spirit by completely identifying himself with his own social group. Personal tendencies were not to be cultivated and self-assertive individuality was not to be developed as all these constituted an obstacle to self-realisation which could be attained only by total effacement of the ego-sense of a person. One had to look upon oneself not as an individual A, B, or C, but always as a member of his group. Expansion of spiritual personality was the ultimate end of Indian life and the class division was the social scheme by which the interests of the individual life were wholly subordinated to the interests of society. The message of the upaniṣads that the individual souls were nothing but the sparks of One Great Soul which formed the transcendental background of this worldly life had been made the foundational principle of this social classification: consequently, the social division was not based on the base sentiments of hatred and malice, but on the noble humanitarian feeling of love and unity. In fact, Varna-Vibhāga which was nothing but a social plan of this smrti period might be regarded as an outcome of a more developed concept of humanity. By this system individuals of various capacities could get equal opportunities to show their inherent powers in every sphere of life. This was indeed a harmony of multi-coloured personalities in a social unit.

The basic principle of Indian culture is to feel intensely and to realise fully that mankind has a common heritage and a common spring of life. Humanity consists in the full development of the vision of oneness based on the finer sentiments of love, friendship and spiritual freedom. By introducing the scheme of social division the thinkers of the smṛti age gave a definite proof that Indian culture was not indifferent to social stability and social well-being. On the otherhand, Varṇa-Vibhāga gave a positive outlook on social life which sought to prove that self-realisasion pre-supposed a developed sense of the feelings of social unity without which the progressive realisation of the virtues and excellences of human heart was not possible. Thus, in the post-upaniṣadic period, we find that a strong sense of positive well being of people grew side by side with a traditional ideal of liberation. Humanity, therefore, seems to mean the total renunciation of the ego-centric desires of a man in favour of higher interests of the society. It also means the cultivation of the habit of expanding one's own soul through the constant practice of socio-moral virtues. Neither happiness nor wealth should be sought for by transgressing socio-moral laws.

"Parityajet arthakamau
*
yau syatam dharmavarjitau"

was the lesson imparted to the general mass by Manu, the great law-maker of India. Manu has emphasised that it is the sacred duty of a man to adhere to all virtues belonging to his particular caste. The Rājadharma section of the Mahābhārata, too, lays great emphasis on the observance of the moral principles which constitute the very basis of higher type of society. Not only Varṇa-Dharmas but also Sādhāraṇa Dharmas should be practised vigorously since the former will be conducive to the emergence of the feeling of identity with one's own social group, whereas the cultivation of the latter will help a man to understand and realise his oneness with the whole of humanity. The very fact that the feeling of identity requires the development of an introspective attitude of mind has often been mentioned as an evidence of the fact that Indian culture does not pay heed to social aspects of human life and teaches only to look within one's own self with a view to finding out his true nature. If we reflect on this point carefully, we shall be able to grasp the great efficacy of this method. It is because we are not used to the practice of self-analysis that we fail to realise the defects and imperfections of our own mind and easily lay blame on others. The result is constant conflict and strife between man and man, society and society, nation and nation. If we are true to ourselves we must first of all make a sincere attempt to purge our mind of all its animal legacy in the forms of anger, malice etc. This is never possible unless one looks within and finds out the cankers that hinder the unfoldment of his humanitarian qualities. Hence, introspective attitude has got to be developed if one wishes to render valuable services to society. Indeed, it is the firmly-rooted belief in India that regular practice of the moral duties in the worldly life is the thing that can promote equitable adjustment of relative demands of smaller societies in a higher ethical life of humanity.

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* **Dharma—Moral Law or ten human excellences recognized by Manu.**

In India, moral life has been viewed as antagonistic to natural life. According to this view, moral life involves constant struggle with the grosser aspect of a man's life which is controlled by six passions, namely, lust, anger, greed, pride, infatuation and envy. These baser feelings are required to be uprooted by constant practice of socio-moral virtues. But it may be asked how these virtues are to be cultivated. Herein comes the Gītā with its ideal of *niṣkāma karma* i.e. performance of duty from a sense of duty and divine service. According to the Gītā, every human being has his own duties to perform which he cannot neglect. Not only this, he has also to remain fully alive to the demands of his domestic, social and moral life. How to perform these duties religiously has been clearly stated in the Gītā. The Gītā advises a man that he should do his duty without any hope of reward or fear of punishment. To do good through fear only is a sign of animality: to do good from a sense of duty and service is humanity. All actions should be performed from a sacred sense of duty and not from any egoistic motive of gain, arrogance, hatred and pride. Even when the King punishes a wrong-doer, he should do it without hatred or malice. The effects of any action can bind the doer only when in doing that action, he has a selfish motive to realise. But if he does not seek anything for himself and performs all his actions disinterestedly, his work will not affect him in any way. A man should, therefore, give up all his desires for selfish motives and dedicate all his actions to the Supreme Being: because then and then only he will be able to develop all human excellences in finest forms. This spirit of detachment, kept alive in the performance of daily duties in different walks of life, will help a man to reach the apex of human glory which in its turn will lead him automatically to the Highest Goal.

The attitude of vairāgya implying total renunciation of the ego-centric desires has also been described as the spirit of aparigraha. This virtue of *aparigraha* has been regarded as the basic principle of Indian ideal of humanity and spiritual culture. One who develops this noble tendency gives up fully the spirit of selfishness with the result that he does not feel any difficulty either in giving every man what is his due or in administering justice to all in a spirit of love and service. Indeed, it is the desire for selfish gain that acts as a violent force of social disintegration and prevents men from living the life of noble and peaceful co-existence. If mankind as a whole is not in favour of giving up the sense of ego-hood and narrow individuality, then despite best efforts, human beings will not be able to reach the true ideal of humanity. That a purification of heart by the fire of knowledge of the oneness of mankind is the only means for the attainment of an integration of mankind has been repeatedly declared by the Indian preachers of humanity from the hoary vedic age upto the present age of science and scientific progress. An individual should make a sincere attempt to become a man in the true sense of the term by removing animal passions from his heart which are constantly trying to drag him down to the level of animal existence, full of strifes and struggles. In this pursuit the Gītā is a great help to the individual if he sticks to its ideal of disinterested action and courts an active life in a spirit of vairāgya and aparigraha. This attitude of detachment in active life is the only means by which a man can fight and conquer a purely natural life and fulfil his life's mission. The spiritual culture of India teaches a man to awaken in him the spirit of humanity which enables him to ascend to a still higher stage of Divinity.

Conclusion

In fine, it can be reasonably asserted that from the very dawn of civilisation Indian people have felt and expressed a sincere desire to imbibe all excellent qualities of man. India is the only land where great importance has been attached to the purification of mind rather than to material prosperity and individual happiness. The search for truth in India primarily means a search for the moral and spiritual values of life. Such emotional feelings for higher values spring forth spontaneously from the innermost core of one's heart and flow out with such a force that it reshapes an individual in a newer and nobler form. Indian culture has never disregarded the ideal of humanity in favour of the higher transcendental ideal of self-realisation. On the other hand, it has taught the greatest truth that the ideal of self-realisation cannot be achieved unless there is socio-moral advancement. Life has to be lived by each one of us for a harmonious development of our character towards the moral ideal. And this ought to be the sense in which Indian culture should be described as spiritual. According to Indian view, moral development should be an inner growth and should spring from life and faith. In the moral sphere, a man should not move on like machine without being conscious of his moral duties and respond with animal impulses to the happenings of life without reflecting on them. He should be alert and should create himself anew in accordance with the scriptural instructions laid down for the elimination of the passions of mind. The cardinal virtues of love, sympathy, friendship and indifference should be practised by all with the force of conviction that these alone constitute the elixir of humanity. In ancient India, moral training and education through personal contact with the teacher was supposed to be the best means for self-development and self-culture as this alone could provide a student with the opportunity of chastening his own heart and character by following the living ideal of the saintly life of his teacher. Education and not law was always accepted as the most suitable means for the building up of pure personalities and noble leaders of humanity. It was only when education had failed to keep a person on the path of duty that Indians had taken recourse to punishment and legal help. Education is indeed the training which by its own inherent force stirs up the will and sets it to fashion the individual in a finer form by awakening faith in his own self and also by making him stand on his own feet. All sense of personal advancement and the craving for egoistic satisfaction cease permanently through true education. Indeed civilisation can flourish when a world based on the humanitarian sentiments of goodwill, love and active sympathy, self-restraint and strong sense of duty comes into being. With the emergence of such a world, it is possible to preach the message of oneness of all life—a message that is bound to bring together the entire humanity after cementing the bridges of narrowness which unfortunately separate man from man.

Police Administration in the Punjab, 1849-75

BY

DR. Y. B. MATHUR

Organization

The maintenance of law and order, soon after the annexation of the Punjab, led to a great development of police administration.[1] The Punjab Police was ranged under two heads, namely, the Preventive Police with a military organization and the Detective Police with a civil organization.[2] The military or preventive Police consisted of six regiments of foot and twentyseven troops of horse. Each regiment had its own Indian commandant. The troopers were selected from among the horsemen of the Sikh Darbar. The whole force was superintended by four British officers as Police Captains. Its strength was 8,100 men, 5,400 infantry, and 2,700 cavalry.[3]

Both arms of the service were regularly armed and equipped. The infantry furnished guards for jails, treasuries, frontier-posts and city-gates, escorted civil officers and treasure in transit. The cavalry was posted in detachments at the civil stations, and smaller parties stationed at convenient intervals along the main roads served as mounted patrols.[4] Both horse and foot were kept ready to reinforce the civil police, "the former to crush resistance, the latter to expedite pursuit."[5] The Detective Civil Police consisted of the regular establishment paid by the Government, the city watchmen, and rural constabulary paid by the people.[6]

The whole of the Punjab, for purposes of police administration was divided into 228 police divisions. Each division was under a police officer who was assisted by one or two deputies, and on an average 30 policemen. In cities, however, there was a Chief Inspector of Police. The total strength of the establishment was 6,900 men of all grades.[7]

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[1] Trevaskis, H. K., The Punjab Today, (Lahore 1931), Vol. II, p. 266.
[2] Govt. of India Selections from Records, No. 2, para 60.
[3] Idem, para 161.
[4] Idem, para 162.
[5] Minute by the Governor-General, dated 18th February, 1857.
[6] Govt. of India Selections from Records, No. 2, para 163.

For the control of these establishments, the Government utilized the local influence and knowledge of collectors of land revenue, i.e., the *Tahsildars*. Each *Tahsildar* was accordingly invested with police powers within his jurisdiction. The police was subordinate to him. He was to animate them when negligent, and to overawe them when corrupt. He was responsible to see that they were faithful to the Government and unoppressive to the people. He was to infuse vigour and honesty into their functioning without usurping their powers.[8]

The police divisions were subordinate to the fiscal divisions. There were 75 fiscal divisions throughout the Punjab which were sub-divided into 228 police divisions. In the interior of the latter divisions, detached police posts were stationed at convenient spots. To afford safety for traffic, the main lines of road were included, as much as possible, within the same police jurisdictions. The great channels of communication were lined at short intervals with police stations, occasionally strengthened by mounted patrols.[9]

The general duties of police were the reporting of crime, tracking and arresting of criminals and the serving of processes. They also collected supplies for troops, guarded ferries and escorted prisoners. A complete system of records and diaries was rigidly maintained.[10]

The extent of police jurisdictions and the relative strength of the establishments varied from place to place, It fluctuated according to the population and the circumstances of the locality. For instance, it may be pointed out that in the central wastes of the several Doabs and Peshawar valley which were inhabited by criminal and warlike people the police establishments were altogether disproportionate to the number of the people.[11]

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7. Minute by the Governor-General, dated 18th February, 1857.
8. Govt. of India Selections from Records, No. 2, para 165.
9. Idem, para 166.
10. Idem, para 167.
11. Idem, para 168.

Peshawar Police

Police arrangements were differently made for Peshawar.[12] The heads of tribes or villagers were held not only responsible for their own clansmen but also for those who passed through their jurisdiction, or alighted in their villages, their inns, and places of public resort. The disarming proclamation was not extended to Peshawar but the use and carrying of arms was restricted.[13] Precautions were taken to prevent unknown and suspicious characters from prowling about. A species of curfew penalties were enforced against those who were found wandering outside the villages between sunset and sunrise.[14] The stringency of these rules was justified by the unsettled state of the valley. The insecurity of life and property was chronic here.[15]

On the Indus Frontier many of the arduous duties of the police, such as the protection of life and property from hostile inroads were performed by the irregular force. Many posts in Peshawar, Hazara, Kohat and Bunnoo were held by police parties. They also aided in garrisoning some of the forts and stations. But the police command and the military command were distinct. The movement and conduct of the police was regulated by their own responsible officers.[16]

City Police

We may now turn to the police which was paid by the people and formed a link between them and the executive. The city watchmen first demand notice. They were paid by a tax which was levied for this purpose. There were two methods for raising it; one, the assessment of houses according to their value, commonly called the house-tax; the other, imposts levied on imported articles of trade, known as 'town-duties.' The house-tax was realised from the people whose property received protection from the watchmen in proportion to the amount protected. The townsmen and citizens did not like this tax because they felt that the burden of this taxation fell upon their shoulders only while the poor people escaped from it. The town duties, on the other hand, were quite popular. They were paid by agriculturists and traders who did not belong to the Punjab. The burden upon agriculturists and traders of the Punjab was thus partially removed and thrown upon a class which did not murmur.[17]

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[12] Idem, para 169.
[13] Idem, para 170.
[14] Idem, para 171.
[15] Idem, para 172.
[16] Idem, para 173.

The house-tax was at first introduced into the great cities of the Punjab but it soon became very unpopular.[18] To pacify discontent the Government permitted the watch and ward funds to be raised by town-duties. The articles taxed were luxuries and not necessaries. The measure was carried out with eminent facility and success.[19]

It is interesting to note that an important duty of about ten annas at 100 rupees or a mere fraction per cent, was levied on all articles which entered the city. Placards specifying the articles and duties were posted up at conspicuous places. A clerk and a watchman were stationed at the city gates for their collection.[20]

The tax was very productive and yielded a surplus after paying for the watch and ward. In cities like Amritsar and Lahore, it yielded such sums as Rs. 30,000 or 40,000 annually for municipal improvements. Since this tax was realized from the producers, the importers, the wholesale dealers, the retail dealers and the consumers, no class could tell how much or what it paid. Its effect on prices was not perceptible.[21]

The reasons for the popularity of town-duties may now be noticed. The tax was indirect and incorporated in the current prices of commodities. It was sanctioned by ancient custom and was collected according to the mercantile customs of the Punjab. Moreover the town duties fell lightly on the most influential class of burghers, and partially on non-resident traders and agriculturists. None of the classes felt their pressure.[22] By 1856 the town-duties were substituted for the house-tax in all towns within the Punjab.[23]

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[17] Idem, para 175.

[18] Extract from the Procdgs. of the Govt. of Punjab, in the Home Deptt. No. 1777, dated 7th Sept., 1862—Supplement to the Gazette of India, No. 40, Calcutta Saturday, Oct. 7, 1882, p. 1268.

[19] Idem para 176.

[20] Foreign Misc. Deptt. S. No. 157, No. in the list 362-63, para 155.

[21] Idem.

Village Police

The rural constabularly formed the lowest but the most important grade in the hierarchy of police organization. They were the rank and file of the police force.[24] There was at least one constable for every locality. The number, however, exceeded when the size of the village required it. The remuneration of the watchmen was not adequate to support them without recourse to any other mode of livelihood. They got not more than three rupees per mensem. The salary was paid in cash, but if the villagers preferred, it was paid in kind. In small villages where regular payments in cash or kind could not be made, the Government gave assignments of land to the watchmen. On the occurrence of vacancies, the nomination of watchmen rested with the landholders, and the confirmation with the magistrate. The watchmen were kept under the control of the police and land-holders.[25]

These men were periodically inspected by the Magistrates. They were dressed and armed on a uniform plan.[26] The dress was plain, of a drab colour. The arms were a sword and carbine for the preventive and detective police, and a staff and a spear for the watchmen. The Government was put to no expense for the maintenance of this system, for every man found his own uniform.[27]

Khoj System

Mention must now be made of the *Khoj* or tracking system which was followed in the Punjab even before annexation, and was distinctly recognized by the new Government. Under this system the people of a village were held accountable for the amount of stolen property when the foot-steps of the thieves were traced within its boundaries. It worked well because the people were attached to this system. It moreover tempted the community to assist in preventing end detecting crimes and in restraining the inhabitants of the villages from harbouring desperate characters. There was nothing in it opposed to the actual principles of justice and it seemed reasonable enough that the village itself which harboured and concealed offenders against society should, under fear of penalty, be made responsible for the general good.[28]

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[22] Memorandum on the System of town duties recently introduced into the Punjab by R. Temple, Esq. Govt. of Punjab Selections from Correspondence, Vol. I (1853), para 124.

[23] Foreign Misc. Deptt. S. No. 157, No. in the List 364, para 25.

[24] Govt. of India Selections from Records, No. 2, para 179.

[25] Idem, para 180.

[26] Foreign Misc. Deptt. S. No. 157, No. in the List, 362-63, para 157

[27] Foreign Misc. Deptt. S. No. 157, No. in the List 364, para 24.

The *Khoj* system suffered from two defects. Firstly, it induced the police to invent or exaggerate losses and afforded them opportunities to seek bribes. Secondly, the employment of trackers produced laxity amongst the police officials. When a tracker reported his inability to trace the offender or the stolen property, the police seemed to think that any further endeavours on their part were useless. In fact, it was then that the real responsibility of the police commenced.[29]

To remedy these evils new rules were made. Strict adherence to them was prescribed. In all cases in which the Khoj system was brought into operation, the culprits could not be fined by a district officer without the express concurrence of the Commissioner. Compensation was not allowed, if it was not satisfactorily shown that the sufferer took every reasonable precaution to secure his property from loss. Moreover, any negligence on his part in giving information to the police to follow up the perpetrators also barred his claim from getting any compensation.[30]

On the same principle, where the tracks of thieves were followed, the pursuers were bound to show proof that the traces were not lost by accident or neglect, but by fortuitous intervention of a stream, a high road, rocky or high ground, and the like. The last footmarks were shown to the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, or to other parties not interested in the case. The village where the tracks were finally lost was exonerated, only when its inhabitants offered to allow a free and thorough search of their homes, and provided necessary help in locating the traces. Even then compensation was rarely granted.[31]

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[28] Circular Orders of the Judicial Commissioner, 1853-56, page 797. Judicial 'A' Procdgs. Nos. 23-27, dated October, 1861.

[29] Idem.

[30] Extract from the Manual of Punjab Criminal Law, para 40 Judl. A: Oct. 1861, 23-27.

The *Khoj* system was particularly applicable to cases of cattle theft. The best agency for checking this crime was found in the employment of skilful trackers. Injured parties were not prevented from engaging trackers if they wished. But if they desired to benefit by the *Khoj* rules, they had to give immediate information of their loss to the police. To prevent cattle-stealing, graziers were directed to report their loss in the presence of the village *lumberdar* and *chaukidar*. This was necessary to prevent graziers, who were often in league with the thieves, from pleading ignorance of the property stolen.[32] A river police was established on the rivers Chenab and Indus with the view to prevent cattle-lifting.[33]

Strength of the Police

By the beginning of the year 1857, the military police and the civil police were thoroughly disciplined. A river police was organized to check the marauders who crossed the water on inflated skins. The general and permanent location of the police all over the Punjab on the great lines of road was completed.[34] In 1860 the police in the Punjab consisted of police battalions, mounted police, civil police, cantonment police, *thuggee* police, and canal police. The two first were under Captains of police, the civil police under district officers and the cantonment police was subordinate to the Military Secretary. The police battalions performed the quasi-military duties, and the mounted police was employed in patrolling roads, in personal orderliness, etc. The sanctioned cost of this force was Rs. 43,33,465.[35]

Defects of Police Administration

This system of police administration suffered from two defects. Firstly, the union of police control and criminal jurisdiction in the magistrate, and secondly the great expense.[36] Commenting on the first point Sir George Clark[37] observed: "There are not necessarily any two qualities in common between a good judge and a good superintendent of police, except the industry, patience and uprightness which all public servants should possess. It is the duty of a judge to know nothing of matters which come before him judicially, but what he hears in Court. Universal knowledge of everything that passes, which can affect crime or criminals, is the aim of police superintendent."[38] Sir J. P. Grant[39] was in favour of relieving the judge in India from all connections with the officers charged with the detection of crime. D. C. Smyth,[40] was of the opinion that "the division of labour is indispensably necessary, and until this suggestion is carried into effect no improvement can be anticipated in the police. The smoothness and silence with which public affairs go on where all power in all departments is centred in the hands of one train of officials, cannot be regarded as good for the people however agreeable they may be for the administration."[41] It is needless multiplying these quotations. Those already given show amply that separating police from judicial functions was a strong conviction held by many of the highest, most experienced and ablest officers of te Government of India.

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[31] Barkley, D. G. The Non Regulation Law of the Punjab (Lahore 1871), p. 70.

[32] Judl. Procdgs. Nos. 23-27, dated Oct., 1861.

[33] PAR (1865-66), para 57.

[34] Foreign Misc. Deptt. S. No. 157, No. in the List 364, para 24.

[35] Memorandum by Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Young-husband, C. S. I., Offg. Inspector General of Police, Punjab, dated 31st March, 1870. Home Police Procdg. No. 20, dated 2nd April, 1870.

As for the second point viz., the great expense it is only by comparison that the cost of the Punjab police force can be tested. In the Punjab, as we have seen, for 19 districts of moderate size, containing a population of more than ten millions, in 1860 the cost of the police was Rs. 43,33,465. For about 30 very large districts in the lower provinces of the Bengal Presidency, containing a population of over forty millions, the cost of the police was four and a quarter lakhs a year. The disproportion was enormous.[42]

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[36] PAR (1860-61), para 32.

[37] Governor of Bombay.

[38] Home Police Procdg. No. 20, dated 2nd April 1870.

[39] Governor of Madras.

[40] One of the best Magistrates in Bengal and Member, Police Committee, 1838.

[41] Memorandum by Lieut.-Col. J. W. Younghusband, dated 31st March, 1870. Home Police Procdg. No. 20, dated 2nd April, 1870.

[42] Minute by Hon'ble J. P. Grant, dated 27th November, 1854. Police Papers, 1861, pp. 88-89.

Reorganization of Police

To remove these defects, the opinions and recommendations of the different Governments and administrations were invited and eventually a Police Commission was appointed in Calcutta. The members represented Bengal, North Western Provinces, Punjab, Madras, Bombay and Burma. The Commission was ordered to inquire into the numbers and cost of the existing police throughout India and to submit a proposal for the reorganization of the Police in India under one system.

The Government of India made some suggestions which the Commission was required to keep in mind. The basis of the system was (1) the establishment of a constabulary under the civil Government of each province under its own officers to perform all civil duties and (2) complete separation of judicial and police administration. These points were considered the most essential by many of the high authorities viz., Sir George Clark, Sir Charles Napier, Sir Barnes Pocock, Lord Hernis, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir J. P. Grant.[44]

On the basis of the report of this Police Commission, a Bill was brought forward in the Legislative Council by Sir Bartle Frere. The main features of the Bill were: complete separation of military from the police; the police to be under the executive Government for all police purposes—protection, prevention and direction; the police department to be a separate branch of administration with an Inspector General under the Government; the Inspector General to have under him, Deputy Inspectors General and other subordinates; and complete severance of executive, police and judicial functions.[45] The Bill was passed in November, 1861, and came into operation in the Punjab.[46]

The first step that was taken towards the reorganization of the police was the amalgamation of the military and civil police in the Punjab into a new Punjab police force. The minimum strength

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[43] Memorandum by Lieut.-Col. J. W. Younghusband, dated 31st March, 1870, Home Police Procdg. No. 20, dated 2nd April 1870.

[44] They were all members of the Police Commission, 1861.

[45] Idem.

[46] Idem.

for each district was now fixed. Only the best of sepoys and guards were to be recruited in this new force. Those found below these standards were discharged after having been paid gratuities. The new force under its officers took the place of the old, but the number of posts was now reduced. The number of mounted police was also less than formerly.[47]

The administration of the police throughout the Punjab was vested in the Inspector General of Police, Deputy Inspectors General and Assistant Inspectors General. These officials were appointed by the Punjab Government and were also removed by the same authority.[48] The Inspector General of Police exercised the full powers of a Magistrate.[49]

The appointment and dismissal of the subordinate police officers e.g., Inspectors, Deputy Inspectors, Sergeants and Constables rested with the Inspectors General, Assistant Inspectors General and District Superintendents of Police. They were empowered to suspend or demote any police officer for negligence of duty.[50] Every police-officer received on his appointment a certificate, under the seal of the Inspector General which authorised him with the powers, functions and privileges of the police officer.[51]

The Inspector General of Police framed rules and orders regarding the organisation, classification and distribution of the police force.[52] He was empowered to depute any additional number of police officers to keep peace at any place in the Punjab. He was also authorised to employ such officers in districts which were found to be in a disturbed state.[54] The special police officers were given the same powers and privileges which were enjoyed by the ordinary officers of police.[55]

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[47] *PAR* (1860-61), para 33.
[48] The Police Act, 1861 (Act V of 1861), clause 4.
[49] Idem, clause 5.
[50] Idem, clause 7.
[51] Idem, clause 8.
[52] Idem, clause 12.
[53] Idem, clause 13.
[54] Idem, clause 15.
[55] Idem, clause 18.

It is now necessary to notice the authority which was exercised by police officers. The police officers were always considered to be on duty and could be posted to any part of the Punjab.[56] The duties of the police officers were (a) to obey and execute all orders and warrants issued to them by any competent authority, (b) to collect and communicate intelligence affecting the public peace, (c) to prevent the commission of offences and public nuisances, (d) to detect and bring offenders to justice, (e) to apprehend all persons when they were legally authorised to apprehend and (e) to enter and inspect any drinking shop, gaming house or other place of resort of loose and disorderly characters.[57]

The police officers were authorised to lay any information before the Inspector General, and to apply for summons, warrants and other legal processes as by law may be issued against any person who committed an offence.[58] It was the duty of the police officers to take charge of all lost property, and to furnish an inventory thereof to the District Superintendent of Police.[59] The District Superintendent was authorised to issue orders for the disposal of this property.[60] If there were no claimants for such property it was then confiscated by the Government.[61]

It was compulsory for the police officers to keep with them a general diary and to record in it all complaints and charges preferred, the names of all persons arrested, the names of the complainants etc.[62] The District Superintendents of Police were at liberty to call for and inspect such diary.[63] The punishment given to the police officers for neglect of duty was a fine upto his three month's pay or imprisonment with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding three months or both.[64]

[56] Idem, clause 22.
[57] Idem, clause 23.
[58] Idem, clause 24.
[59] Idem, clause 25.
[60] Idem, clause 26.
[61] Idem, clause 27.
[62] Idem, clause 34.
[63] Idem, clause 44.
[64] Idem, clause 29.

Peshawar Police

Police arrangements in the Derajat and Peshwar Divisions however stood on a different footing. The police was still directly subordinate to the magisterial authorities in these divisions because of the frequent raids from the numerous marauding tribes of Afghanistan. The security of the people in these divisions was not a simple matter for the police but required the maintenance of direct diplomatic negotiations with the Government of Afghanistan or the heads of these tribes. Many a time such negotiations proved valueless and often resort had to be made to military reprisals. The police of these divisions was however subjected to complete revision. Retrenchments were made and a considerable saving was thereby effected.[65]

As regards the fundamental question of introducing the new system of police into the Peshawar and Derajat Divisions, the following arrangements were agreed to by the Punjab Government and the Government of India:

"*Firstly*, that these divisions shall for the future form part of the general police district. *Secondly*, that a European officer shall be attached to each district. He was to be an Assistant in the Police Department to the Deputy Commissioner in whose hands the direction of police was vested. *Thirdly*, the police force of the divisions in question was incorporated in the Punjab police. The graduations of rank were generally assimilated, and all duties now performed by organized police in the Cis-Indus region were to be taken up by the Trans-Indus police. *Fourthly*, the force and the European Assistants were subject to the general supervision of the Inspector General of Police and the Deputy Inspector General of Police. The police of the Derajat was entirely separated from the Frontier Force, and bore no other relation to it than that borne by the police to the Military in other parts of India."[66]

Thus we see the police force of the Punjab was divided into two bodies, viz. (1) The Trans-Indus Police including the six districts comprised in the Peshawar and Derajat Divisions, and (2)

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[65] PAR (1860-61), para 34.

[66] R. H. Davies, Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab, Esqr., to E. C. Bayley, Esq. Secy. to the Govt. of India, dated Lahore the 25th November, 1862. Home Police Procdg. Nos. 109-117, dated 20th December, 1862.

The Cis-Indus Police—comprising the remaining twenty six districts of the Punjab. The Trans-Indus police was constituted on the old system, and was under the immediate control of the Deputy Commissioners of the several districts, subject to the inspection, but not the control of the Inspector General of Police. This Cis-Indus Police was organized under Act V of 1861. The whole force was under the direction of an Inspector General, (who was ex-officio also Under Secretary to the Government). He was assisted by four Deputy Inspectors General. The force in each district was under the control of a European officer who was exclusively concerned with duties which he carried on under the overall control of the Deputy Commissioner who was responsible for the general administration of the district.[67]

Sir Robert Montgomery, who, as Chief Commissioner in Oudh, had in the previous year reformed the police there, proceeded in 1860 to reorganize the Punjab Police on the same system. He was directed to reduce the Military Police by the Government of India in May 1860.[68] Apart from the excessive expenditure on police requirements in the Punjab, the efficiency of the various police forces in India was then under consideration. Sir Robert Montgomery completed the instructions of the system in Cis-Indus districts, and made such reductions as were feasible in the existing force in Trans-Indus divisions. The financial results of the reorganization as far as it affected Government of India's revenues showed a reduction of the cost of the Punjab police to Rs. 32,15,550.[69] The Government of India objected to the expenditure as excessive and expressed itself as not convinced of the necessity of keeping

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[67] *PAR* (1868-69), para 170.

[68] Secretary to the Govt. of India, with the Governor-General to the Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab, dated 7th May, 1860. Legislative Procdg. No. 6, dated April, 1861.

[69]

Cis Indus Police	.. Rs. 24,45,760
Derajat	.. Rs. 4,81,556
Peshawar	.. Rs. 2,23.224
Cantonment	.. Rs. 27,012
Thagi & Dacoity Police	.. Rs. 16,122
Canal & Dacoity Police	.. Rs. 21,876
Total	.. Rs. 32,15,550

Report of the Committee on Police Administration of the Punjab, 1899-1900, p. 3.

the Trans-Indus territory separate and apart from the general police system of the Punjab. The establishment was again carefully revised and it was proposed to transfer the Derajat police to the Irregular Army. The cost of the police force was thus brought to Rs. 29,17,958 in 1862.[70] This cost was worked out by Major G. Hutchinson, then Inspector General of Police, district by district, and the Lieutenant Governor stated that the reductions were consistent with the nature of duty devolving upon the police force.[71]

The Government of India was not yet satisfied that retrenchment had been carried to its furthest limit, and in October 1862, deputed Colonel Bruce, the Government's General Adviser on Police matters, to confer personally with the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject. After a minute investigation by Colonel Bruce a compromise was effected by which the Derajat police was to be entirely separated from the military force on the frontier and was to be incorporated in the general set up of the police organization. The total annual cost of the entire force for the Punjab was to be limited to 26 lakhs of rupees. In December 1862 the Government of India sanctioned the allotment of this sum for the Punjab Police, and the Lieutenant Governor was authorised to carry out according to his own judgment the retrenchments which had been agreed to.[72]

In 1869, a resolution of the Government of India enjoined upon the provincial Governments to scrutinise the expenditure which had lately risen to two and a half millions. On this ground the Government of India ordered a reduction of no less than Rs. 1,44,200. The rough result in other provinces was nearly to give a lakh of

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Cis Indus Police	..	Rs. 24,10,777
Derajat Police	..	Rs. 2,29,824
Peshawar Police	..	Rs. 2,23,224
Cantonment Police	..	Rs. 27,012
Thagi & Dacoity Police	..	Rs. 10,700
Canal & Dacoity Police	..	Rs. 16,421
Total	..	Rs. 29,17,958

Report of the Committee on Police Administration of the Punjab, 1899-1900, p. 3.

[71] Police Commission Report, Punjab (1899-1900), p. 3.

[72] Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab, to the Secy. to the Govt. of India, No. 773 dt. the 25th Nov., 1862. Home Police Procdg. Nos. 20-1 dt. 2nd April, 1870.

rupees on police expenditure from Government of India's funds for each million of population. By this test, the cost of the Punjab police was excessive. The population of the Punjab according to a census taken at that time was only 17½ millions, so that 18 or 19 lakhs was the maximum amount that Punjab could show as its expenditure. In certain localities, of course, as Trans-Indus divisions, there were grounds for special police. Still on the whole there seemed ample ground for a reduction.[73] The Punjab Government offered to make a reduction of Rs. 56,000 a year as against Rs. 1,44,200.[74] The Government of India accepted this amount and said that further reductions must not be less than enough to make up the total saving in next year's grant to Rs. 1,00,000. This left the cost of the Punjab police to about 25 lakhs. This was the arrangement for 1870 but by degrees the whole of the Punjab was to be brought down in respect of police expenditure to a level with the rest of India.[75]

Uniform system of police in Punjab

On 1st January 1869 a special Railway Police was organized and commenced working with immediate effect.[76] The next step in reorganization of the Police was taken in 1870 and accordingly a District Superintendent was appointed in Peshawar for introducing the Cis-Indus system of police administration. This system was an improvement upon that previously in force and was to be extended to the rest of the frontier with certain modifications. Upto this time, in the remaining Trans-Indus districts the police was constituted on the old system, and was under the immediate control of the Deputy Commissioners of the several districts. The police was subject to the inspection but not the control of the Inspector General of Police. It was now proposed to extend Act V of 1861 to the Trans-Indus territory with the modification that the district officers in that region should take the same place as in the

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[73] Memorandum by Lieut. Col. J. W. Younghusband, dt. 31 March, 1870. Home Police Procdg. No. 20 dt. 2 April 1870.

[74] Govt. of Punjab No. 65, dt. 13 January, 1870 Home Police Procdg. Nos. 15-12, dt. 2 April, 1870.

[75] E. C. Bayley, Esq. Secy. to the Govt. of India, to the Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab, No. 128, dt. 21 dt. 2 April, 1870.

[76] Report of the Committee on Police Administration in the Punjab (1899-1900), p. 3.

Cis-Indus districts was taken by the Deputy Inspector General, and that the Commissioner of the division should perform the duties such as related to inspection, pay and clothing, which were ordinarily performed by the Inspector General of Police.[77] This proposal was sanctioned by the Government of India in January, 1872.[78] In August, 1873 the Lieutenant Governor extended the Police Act No. V of 1861 to the frontier districts. This clearly showed that the condition of these districts was now the same as that of other districts which were under British rule ever since the annexation of the Punjab.[79]

City and Village Police

The police in large towns and cities was also reformed. Heretofore, it was composed of two bodies: the Thana or Station Police paid by Government, and the town-watchmen paid from municipal funds. The two bodies were now formed into one, paid from the local taxes and organized like the regular constabulary. Each man had his appointed beat, and was periodically relieved. No part of the new system gave so much satisfaction to the people, as the substitution in towns of a vigilant and respectable set of policemen for the old watchmen.[80]

In early management of the rural police, the Government, to some extent, deranged the symmetry of the village communities. Watchmen were appointed who, being removable only by the magistrate, gradually ignored their subordination to the heads of the village, i.e. the *lambardars*. The direct responsibility of the community for the reporting and detection of crime, was thus weakened by the intermediate position occupied by the *Chaukidar*. At the same time the Chaukidars themselves were inefficient. The community looked upon them as spies and gave them little information.[81]

The experiment was therefore tried of dismissing the *chaukidars*, and of requiring the headmen of the villages to report to the regular police the occurrences of the week. It was at first tried only in the Lahore division, where it met with success. It was subsequently extended to Multan, Ferozepur, Amritsar, Gujranwala, Jhung and Googaira.[82]

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[77] *PAR* (1870-1), para 72.
[78] *PAR* (1872-3), para 171.
[79] *PAR* (1875-6), para 25.
[80] *PAR* (1860-1), para 37.
[81] Idem, para 38'

The headmen or *lambardars* formed a most useful link between the Government and the people. The Government, therefore authorized the grant of *inams* of land of the value of rupees 150 or 200 per annum to selected zamindars for reporting to the police the crime which occurred amongst the members of a particular tribe or the inhabitants of a cluster of villages.[83] This type of responsibility proved extremely helpful to the police.[84]

It is also necessary to give an account of a new system called the "*Sargiroh*" introduced during the year 1871 into the Montgomery district for the purpose of enlisting the aid of the people in the detection and prevention of crime. Circles consisting of twelve villages were formed and placed under the charge of a selected *lambardar*, who was called a "*Sargiroh*". The "*Sargirohs*", as a rule were elected from amongst the village headmen by the headmen themselves. Each Sargiroh selected the best village tracker in his circle and appointed him as his assistant on Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 a month. The duty of the "*Sargiroh*" was to prevent theft as far as possible, to follow up tracks of stolen cattle and to patrol the river banks and the routes usually taken by cattle-lifters. The appointment of these trackers however did not entail any additional expenditure. For every five chaukidars, one tracker could be appointed. The people were satisfied with this arrangement though the trackers were not expected to do the work of a *chaukidar*. The only weak point in this arrangement was that the newly appointed tracker displaced the entire chaukidari establishment of a village. The '*Sargirohs*' were rewarded at the end of the year according to the amount of success they achieved. For this purpose a careful record of their work was kept up. Apparently the

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[82] Idem.

[83] Idem, para 38.

[84] Major J. W. Younghusband, Offg. Inspector of Police Punjab to R. H. Davies, Secy, to the Govt. Punjab dt. Lahore 31 May, 1864. Home Police 'B' Procdgs. No. 74-75, dt. May, 1865.

'Sargirohs' acted as officers in charge of police stations, and thus exercised a higher authority than the honorary police officers.[85]

In 1875 the Punjab Laws Amendment Act was passed. Its object was merely to give the Government of the Punjab greater powers for making regulations for village watchmen and police and to place on a legal basis a system which worked well since the annexation of the Punjab. This was necessitated by the fact that the exact status, legal duties and position of each rural policeman was entered in the settlement papers duly attested by the villagers so that it was found that in no part of India this very important subject received more detailed attention than in the Punjab. At the same time considering that everything was now regulated by legal enactment, circumstances might arise in which it was desirable that the Punjab Government should have the power of regulating by law the status of this most important institution. The rules sanctioned by the Government of India under this Act, for village constables and village watchmen, fully recognized the village constitution and left them in the position of the village servants which was their position from time immemorial.[86]

(To be continued)

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[85] Lt. Col. G. Hutchinson, Inspector General of Police, Punjab to Lepel H. Griffin, Offg. Secy. to Govt. Punjab dt. Lahore, 10 August, 1872.

[86] Legislative Procdgs. Nos. 27-52 dt. July 1875.

Home of the Satavahanas

BY

DR. SUDHAKAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

The Purāṇas describe Simuka, who achieved an independent status for the Sātavāhanas, as Āndhra (*Matsya*) or Āndhra-jātīya (*Vāyu* & *Brahmāṇḍa*) and close the account of the dynasty with the broad statement that "these.....Āndhra kings will enjoy the earth.....years". On the authority of these statements and other evidences of doubtful historical character, earlier scholars generally maintained that Āndhradeśa was the home of the kings. Recently Dr. Rama Rao has tried to revive this theory, already challenged by Sukthankar and others, with the following fresh archaeological and literary evidences:[1]

1. Coins of king Sātavāhana and Śātakarṇi (I) have been found at Kondapuram, while coins of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi come from Guntur, Kondapuram and Pedabankuru in the Warangal District of Telingana.
2. Khāravela's mention of Śātakarṇi in connection with an expedition which he sent to "Musikanagara" on the Kriṣṇā shows the extent of Śātakarṇi I's dominion in the south.
3. The *Yugapurāṇa* shows that Śātakarṇi II annexed Kaliṅga to the Sātavāhana empire.
4. The Sātavāhana king Hāla is associated with Sapta-Godāvarī-Bhīmam or Draksarama, in the E. Godavari District, in the celebrated Prākṛt work *Līlāvatī*.

On the basis of the above, Dr. Rama Rao concludes that "central and eastern Deccan continued to be under Sātavāhana rule without any break" till the time of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi whose sway over these regions is proved by his description '*ti-samuda-toya-pitavāhana*' and lord of Mahendra, Cakora, Siritana.

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[1] *PIHC*, 1953, pp. 37-8; *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 45

For the present we do not like to enter into a discussion whether Gautamīputra's description in the Nasik record is conventional or factual, for if it can be proved that central and eastern Deccan had been under the sway of the Sātavāhanas from the very beginning, then the description certainly cannot be lightly set aside. So let us first examine the four evidences set forth above.

As Dr. Rama Rao bases much of his contention on the find-spot of the coins, we may note at the outset the following excellent observations of Dr. W. W. Tarn:—"Much use has been made by some writers on the find-spots of coins in determining where this or that king reigned, but it is not a satisfactory form of evidence ......coins travel in trade and almost any other kind of evidence is preferable...... The following rules seem sound. If a king has an abundant coinage which is found in many places over great distances......that is evidence of a widely extended rule, but not evidence that he ruled in all the places where his coins are found. If the coins of a king with a very large coinage are never found in a particular district, that creates a presumption, in the absence of other evidence, that he did not rule there; but if the coinage be small, no presumption is created; and in both cases, large and small coinage, the absence of coins in a district cannot be set up against other evidence that the king in question ruled there. If only a few isolated coins of a king be known, the find-spot affords no real evidence for the locality of his rule. The belief that the find-spots of *copper* coins are good evidence of rule, because they do not travel from the place of issue, is unfounded; copper coins must have circulated regularly over all the country served by the mint of issue, which might be very extensive, and a good deal more than that can be determined".[2]

If we now study the findings of the Sātavāhana coins in the background of the above observations, we are constrained to remark that the discovery of a few coins of king Sātakarṇi and Sātavāhana at Kondapuram proves practically nothing. Coins found in the coastal Andhra district must be taken into account very carefully because they may have travelled in trade and we know that these coastal districts had been carrying on trade and commerce with the outside world. We are reminded of the statement of the Periplus that coins of Apollodotus and Menander were found in the first century A.D. at the port of Barygaza which was never included in the Indo-Greek dominion.

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[2] Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 440-1.

We must use the evidence of the Hathigumpha record very carefully because the epigraph is very much damaged and, often and on, different readings have been suggested by different scholars with different interpretations. The relevant text, as restored by Dr. D. C. Sircar, runs as follows:

> "*Dutiye ca vase acitayitā Sātakaṃnim pachimadisaṃ haya-gaja-nara-radha vahulam daṃdaṃ paṭhāpayati. Kaṇhaveṃnā-gatāya ca senāya vitāsiti Asikanagaraṃ* (Jayaswal, *Musika-nagaraṃ*).[3]

The above account has been interpreted to mean that the Sātavāhana king (Śātakarṇi I or II) had his capital on the river Krishna (Wainganga with its tributary, the Kanhan, according to Rapson and Barua); in other words, the Krishṇa valley was the citadel of the Sātavāhana power. But if we consider the hyperbolic nature of the inscription and note at the same time the fact that there is no mention of any actual fighting between the armies of Khāravela and those of Śātakarṇi, we are left with the only conclusion that Khāravela's army failed to advance against the dominion of the monarch and then diverted its course, proceeded south and threatened Asikanagara. The description of the whole episode in two different parts is not without significance. It evidently records two separate operations in the second year of the Kaliṅga monarch and proves indirectly that Asikanagara was outside the dominion of the Sātavāhanas.

Let us now turn to the literary sources adduced for the purpose. Does the *Yuga Purāṇa* prove that Śātakarṇi (II) annexed Kaliṅga to the Sātavāhana empire, proving thereby indirectly the early connection of the dynasty with the coastal region? We are quoting below the relevant texts as translated by Prof. K. H. Dhruva:

> "At the close (of the period) that powerful chief of the Śakas, who was wicked and unholy, will invade the country of the

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[3] Sircar, *Select Ins.*, p. 207.

Kaliṅgas being actuated by greed. Attempting to siege the territories of the ruler of Kaliṅga belonging to the Śāta (*Kaliṅga-Śāta-rājyārthī*) (that is Sātavāhana family) he will lose his life (in the campaign); and the dense hordes of detestable Śakas will, without fail, be destroyed by volleys of arrows. Then that king who was the flower of the Śāta family (*Śātavaro-rājā*), will with his forces conquer the (Magadha?) land and at the end of the tenth year (after the conquest) will give up his ghost".[4]

In the above account, two expressions are of primary importance for our purpose, viz., *Kaliṅga-Śāta-rājyārthī and Śātavaro-rājā.* Dr. Rama Rao equates Śāta with Śātakarṇi II. But the second expression clearly shows that Śāta is not a personal name, it is the name of a dynasty. It may be argued that the term *varo* should be attached to *rājā* to make Śāta a proper name. But the *sandhi* clearly shows that it is a part of Śāta and it cannot be a part of the term, rājā. The whole account betrays a reminiscence of the Śaka-Sātavāhana struggle that ended in the overthrow of the Śaka-Kṣaharāta king Nahapāna by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. But there is no other evidence to show that Nahapāna or any other Śāka king ever attacked or occupied Kaliṅga. On this point, the account of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is a highly unhistorical one. Such a source can only be taken into consideration when corroborated by other evidences.

The *Lilāvatī,* on the other hand, instead of proving that the coastal Andhra country was included within the empire of the Sātavāhanas, appears to give just a contrary picture. We need not enter into the romantic details of the work of little historical value, but may simply point out that the substratum of the legend is concerned with some sort of military campaign by the Sātavāhana king, Hāla, in eastern Deccan and then his marriage with Lilāvatī.[5] Had that region been the original home of the Sātavāhanas, what was the necessity, on the part of a Sātavāhana king, to undertake a fresh military campaign there, unless we presume that it was temporarily occupied by some other power, of which we have no evidence at all? Such works, in fact, can hardly form the basis of sober history by itself, as *Mudrārākṣasa* cannot by itself form the basis of Candra Gupta Maurya's life.

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[4] *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 22 and 26.

[5] "The substratum of history in all this legendary matter would seem to be certain military campaigns undertaken in Eastern Deccan, a part of which had probably already come under Sātavāhana sway; but some scholars doubt even this". Gopalachari, *Comprehensive History of India,* Vol. II, ed. K. A. N. Sastri, p. 306.

There is thus no authentic evidence for believing that Āndhradeśa was the home land of the independent Sātavāhanas. This was pointed out long ago by Sukthankar who even challenged the Āndhra affinity of the Sātavāhanas on the ground that they are never called as such in any of the epigraphic records and tried to solve the problem by locating the home in the Bellary District on the strength of the expressions '*Sātavāhanihāra*' and '*Sātāhaniraṭṭha*' occurring in the Myakadoni and Hirahadagalli records, and pointed out that we often find in history how inhabitants lend their names to the places they inhabited originally. This conclusion has, however, been totally rejected by later scholars, but it, at any rate, put a temporary halt to the old theory that the independent Sātavāhanas had their home in the Āndhradeśa.

Scholars, with a few exceptions, who dealt with the problem after Sukthankar, maintained that Maharashtra was the home of the dynasty on the basis of the fact that the earliest Sātavāhana epigraphs come from Nasik and Nanaghat. The Hathigumpha record shows that the Sātavāhana kingdom lay to the west of Kaliṅga, and that the Sātavāhana records from the Āndhradeśa date only from the time of Pulumāyi. Even if we agree with Dr. Rama Rao that the eastern Deccan had been under the sway of Gautamīputra, we cannot associate the earlier independent members of the dynasty, as already shown, with that region. The *Suttanipāta* commentary describes Asmaka and Mulaka as Āndhra (*Sk.* Andhraka, i.e., Āndhra) rājya.[6] The commentator of the *Arthaśāstra* locates both the janapadas in Mahārāṣṭra. It may be noted in this connection that in the Nanaghat record, Śātakarṇi I is described as the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha which, though at a later date included the whole of the Deccan, during the time of the early independent Sātavāhanas denoted the tract lying between the Ganges and the

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[6] *Paramatthajotikā* on the *Suttanipāta*, p. 581.

Godavari, as proved by the evidence of the *Suttanipāta.*[7] The *Periplus* on the other hand distinguishes Dachinabades from Damirica or Tamilacam and the eastern part of the upper Deccan is called Masalia lying evidently outside the Dachinabades region, as the description shows. Thus it appears that if Śātakarṇi I was the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, he was practically the ruler of the Maharashtra region.

After Sukthankar challenged the Āndhra affinity of the Sātavāhanas, several scholars followed him in the track. K. P. Jayaswal thinks that they represented the Satiyaputas of the Aśokan records, while according to Prof. Raychaudhuri 'the name Āndhra probably came to be applied to the kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became a purely Āndhra power governing the territory at the mouths of the river Krishna'. Such theories arise from the fact, as held by Sukthankar, that the Sātavāhanas are never called Āndhras in the epigraphic records. But here we should note that "in those days the custom was merely to note the family name in inscriptions, as is demonstrated by the records of the Sālaṅkāyanas, Bṛhatphalāyanas, Viṣṇukundins, Pallavas, etc."[8] The Purāṇas unanimously call Simuka as belonging to the Āndhra stock and the dynasty as Āndhra while the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* names the dynasty as *Āndhrabhṛtya.* The term *Āndhrabhṛtya* means evidently the Āndhras who were once servants and tallies with the description of Simuka as the servant of Kāṇva-Suśarman. Simuka's immediate predecessors also may have been subordinate rulers. This distinguishes the Sātavāhanas from the Āndhra dynasty that was not originally subordinate and such a case of an independent Āndhra king is possibly disclosed by the Bhattiprolu record mentioning the name of Kubiraka. Though in the Nasik record Gotami Balasiri claims that her son was an *'eka-Bamhana'* or unique Brāhmaṇa,[9] the writers of the sacred texts regard the Sātavāhanas as not of high origin. We may note here the following account of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*:[10]

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[7] Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 14.

[8] G. V. Rao in the *Early History of the Deccan* ed. Yazdani, p. 75.

[9] This interpretation has been challenged by Gopalachari and some other scholars. The expression *'eka Bamana'* when read along with the passage *'Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana'* leaves no room for doubt that Gautamīputra claimed to be a Brāhmaṇa like Parśurāma. As a matter of fact in the praśasti the king is described as 'the unique Brāhmaṇa in prowess equal to Rāma'.

> *Hatvā Kāṇvaṃ Suśarmāṇaṃ tad-bhṛtyo*
> *vṛsalo balī,*
> *gām bhokṣyaty Āndhra-jātiyaḥ kañcit*
> *kālam a-sattamaḥ.*

Here the Sātavāhanas are called both Āndhra and vṛṣala. In the *Manu-saṃhitā*, IV. 108 and 140, the term vṛṣala is used in the sense of a Śudra, as explained by Medhātithi, while in X. 43-5, it is stated that the Kṣatriyas like Drāvidas, etc., attained the status of a vṛṣala as they failed to perform the prescribed religious duties.

While searching for the home of the Sātavāhanas in the Maharashtra region, we should note specially the dynastic drifts in ancient Deccan. The dynasty of Khāravela is said to be a branch of the Cedīs who had their home in the Bundelkhand region. Evidently the Mahāmeghavāhanas migrated to Kaliṅga and founded a dynasty there. The Ikṣākus of Āndhradeśa possibly came from the north. Similarly, the Sātavāhanas who were Āndhras were immigrants to the Maharashtra country which thus became their adopted home.

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[10] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 38, fn. 2.

The Origin of the Pratiharas : A Revised Study

BY

DASHARATHA SHARMA

Of the three inter-connected problems, the original home of the Pratihāras, the word Gurjara as a designation of the Pratihāras of Kannauj and the origin of the Pratihāras, we have dealt elsewhere with the first two.[1] It has been shown that the original home of the Imperial Pratihāras was not Ujjayinī but the Bhillamāla-Jālor area which had come to be known as Gurjara before Yuan Chwāng's time. As the original inhabitants of this land, the Pratihāras continued to be known as Gurjaras to their contemporaries, even when they had moved away from their original home and established an empire at Kannauj. But rightly enough the name Gurjara was applied to them only as long as they remained in intimate connection with their homeland, with their *svabhoga* in the Gurjara territory of which they were children. By 1000 A.D. or so the designation had got transferred to the Chaulukyas; and they also retained it only as long as they ruled over Gurjaratrā. The descendants of the last Chaulukya king, Karṇa, were never called *Gurjaras, Gurjareśvaras* and *Gurjarapatis* for the simple reason that their ancestor had acquired the name Gurjara not by being Gūjars by caste but ruling over a land known as Gurjara. The designation, one might say, was *lākṣaṇikā,* and therefore ceased to have any value the moment the Chaulukyas had to leave Gujarat.

But if, in spite of these facts, one feels inclined to treat the Imperial Pratiharas as members of the pastoral Gūjar tribe, because of their being called Gurjaras in the epigraphs of their rivals, let him remember that most words have two senses, one primary and the other derivative. Originally the word Gurjara might have meant only a member of the Gūjar tribe, but by the eighth century it had come to designate all the people of the Gurjara land, whatever their caste might have been; and it is thus that we have Gurjara Brāhmaṇas, Gurjara Rājpūts, and also Gurjara Vaiśyas, besides the pastoral Gūjars. The *Skanda Purāṇa* speaks of the Gurjara Brāhmaṇas as a section of the Pañcha-Draviḍas, included among whom are also the Audīchya Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt.[2] Gurjara Vaiśyas are known from fairly old epigraphs and manuscripts; and the Pratihāras of Kannauj who call themselves descendants of Rāma's younger brother, Lakṣmaṇa, but are called Gurjaras by their contemporaries can, tentatively at least, be called Gurjara Kṣatriyas. Calling them Gūjars, merely because both the Pratihāras and Gūjars could be called Gurjaras is not good logic,[3] specially when we find that no Gūjar tradition connects them with Mihira Bhoja and his ancestors and none of their songs belauds any of the Pratihāra achievements like the liberation of the land from the *Mlechchhas* and their great victories in almost every part of India. If the valorous deeds of the Pratihāras had ever evoked any feeling of tribal pride in the hearts of the Gūjars, would not some section of theirs, known to us indisputably as Gūjar, be calling itself Pratihāra even now and trying to keep alive the memory of their great deeds? The Kyām Khānīs of Rājasthān are Muslims now. But even then they speak with pride of the achievements of their Chauhān ancestors, Bīsaladeva, Pṛthvīrāja and Hammīra.[4] And an equally apposite case is that of the Guttas of Karṇāṭaka who spoke with pride of their descent from the *Ujjayinīpurādhiśvara* Chandragupta, even though more than a thousand years had rolled away when they had their inscriptions incised in the fourteenth century.[5]

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[1] See our papers, The Original Capital of the Pratihāras, A Revised Study, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XVIII, 74-80 and The Word Gurjara as a Designation of the Imperial Pratihāras and Chaulukyas and its Significance, *Altekar Commemoration Volume,* Patna.

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Instead of engaging ourselves, therefore, in the fruitless task of tracing the migrations of the pastoral Gūjars, we shall take up the tribes or clans which actually called themselves Pratihāra and had, at the same time, the right to be called Gurjaras, *i.e.*, the people of the Gurjara country. The best known of these are:—

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[2] See *IHQ*, VIII, pp. 162-163.

[3] It is a fallacy, the *sādhana* being more pervasive than the *sādhya*.

[4] See the *Kyām Khān Rāso* (written 1624 A.D.) and published by the Rājasthān Purātattva Mandir, Jaipur, vv. 66, 67, 1032.

[5] *PHAI.*, Fifth Edition, p. 564.

(a) The Imperial Pratihāras of Jālor and Kannauj,

(b) the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya Pratihāras of Maṇḍor,

(c) the Pratihāras of Siyaḍoṇī,

(d) the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Rājorgarh, and

(e) the Bāraḍ Pratihāras of Īḍar.

The Pratihāras of Maṇḍor

We shall first take up the Pratihāras of Mandor. If it could be established that they belonged to a clan, the origin of which differed from that of the Pratihāras of Kannauj, we could, I think, conclude that the word Pratihāra by itself could be no ground for regarding as identical all the clans grouped under this designation; and unless we have already pre-judged the issue on account of the use of the word Gurjara for the Pratihāras, we have reason enough also to state that Pratihāra, like Majumdar, Modi, Mehta and Sarkār, was an occupational title which could, irrespective of one's caste, be borne by anyone who discharged the duties of a *pratihāra*.

The chief advocate of the identity of all the Pratihāra clans is Dr. R. C. Majumdar. According to him the fact that the family of Maṇḍor "held in common with the Imperial Pratihāras of Kannauj the tradition that they were descended from Lakṣmaṇa, the brother of Rāma, and both explained the origin of the family name Pratihāra to the same event, *viz.*, that Lakṣmaṇa served as the door-keeper of Rāma, shows that they believed in a common origin and did not belong to different castes or clans in the ninth century A.D.[6] But do the records of the two families really state that they were Lakṣmaṇa's descendants? That the Pratihāras of Kannauj claimed such a descent can be seen from Bhoja's Sāgartāl inscription. It is also known that not only Mahendrapāla's *guru*, Rājaśekhara, but also the Chauhāns of Śākambharī regarded them as *Raghuvaṁśins*.[7] But as regards the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor, the only evidence that Dr. Majumdar can cite in favour of his contention is the following verse from Bāuka's inscription:—

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[6] *Sri K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee* Volume, II, p. 11. See also Dr. B. N. Puri's *Gurjara-Pratihāras*, pp. 6, 14 etc.

[7] See below the discussion about the Pratihāras of Kannauj.

Sva-bhrāttrā Rāmabhadrasya prātihāryam kṛtam yataḥ |
Śrī-Pratihāra-vaṁśoyam-ataśchonnatim-āpnuyāt | |4| |

He translates it with the words, "Inasmuch as the very brother of Rāmabhadra performed the duty of door-keeper (*pratihāra*) this illustrious clan came to be known as Pratihāra".[8] Here the second part of the stanza being mistranslated produces the impression that the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor, with whom this epigraph is connected, regarded themselves as Lakṣmaṇa's decendants. The correct translation would be, "Inasmuch as the very brother of Rāmabhadra performed the duty of door-keeper (pratihāra), *may this illustrious Pratihāra family attain eminence*". The verse is thuṣ a prayer to the effect that the Pratihāra family (of Harichandra) may be as eminent as that of Lakṣmaṇa who too had been a *pratihāra*.[9] The verse has thus nothing to say about the descent of the Pratihāras. But the omission is fully made up by the next four verses of the inscription:—

Vipraḥ Śrī-Harichandrākhyaḥ patnī Bhadrā cha Kṣatriyā |
tābhyāṁ tu ye sutā jātā Pratihārāṁścha tān viduḥ ||5||
Babhūva Rohilladhyaṅko veda-śāstrārtha-pāragaḥ |
dvijaḥ Śrī-Harichandrākhyaḥ prajāpati-samo guruḥ ||6||
Tena Śrī-Harichandreṇa pariṇītā dvijātmajā |
dvitīyā Kṣatriyā Bhadrā mahā-kula-guṇānvitā ||7||
Pratihārā dvijā bhūtā Brāhmaṇyāṁ ye'bhavan sutāḥ
rājñī Bhadrā cha yān sūte te bhutā madhu-pāyinaḥ | |8| |

Verse 5 speaks of the Brāhmaṇa Harichandra and his Kṣatriya wife, Bhadrā, from whom the Pratihāras (of Maṇḍor) were descended. In the sixth stanza, the expression, *prajāpati-samo guru,* has been mistranslated by Dr. Majumdar as "a preceptor like Prajāpati." But actually the word *guru* here should be translated as

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8. *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 95, 97.

9. Lakshmaṇa, it may be added, has been referred to only because he added dignity to the profession. In the case of the Raghuvaṁśin Pratihāras of Kanauj, he is mentioned as their ancestor. Whether he was actually so or not is another question, and perhaps one which historians may neither be able to prove nor to disprove, without first discussing the historicity of Lakṣmaṇa.

"ancestor". To the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor, Harichandra stood in the same relation as *Prajāpati* (Brahmā) to the world. The mistranslation would have been avoided, if Dr. Majumdar had given any attention to another Pratihāra record, the Ghaṭiyālā inscription of Kakkuka in which Harichandra is described as *"Pratihāra-vaṁśa-guruḥ sad-dvijah"*, i.e., the high-born Brāhmaṇa, Harichandra, the *guru* of the Pratihāra family. The word *guru* here has obviously to be translated as ancestor; and that this meaning of the word was common enough in Ancient India can be seen from the quotations reproduced in the footnote below from a single canto of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa.*[10] The seventh verse quoted above mentions Harichandra's two wives, one of the Brāhmaṇa caste, and the second one, a Kṣatriya lady named Bhadrā who, we might note, finds mention also in verse 5. Harichandra's sons by the Brāhmaṇa wife are described in the next verse as *dvijas,* i.e., as Brāhmaṇa Pratihāras, and the issues of Bhadra as "drinkers of wine", i.e., Kṣatriyas.

Commenting on these verses, as far back as 1937, we had written, "Here again we find the mention of two non-Gūjar Pratihāra clans. The inscription recording the fact is 132 years earlier than that of Rājor and hence no whit inferior to it as a historical record. The Brāhmaṇa Pratihāras mentioned in it are still found in the Jodhpur State. We might, therefore, be sure that the writer of the inscription invented no historical fiction, but merely recorded the facts as they were. Rejecting its testimony as mere trash and calling Harichandra and his descendants Gūjars on no more substantial grounds than their pre-conceived notions on the subject shows how even eminent historians can be led astray by their love of novelty."[11] I have found no reason so far to alter my opinion, though I should certainly tone down the words I used then; for, thanks to the influence of some eminent historians, two biassed notions still hold the field and vitiate all discussion on the origin of the Pratihāras. Firstly, as we have said more than once, the mention of the Pratihāras of Kannauj as Gurjaras leads many to rush to the conclusion that the Pratihāras were Gūjars, without considering the fact that the word when applied to the Pratihāras of Kannauj has probably a different meaning. Secondly, they do not feel like giving any thought to the probability that even though one Pratihāra clan might be of Gūjar extraction, there could be many others belonging to other castes.

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[10] (a) *Na kevalaṁ tadgururekapārthivaḥ kṣitavabhūdekadhanurdharopi sa* (III, 31).

(b) *Athāsya godānavidheranantaraṁ vivāhadīkṣāṁ niravartayad guruḥ* (III. 33).

(c) *Vapuḥprakarṣādajayad-guruṁ Raghustathāpi nichair-vinayādadṛś-yata* (III. 34).

(d) *Jagatprakāśaṁ tadaśeṣamijyayā bhavadgurur-laṅghayituṁ mamodyataḥ* (III. 48).

(e) *Ajasradīkṣāprayataḥ sa madguruḥ kratoraśeṣeṇa phalena yujyatām* (III. 65).

[11] *Poona Orientalist*, II, p. 54.

I regard the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor as Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa descendants of Harichandra, because they are mentioned as such in fairly old inscriptions, the reliability of which should be at a premium with most historians, as they present an unvarnished tale of the achievements of the Maṇḍor Pratihāras, without trying to connect them with the Sun and the Moon. The utmost that is attempted in these epigraphs is the statement that *pratihārya* which distinguished them had been the duty discharged also by Rāmabhadra's brother, Lakṣmaṇa. One might note also the fact that, though the Pratihāras of Kannauj had by the time of the incision of the inscriptions of Bāuka and Kakkuka, become the emperors of Northern India, the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor never tried to connect their family with theirs. They describe themselves simply as the descendants of the great Vedic scholar, Harichandra, and his two wives.

There is nothing to prove that these Pratihāras were Gūjars. Actually I am not sure whether the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor were called Gurjaras at all, at any time. The accounts of Junaid's raids mention a territory called Jurz which has been identified by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and most writers on the subject with the Pratihāra kingdom of Maṇḍor.[12] But the Arab accounts mention also Marmad, i.e., Marwar which suits Maṇḍor better than the name Gurjara and is even now the name of the territory which includes Maṇḍor.

Nor do we set much store by the linguistic arguments used so far to prove the outlandish and therefore, in the opinion of some scholars, the Gurjara nationality of the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor. Typical of this school of thought is the view of Dr. N. R. Ray, who writes, "Let us consider three names, *viz.*, Harichandra, Narabhaṭa and Nāgabhaṭa. These three names are undoubtedly of Sanskritic origin; but what do we say of their original names, Rohilladdhi, Pellāpelli and Nāhaḍa, which they retained along with their Sanskritic Hindu names .... They do not seem to be Aryan Hindu names .... The natural conclusion, therefore, is that they are not indigenous to the soil."[13]

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[12] *Classical Age*, p. 172.

When in the Middle Indo-Aryan languages of Western India, names like Subhaṭa, Vāgbhaṭa and Tyāgabhata become respectively Suhaḍa, Vāhaḍa and Chāhada, is it something unnatural that Nāgabhaṭa should get changed into Nāhaḍa? As for Pellāpelli, why should Dr. Ray regard it as Narabhaṭa's original name, when the inscription states in clear words that it was a *dvitīya* (second) name secured by him as a result of his brave deeds? The word is formed from the root *pella* (to give pain, to throw, to press), which one finds used in standard Prakrit works like the *Setubandha, Ogha-niryukti-bhāṣya, Samarāichchakahā, Kumārapāla-charita* and *Prakṛtasarvasva.* We see it also in the Pāṇinean root *pelṛ. Pellin,* a noun formed from it, should have the sense of "one who habitually either gives pain to his enemies or pushes them back", and this sense gets further emphasised by the duplication of the root in *pellāpelli.* The word is still in use in Rājasthān in a slightly modified form, and I was pleasantly surprised to find also its Gujarātī form in a poem composed in 1405 A.D.[14]

The word Rohilladdhi also might have been in use in medieval India, though I have not come across it so far. As Harichandra is described as proficient in Vedic lore (a feat perhaps undesired by any outlander), Rohilladdhi might have been, like *"pellāpelli"*, a Prākritic term which could be expounded as *"rohiā laddhi jassa"*, i.e., one who had developed the yogic power called *laddhi* or one who had attained the state called *laddhi* in which there is an end to all limitations obstructing *jñāna.* The word *aṅka* which ends the compound, *Rohilladhyaṅka,* has the well-recognised sense of *dvitīya-nāma* and is found in famous names like *Virahāṅka,*

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[13] *IHQ*, IV, p. 172

[14] *Chihuṁ-gati-chaupaī,* line 126, G.O.S., No. CXVIII.

Dākṣiṇyāṅka and *Vikramāṅka.*[15] Obviously the Kṣatriya-hood and Brāhmin-hood of the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor cannot be discarded on the basis of arguments like those advanced by Dr. Ray. Nor can we, on their basis or the basis of any oher argument employed so far, assert that Harichandra and his descendants were Gūjars.

The Pratihāras of Jālor and Kannauj

Next let us take up the Imperial Pratihāras. We have already said above that they are mentioned as Gurjaras in the records of their contemporaries and describe themselves as descendants of Lakṣmaṇa, a fact which differentiates them from Harichandra's descendants, the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor or Mārwār. We have pointed out also in our paper on the designation Gurjara, published in the *Altekar Commemoration Volume*, Patna, that the word Gurjara used in the case of the Imperial Pratihāras connects them with the land called Gurjara. We need not repeat those arguments here. As regards the second piece of testimony the relevant verses from Bhoja's Gwālior *praśasti* are:—

Ślāghyastasyānujosau Maghavad-mada-muṣo Meghanādasya saṁkhye
Saumittris=tīvradaṇḍaḥ pratiharaṇa-vidher=ya Pratihāra āsīt ||3||
tad-vaṁśe Pratihāra-ketana-bhṛti trailokya-rakṣāspade
devo Nāgabhataḥ purātana-muner=mūrtir= babhūvādbhutam ||

"All praise unto his younger brother, Lakṣmaṇa (Saumittri) - a stern rod of chastisement in war with Meghanāda, the destroyer of Indra's pride,— who served as the door-keeper (of Rāma), owing to his commandment not to allow others to enter (lit. to repel others)".[16]

In these verses we find the mention of a line of the Pratihāras who, as noted above, claim descent from Rāmabhadra's brother, Lakṣmaṇa. Rājaśekhara, the court-poet of the Pratihāra rulers Mahendrapāla I and Mahīpāla, confirms their testimony by calling the former *Raghugrāmaṇi* and the latter *Raghuvaṁśa-muktāmaṇi*.[17] The Haras inscription of the Chauhān ruler, Vigraharāja II, mentions a *Raghukula-bhūchakravartī*,[18] who obviously is some Pratihāra ruler of Kannauj,[19] and is regarded as such even by Dr D. R. Bhandarkar who is one of the foremost advocates of the Gūjar origin of the Pratihāras. This being so, why should not the expression, *Gurjara-Pratihārānvaya*, of the Rājor inscription, which was incised more than a hundred years later than Bhoja's Gwālior *praśasti*, nearly fifty years later than the works of the poet Rājaśekhara, and barely fourteen years before the Haraṣ inscription, in which too the Imperial Pratihāras are called *Raghuvaṁśins*, be interpreted in a way which would bring its testimony in a line with that of the other records to which we have referred just now?

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[15] Virahāṅka Haribhadra Sūri, Dākṣiṇyāṅka Uddyotana Sūri, Vikramāṅka Chandragupta II.

[16] *EI.*, XVIII, p. 974

The Rājor inscription mentions a Pratihāra feudatory named Mathanadeva as a *Gurjara-Pratihārānvaya*, which can either mean that he was a Pratihāra of the Gūjar clan or that he was a Pratihāra whose family had come originally from the Gurjara land.[20] The first view here can be backed on the basis of line 12 of the epigraph which speaks of the grant of all the fields cultivated by the Śrī-Gurjaras. But the Śrī-Gurjaras might have been a community different from Gurjaras, like the Srī-Gauḍas who are related neither to the Gauḍa Rājputs nor to Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas of the Uttar Pradesh and S. E. Panjab. If this contention be not accepted, the word Gurjara-Pratihāra might have, as suggested by some scholars, the sense of a Pratihāra who could be called a Gurjara on account of his family having migrated at some time from Gurjara or Gurjaratrā. But whichever of these interpretations we might accept, it gives us no right to foist a Gūjar origin on Mathanadeva's overlord, about whose clan there is not a single word in the inscription. All Gūjars might have been originally Gurjaras, i.e. people of the land called Gurjara or Gurjaratrā; but regarding all Gurjaras as Gūjars on that account is plainly bad logic. So even if it be conceded for the sake of argument that Mathanadeva was actually a Pratihāra of the Gūjar clan,, it would be difficult to maintain that the Pratihāras of Kannauj, very often called Gurjaras but never Gūjars even by their rivals, were actually Gūjars, even though such a conclusion goes against all that either the Pratihāras or those who knew most about them had to say about their caste and achievements. Kṛṣṇa's enemies, it might be good to remember, very often reminded him of his life as a cow-herd. Had the Imperial Pratihāras actually been Gūjars, could not some one, say a poet of the rival court, have tried to make capital out of this fact? That this was never done should make the advocates of the theory of the Gūjar origin of the Pratihāras think twice before they try to have it accepted by students of factual history. According to their own records, substantiated by the statements of their other contemporaries, the Pratihāras of Kannauj were Kṣatriyas, though they were, of course, Gūrjaras too in the sense that they had come from the land called Gurjara or Gurjaratrā and were for long its rulers also. Saying anything more at this stage is going beyond the evidence at our disposal.

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[17] *Bālabhārata*, I. 11 and the Prologue to the play.

[18] Verse 19.

[19] See the account of Siṁharāja in the present writer's *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 29.

[20] *EI.*, III, pp. 263 ff.

The Gurjara-Pratihāras of Rājor

We referred in the last paragraph to this line of the Pratihāras. We have discussed also the meaning of the expressions, *Gurjara-Pratihārānvaya* and *Śrī-Gurjara,* on the basis of which perhaps their caste could have been determined. One has to admit the ambiguity of the compound word, Gurjara-Pratihāra, and recognise also the fact that the guidance we have from the word Śrī-Gurjara in this respect is far from certain, for not only can Śrī-Gurjaras, as pointed out above, be different from Gurjaras, but also because the use of the word *Śrī* before *Gurjara* and the donation of the fields, apparently without paying any compensation, makes one feel that *Śrī-Gurjara,* in line 12 of the epigraph, might mean the "illustrious Gurjara" Mathanadeva himself.

Names like Sāvaṭa and Mathanadeva do not seem to connect the Rājor Pratihāras with the Pratihāra family of Kannauj.

The Pratihāras of Siyaḍoṇī

Another line of Pratihāras, the members of which might have been governors in the Jhānsī area, is known to us from a number of inscriptions. They have one Vatsarāja amongst themselves. There are also rulers whose names end in *pāla* and *rāja.*[21] Dr. D. C.

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[21] See *IHQ.*, XXXIV, p. 88.

Sircar has recently brought to light a new grant of Harirāja of this line, dated in V. 1040 (984 A.D.).[22] The family appears to have been connected with the Pratihāra family of Kannauj.

The Pratihāras of Īḍar

The last Pratihāra family, noted above by us, is that of Īḍar. An inscription of V. 1246 (1207 A.D.) mentions Haripāla of the Bāraḍa family as the *dvāḥstha* (pratihāra) of the Paramāra king, Dhārāvarṣa.[23] His son Sāhaṇpāla, is further on mentioned as *prati.* (*pratihāra*) Sāhaṇapāla, indicating thereby that the title Pratihāra had become hereditary in the family. And this use of the designation *pratihāra,* being occupational originally, was as appropriate for the Bāraḍs of the Paramāra clan, as for the Gurjaras of Rājor, the Brāhmanas of Maṇḍor and the Raghuvaṁśin Kṣatriyas of Jālor and Kannauj. On the basis of the designations Pratihāra and Gurjara alone, whether they stand separately or combined, we cannot decide the caste and original clan of a Pratihāra family. For that we need additional evidence.

Conclusion

Summing up the above discussion, we might state that—

(1) *Pratihāra* was an occupational title used alike by the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Śūdras, provided either they or their ancestors had ever held the highly responsible and respectable office of a royal door-keeper (pratihāra).

(2) The Pratihāras of Jalor and Kannauj have often been mentioned as Gurjaras, the significance of the word in that case being "people from the land called Gurjara." As far as their caste is concerned, all that can be said with certainty is that in the ninth century they were regarded as Kṣatriyas of the Raghu family.

(3) Maṇḍor had Brāhmaṇa as well as Kṣatriya Pratihāras, both of whom, however, were descended not from Lakṣmaṇa, as supposed by some scholars, but a Brāhmaṇa named Harichandra.

(4) Probably different from these two were the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Rājor.

(5) There is every likelihood of the existence of other Pratihāra families besides those noticed above.

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[22] Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, I, p. 177.

[23] For the text of the inscription, see *Poona Orintalist*, II, p. 53.

Decline of Indian Influence in Southeast Asia

BY

B. R. CHATTERJI

For at least 1200 years Indian cultural Influence dominated the whole of South East Asia. This culture formed the basis on which the art, literature and religion of this region were based following Indian models of the successive centuries. Any school of art, any literary work, any religious cult, which received wide acceptance in India, could be seen transplanted overseas to this distant region. From all parts of India came those who transmitted this culture. If we take into consideration early tradition, it was from North India (Kamboja near Kashmir, Indraprastha and Varanasi), from Western ports on the Gujrat coast, from eastern trade centres like Tamralipti (Tamluk in W. Bengal) that the first pioneers arrived in different parts of Southeast Asia. From epigraphic evidence we find that probably a later batch came from the Pallava realm of South India. From Orissa must have come those who founded Srikshetra and Ussa in South Burma. In the 8th and 9th Centuries the art, script and Mahayāna cult from centres like Nalanda in Pala Magadha and Bengal crossed over to the Srivijaya empire in Sumatra and Java and later on to Cambodia also.

The work accomplished by the torch-bearers of Indian culture was so sound and thorough that from the 1st century to the 13th century A.D. we find kingdoms and dynasties with Indian names, Brahmanic and Buddhist cults and sacred images, inscriptions in faultless Sanskrit showing intimate knowledge of Sanskrit literature, sculpture and reliefs depicting Indian subjects—all this evidence of Indian culture clearly manifested itself throughout Southeast Asia. In Indonesia Indian influence continued for two centuries more and in the island of Bali it survives to this day.

Great kingdoms and empires, thoroughly Indianised, like Fu-nan (Chinese version of what was probably the Sanskrit Saila), Kamboja (Cambodia), Champa (South Vietnam), Srivijaya ruling over parts of Sumatra, Java and Malaya, Majapahit—a great maritime empire with its capital in East Java, Arimardana (Pagan in Burma), Sukhodaya in Siam and many other smaller realms flourished in this period and many of them were centres of culture—Indian and indigenous, the latter thoroughly imbued with the Indian spirit.

Ports and marts like Oceo, on the Cambodian coast, Srivijaya (Palembang in Southeast Sumatra), Malayan sea-side places like Chaiya on the Isthmus of Kra, were centres of commerce where ships carrying European and Indian merchandise touched on their way to China. At Oceo archaeologists have dug up medals with the portraits of the Roman Emperors, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, precious stones with Sassanian figures, rings with inscriptions in Indian scripts of the 2nd to the 5th centuries A.D., small pieces with basreliefs showing the influence of Greek Art, and other objects showing international intercourse on a very wide scale.

Chinese maritime activity was negligible in this early period. Chinese contact with Southeast Asia at this time was by land.

Kamboja (Cambodia) monarchs like Yasovarman, Suryavarman II and Jayavarman VII have given us architectural wonders of the world like Angkor Thom (Nagar Dham), Angkor Vat (Nagar Vat) and the Bayon (Vaijayanta)? The Sailendras of Srivijaya constructed Borobodur (Varabhudhara), the grandest of Buddhist stupas, in Central Java. Near it the Saiva successors of the Sailendras built the Prambanan group of Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma Temples with the famous Ramayana reliefs which have got no equal in artistic excellence even in India. In Champa (South Vietnam) images of Brahmanic gods and goddesses of rare beauty have been unearthed.

Hundreds of Sanskrit inscriptions in Cambodia bearing witness to up-to-date knowledge of Sanskrit literature and elegance of style, Javanese works on Indian themes like the Kakavin (Ramayana), Bharata Yuddha, Smara Dahana and chronicles like the Nagara Kritagama and Pararaton, all written in Kavi Bhasha (a mixture of Sanskrit and Old Javanese)—and many other instances pertaining to literature and art give indubitable proof of the thorough Indianisation of South-east Asia.

Then the question arises—how did this Indian cultural influence decline and pass away from this region? I have called this influence cultural, not political, because throughout this period of 1200 years at no time did any king or state of any part of India rule over any part of Southeast Asia. As we shall see later on this kind of influence—without any political control—has but few parallels in history.

Eminent writers have pointed out several causes to which this decay of Indian influence may be attributed. In Kamboja (Cambodia) overstraining of the country's capacity, the building activities on a colossal scale and the extensive conquests of Suryavarman II and Jayavarman VII, sapped the vitality of the people and drained the resources of the country. Some scholars are of the opinion that the overweening attitude of the Brahman priesthood alienated the masses who therefore welcomed the Theravada cult (Hinayana Buddhism which came via Burma from Ceylon). This change in the spiritual atmosphere of the country put an end to the tremendous building activities of the kings who wished to be regarded as quasi-divine beings by their subjects. This building activity—perhaps unparalleled in history—must have been very unpopular if it was carried on by forced labour (corvies).

The story of the gardener growing cucumbers, supposed to be the ancestor of the kings mentioned in the Cambodian chronicles (which start about 1350 A.D.), may perhaps point to this transitional stage. The God-kings were being replaced by persons of humble origin and *paripassu* with this change, the aristocracy, with its Indian culture and Brahmanic or closely allied Mahayana faith, was also disappearing. The Hinayana wave swept away the old order with all its glamour.

Another cause may be assigned. India in the 13th century had been overrun by Muhammadan conquerors. The fountainhead of the culture, which had inspired for centuries every aspect of life in Southeast Asia, was getting choked at its very source. For the first half of the 13th century there was however a noticeable increase in the influx of learned Brahmans for India. To these new comers have been ascribed the acts of vandalism perpetrated in Angkor on the Mahayana shrines of the reign of Jayavarman VII.

Soon after this however swept in the Hinayana wave which overwhelmed both the Shiva and the Mahayana cults. Sanskrit inscriptions disappear. Kings no longer have the 'varman' title. Angkor is surrendered to the invading Siamese hosts. The glory that was Kamboja had waned away.

To the east of Cambodia Champa (South Vietnam) had been carrying on for a thousand years a heroic struggle first against the Chinese (who were at this time occupying North Vietnam) and later on against the Vietnamese of the north who had by now shaken off the yoke of the Chinese.

Towards the end of the 13th century things came to a crisis. The Mongol emperor of China, Kublai Khan, sent his veteran generals to bring this part of Southeast Asia under Chinese hegemony. The campaigns of these Mongol generals met with successful resistance on the part of the Champa King and Crown Prince. Kambuja also received an ultimatum from these Mongol generals in Champa to pay homage to the Emperor. To evade a long-drawn-out struggle against heavy odds both Champa and Kamboja promised to send envoys with tribute to Peking but the kings evaded the summons to attend the imperial court in person.

In Burma Mongol arms won greater success. Pagan (Arimardan) fell before the Mongol onset. According to Prof. Coedes the fall of the Burmese Kingdom of Pagan and the Mongol campaigns in Champa and Kamboja had the indirect effect of emancipating the Thais, who had been infiltrating for a long time into Southeast Asia, from the yoke of Kamboja sovereignty in the East and of Burmese sovereignty in the West (the Thais had been pushed out of their home in what is now Southwest China under pressure of the Chinese advance from the North).

This rise to power of the Thais led in course of time to the growth and development of Siam—the mortal enemy of Kamboja on its Western border.

To the East, Champa, weakened by the incessant fighting it had to undertake, yielded ground to the Vietnamese advance. Cochin-China became Vietnamese territory and a formidable foe now faced Cambodia on the East. Between Siam and Vietnam Kamboja was ground down and it became a mere shadow of its former self.

In the Archipelago the mighty maritime empire of Srivijaya under its illustrious Sailendra dynasty, extended its influence from

Madagascar on one side to the Philippines on the other. Its capital Srivijaya was an important Mahayana centre. Borobodur in central Java attests its devotion to the Mahayana doctrines.

The harsh monopolistic grip of Srivijaya on the East-West trade passing through the Straits of Malacca made many enemies for this island empire. Chola attacks on its headquarters in Sumatra and Malaya, the advance of the Thai (Siamese) power down the Malay Peninsula, the rise of a rival state Malayu in Sumatra itself and finally attacks by Singasari, the precursor of Majapahit in East Java, brought about the downfall of the 'Maharajas of the Isles' towards the end of the 13th century.

Majapahit (Bilva-tikta) outdid even Srivijaya in her maritime power. The whole Archipelago was dominated by this East Java Kingdom. President Soekarno has been following the blueprint of the Majapahit empire boundaries, as given in the 14th century chronicle Nagarkritagama, to complete his cherished ideal of Indonesia. West Irian (West New Guniea), some parts of Borneo had then to be acquired to bring up modern Indonesia to the Majapahit standard.

After reaching the zenith of its power in the 14th century, disputed successions to the throne, the growth of Islam, degrading Tantric cults which disgraced both Hinduism and Buddhism,—all these factors led to the collapse of Majapahit early in the 16th century. Hinduism survives today only in Bali and to some extent in the neighbouring island of Lombok.

Thus ends a remarkable phenomenon in the history of cultural influence without political influence. Conquered Greece conquering Rome by Greek culture is perhaps the only other instance of this kind.

Pulicat, the Dutch Town of the Seventeenth Century

BY

M. AROKIASWAMI, M.A., Ph.D.

Revival of trade in the west alongside of the geographical discoveries of the XV and XVI centuries led to many Europeans coming to south India as traders. Many writers begin to recount them with the Portuguese who landed in Capucad, eight miles north of Calicut, on 17th May, 1498. It would however appear that the Italians as the "makers of the renaissance" reached India as traders even earlier following the land route from Alexandria or the route of the Persian gulf sailing from a Mediterranean port and going through Bagdad and Basra.[1] In the writings of one of these, Ludovico de varthema, a native of Bologne, Pulicat is mentioned as "a place of immense trade." This is the estimate of a foreign merchant of the XIII or XIV century of Pulicat, which became an important Dutch commercial centre in the XVII century.

The French followed the Portuguese and they were followed by the Dutch who founded their East India Company two years before the English. Pulicat was one of the first places where the Dutch settled down. It was exactly the second or third place where the Dutch were established in India within a dozen years of the foundation of their East India Company. In 1608 the Dutch gained permission from the Nayak of Ginji for rebuilding an old fort at Devanampattanam and for building a factory at Tirupapuliyur (modern Cuddalore). In 1610 we find them obtaining permission to build the fort at Pulicat. The futile attempts of the Portuguese, already a hundred years old in India, to dislodge the Dutch from that place gave the latter great courage and confidence. The Dutch secured the support of the Sultan of Golconda and the

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[1] Mr. Sewell in his *List of Antiquities* (p. 82) refers to the remains of a traditional colony of Europeans on the east coast near Pedda Ganjam in Krishna District in A.D. 1224. It is supposed to have been either a Genoese or Venitian colony. It is known even to-day as Faringidibba (meaning Faringi hill).

Nawab of the Carnatic to further strengthen their position. When after 1614 the Carnatic was shaken by succession disputes and civil wars Pulicat became an important place—a focal point of help for all the Indian powers in difficulty.

As early as 1612 Pulicat is described in Dutch diplomatic correspondence as "the left arm of the Moluccas and neighbouring islands since without the cottons from thence trade is dead in the Moluccas."[2] Thus it will be obvious that Pulicat supplied in the XVII century, cotton for export to the Archipelago of the East Indies besides Europe. It also supplied rice, vegetables and even slaves to the west. In 1617 when the Directorate of the Coromandel coast was raised to a Government its chief was necessarily made to reside at Pulicat. The Governor of Pulicat also became the extra-ordinary Councillor of the Indies. Round this place therefore the Dutch built their commercial empire on the east coast with centres of trade in Petapoli, Tirupapuliyur, Negapatam, Porto-novo, Devanampattanam, Negalwanza, Golkonda, Palakollu Doatzeran and Bimulipatnam in each one of which there was a factory controlled by two chiefs one looking after trading, accounts and the warehouses and the other, general administration.

From the days of its foundation, Pulicat became the storm-centre of Portugueses-Dutch fights, between the Dutch at Pulicat and the Portuguese in San Thome. It is said that these warlike bickerings were so frequent and unedifying that the Nayak of Wandiwash, under whom the region of Madras fell, was himself eager to settle the English in Fort St. George area to act as a buffer and stop these quarrels. Thus it happened that Damarla Ayyappah Nayak of Poonamallee, who was deputising the Nayak at Wandiwash, wrote to Francis Day at Armagaon announcing this intention. Day was quick to seize the opportunity and Madras was founded. It was in the eventful year, 1639. It gave the English a strong foot-hold in Madras and South India and spelt, at the same time, the decline of the prosperity of both the Dutch and the Portuguese. From the point of view of the Dutch and the people of Pulicat, the traders and local labourers who must have made capital out of the sudden importance into which their place had shot up, it was indeed a bad day because in spite of all the native support which the Dutch could command, the star of the English was always on the rise. The rulers of the Carnatic came pouring forth their privileges on the Dutch traders. Between the years 1634 and 1649 there was quite a spate of them, later confirmed by the Nizam in 1686. In the years 1689, 1712 and 1713 the Great Moghul himself blessed with his sanction all the firmans issued by the Nizam in favour of the Dutch. But their star, so to say, refused to rise in the firmament after 1689.

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[2] F. Heeres; Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum, p. 154.

Mr. Valentyne, the author of the *History of the Dutch East Indies* speaks elaborately of the labour of the Dutch at Christianizing Pulicat and its surroundings. In the interest they took in evangelization the Dutch can be placed next to the Portuguese and we see that the work of christianisation is coeval with the founding of the fort of Pulicat. Rev. Penny in his valuable work on the churches in Madras bears evidence to this in clear terms.[3] One good flowed out of this—I mean the wonderful funereal monuments yet to be seen in that place, which yield some material to the eager investigator. Further, during the Anglo-French wars that broke out in India in 1746, when the English were dispossessed of their fort at Madras it was to Pulicat that they could go to for asylum. When Madras fell it was the Dutch fort at Pulicat that saved much of the good work of the English and the Portuguese from destruction.

After the establishment of Fort St. George in Madras, Pulicat underwent various reverses. In 1781 Negapatam, another great Dutch centre on the east coast, fell to the English. This added a vicarious importance to Pulicat but even that lasted only for a short while. In 1785 Negapatam was returned to the Dutch by the English, though only to be reconquered by them a little later. From 1795 Pulicat steadily dwindled in importance. During this period Rev. Gericke and Pazold took care of the Christians here by making a weekly visit from Madras. The fort walls of Pulicat fell into natural ruin by 1806. In 1811 the English at Ft. St. George appointed a sexton and a church-keeper to take care of the church in Pulicat. In 1824 all Dutch possessions in India were transferred to the English East India Company, for certain advantages in the straits. "The Dutch gave all their possessions in India without any reserve or condition."[4] The English Company then sanctioned a church establishment at Rs. 44/- p.m. and a school-master at Rs. 25/- p.m. at Pulicat. The Company took care to repair the church and cemetery wall in 1831, 1840, 1848, and 1852 and the Government of India carried out the repairs once in 1873.[5]

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[3] Penny; The *Church in Madras*, 257. The Pulicat church was restored and partially rebuilt in 1787 by the Dutch. In size and form it was an exact copy of the Vepery church built by Uscan. Rev. Taylor who gives this information estimates the cost of the renovation at 4,000 pagodas (Taylor; *memoirs* 119). About 1823 or 24 it was reduced in size by the English.

By 1900 not only the Dutch but even the Eurasians (admixture of Dutch and Indian), who had lived there had completely disappeared from Pulicat. The few who were left behind slowly migrated to Madras leaving the once great commercial centre of the Dutch to itself. To-day it shows itself as a humble village only shining in a new name, the name Pulicat being an English variation of the Dutch Palekatta, which itself was a Dutch variation of the Tamil Paleverkadu. Remains of its quondam greatness are however still to be seen. The village shows a street with large and stylish houses mostly in falling state, some occupied by a lonely figure here and there. And yet the Dutch governors stayed here once and the English governors of Ft. St. George frequently exchanged visits with them.

II

Among these remains of the greatness of Pulicat the most important is the cemetery of the Dutch, already referred to, enclosing within its walls more than half a Dutch acre of ground and many graves. Though dead men tell no tales, the epitaphs on these graves are singularly meaningful and expressive of certain truths of the Dutch stay in the place.

At the south-east corner of the compound is the gateway—a curious specimen indeed of cemetery entrace—the drabness of which is only relieved by the words of the Apocalypse incsribed on the arch, "Blessed are they who die in the Lord. They rest from their labour."[6] One of the skeleton figures (of the two that stand like the *dwarapalakas* of a Hindu temple on either side of the gateway), possibily the one on the left, bears a hour-glass on its head, which the onlooker appreciates as being singularity apt and meaningful. The right part of the arch bears the date 1656, which must be the date of the cemetery.

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[4] Aitchison; *Treaties of India.*

[5] Taken from the Ft. St. George records.

Many obviously great names are inscribed in the beautifully made tomb-stones inside:

(1) Mr. Jacques Cuillier "in his lifetime Governor and Director of the coast of Koromandel and the circuit of the same, born in the town of Ghent, 1620, died at ("tot") Palekatta, Anno 1679, the 5th. November, 59 years 8 months and 12 days old. The Governor Jacques rests."

(2) "Honourable Lady Joanna Berios, widow of the deceased Honourable Abraham Floriszoon Bolwerk, in his life time "visitor of the sick" (perhaps an official title) at Masulipatam; born in Amiens 17th. September 1614 and died the 18th. of May 1684, being 70 years old."

(3) "The noble Heer William Van Dielen overmerchant, second over Coromandel and chief of Masulipatam etc., died at Palliacatta, the 13th. October Anno 1688."

(4) "Hereunder lies buried Jan Mastenszoon, in his lifetime merchant in the service of the E. I. Company and chief of the Comptoirs Palliakatta, born the 21 June 1667 and died the last of March Anno 1717, aged 49 years 9 months and 10 days.

HERE RESTS HE WHO HAD NO RESTING
SO LONG AS HE WAS IN LIFE

etc. etc. etc.

These are a few specimens of the great Dutch people who, as can be gleaned from these epitaphs, lived and now lie buried in Pulicat. Certain inscriptions on the tablets of the Pulicat graves are really very touching like the one with which the tablet on the grave of Jan Martenszoon ends. A few more examples can be given here:

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[6] Apo., XIV, 13. The inscription is of course in Dutch.

(1) Dirk Both, Chief in the castle of Geldria at Pulicat dies on 24th. June 1719 and the inscription on his epitaph ends with the following four lines at once touching and consoling:

> "The old bones of Both lie under this slab,
> He departs from turmoil and all the vain work
> In order at God's right hand to obtain rest
> O blessed lot of these that die in the Lord."

(2) Just four years after the worthy spouse of the succeeding Chief of Castle Geldria died and the epitaph reads:

> "Under this slab lies buried the Lady Sarah Jorin, spouse
> Of Cornelius De Munt, merchant and Chief of the castle
> Of Geldria at Palliakatta..................
>
> "Weep with those that weep" (Rom. 12, 15)
> Here Munts laid down pleasure, enjoyments, delights
> And all that was dear to him in the world's tearful vale,
> He was afflicted in bitter sorrow; help to weep his loss,
> God strengthen his soul and give him consolation."

(3) Another epitaph records the death of the wife of the Chief Comptoir (chief accountant) Nicolas Tadama at Pulicat on 4th April 1777. She had possibly died as a result of child birth, which had resulted in the prolonged illness of the mother. The child had indeed died five months before the mother. The inscription on the tablet gives all this information beautifully worded:

> "Having beside her her little son who only was in life for four hours after his coming into the world and of whom she was safely delivered on the 28th. October 1776."

The sculptural value of the sepulchres is equally impressive Reference was already made to the wonderfully sculptured gateway. Now when we enter inside, the sepulchres attract our attention, although time has played a great part in destroying them a good deal. Many of the tablets rest on the ground in a dilapidated state; a few show up the masonry work that bears them. The masonry is done with brick and plaster. Most of them are low open structures resting on piers while a few are lofty and bear cenotaphs. One can be called almost a mausoleum and it houses the remains of one of the governors of Pulicat. Erected with a facade of three arches it is covered by a rectangular structure bearing carved figures of angels and surmounted by a smaller arch bearing the coat of arms. It has an open vaulted roof and rests on twelve arched piers. The superstructure is ornamented in stucco with flying cherubs, flower vases etc. The Dutch coat of arms is seen embossed in many of the graves and the lettering of the epitaphs is very floral. The wonder is not about the stone that has been used, but about the workmen employed for doing such good work on it. Some scholars think that the stones used must have been brought from Holland. That may not be so; but certainly the workmen must have come from there. This beautiful cemetery of Pulicat is itself a monument as much of historical interest as of artistic value.

Culture-Contacts in South India

(Continued from Vol. XLI, page 222)

BY

T. K. VENKATARAMAN, M.A., L.T.

We turn now to South Indian art. The Amarāvati Art is not really southern. Dr. Śivarāmamūrti thinks that its style is midway between that of Bhārhut and that of the Pallavas. The art of the Nagārjunakoṇḍa shrine[331] which may be dated to the third century A.D. resembles the later Amarāvati art. Dubreuil in his *Dravidian Architecture,* holds that Drāviḍian art is of purely indigenous origin. He conveniently divides[332] South Indian art into five stages. The first—the Pallava stage—he fixes from the seventh to the ninth century. Next is the Early Cōḷa stage, (ninth to the eleventh century). Then is the later Cōḷa stage, (eleventh to the fourteenth century). Then follow the Vijayanagar stage, (fourteenth to the sixteenth century) and, lastly the modern stage, (sixteenth century onwards). It is unnecessary for our purposes to go into the details of the art of these various periods. We have no structures relating to the period before the Pallavas. The South Indian temple, as it appears under the Pallavas, is a shrine with a dome on the top and a small hall in front. It is of course possible that the Pallavas may not have introduced the style. All that they might have done might only be to substitute[333] imperishable materials like stone for perishable materials like wood.

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[331] The Amarāvati art itself is a continuation of the Sātavāhana Art. The human form of the Buddha seated and with legs hanging down depicted in the Nagārjunakoṇḍa sculptures could be compared to similar depictions in the later Gupta Art at Ajanta. The visit of Indra to the Buddha which is a favourite theme in Kuṣaṇa Art is found also at Nagārjunakoṇḍa. The influence of Northern ideas is seen in the representation of the visit of Ajātaśatru to the Buddha as found at Bhārhut and of a Śaka soldier clad in a coat and trousers seen in the Nagārjunakoṇḍa Sculptures. Dr. C. Śivarāmamūrti draws attention to the prevalence of the *motif* of the dwarf with the head on stomach at Sārnāt, Ajanta and Amarāvati, and thinks that it might have migrated from the south. (*A New History of the Indian People,* Ch. XXII, p. 444).

[332] *Dravidian Architecture,* p. 38.

Whatever the origin of the shrine might be, the idea of the building of shrines in rock might have been borrowed by the Pallavas from the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of the Āndhra region. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins, in their turn, got it from the Vākāṭakas with whom they had marriage relations. It is noteworthy that the Vākāṭaka Kingdom lay between the Gupta Empire and the Kingdoms of South India and that the Vākāṭakas were vassals of the Guptas. It is also noteworthy that the early stone temple in North India developed under the Guptas. The cave temple was copied in the Pāṇḍyan country. The earliest seems to be the one in the Ānaimalai, six miles to the east of Madura. This is a temple of Narasimha built by Māraṅgāri Madurakavi, the Uttaramantri (chief minister) of King Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya (eighth century A.D.). His brother, who succeeded him as minister, participated in the construction. Later additions to the South Indian temple are the addition[334] of maṇḍapas, prakāras and gōpuras in the gateways. The Kailāsanāthasvami temple at Kāñci built by Narasimhavarman II is an early instance of this complex structure. This type was imitated in the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭaḍakal built by Lokamahādevī, wife of the Cālukyan king, Vikramāditya II. It resembles the Kailāsanātha temple and was perhaps built by an architect from Kāñci. It is described thus:[335] "The exterior of the temple is a mass of heavy mouldings and sculptures. . . It measures over 250 feet and the main building occupies a length of 120 feet". The huge Cōḷa temples containing elaborate sculpture form only a development of the Pallava art. Fergusson notes the similarity between these temples and those of ancient Egypt; but, these temples are built according to the rules laid down in the Śilpa Śāstras.[336]

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[333] The Maṇḍagapaṭṭu inscription of Mahendravarman distinctly refers to this (*Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, p. 14).

[334] It is noteworthy that the images of the Dvārapālaka in early Pallava style have only two hands. By the 8th century, they have four hands.

[335] *Archaeological Antiquities of Western India*, p. 23.

[336] The three main styles of architecture distinguished by the Śilpa Śāstrās—Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara—do not seem to have any particular reference to regions, but seem to be differentiated by the shape of the Śikhara. If it is a square, it is Nāgara; if circular, Vesara; and, if facetted, Drāviḍa.

Elsewhere in South India,[337] other styles prevailed. The Western Cālukyas built temples in both the northern and the southern styles, and finally, these two were merged in the Hoysāla art in which the temples are polygonal and star-shaped and adorned with highly ornamental towers. The northern form of temple is imitated by Narasimha I, the Eastern Gaṅga king (thirteenth century), who built a temple for the Sun at Koṇārka. The shrine of Mūkambā at Kāñci is also modelled on the northern type. A shrine of the southern pattern exists at Brindāvan and was built by Gōvardhan Rangācāriar who came from Kāñci. In 1930, I was privileged to have an interview with the grandson of the founder who is the present trustee of the temple which has an income of two lakhs. The worship is done in the manner prescribed by the Āgamas of the south. While visiting the different sannidhis inside the temple, so familiar is the atmospere that a southerner forgets that he is far away from the south. It is presumable that visitors from Bengal will feel equally at home in the Kāli temple built by Sir R. S. Sarma at Mavūr in the Tanjore District, which is patterned on the model of the shrine of Kāli at Kālighat, Calcutta.

The Vijayanagara Empire inherited and continued the old traditions, and the gōpuras became more massive and the ornamentation more minute. But, the royal palace shows signs of the new influence which had come to the south—the influence of Indo-Islamic art. The zenana at Hampi is in that style, and in the Lotus Mahal, the pillars and the arches are Muslim.

Sculpture in the South Indian temple[338] also dates from the Pallava period. The monolithic shrines called the Rathas at Māmal-

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(N. V. Mallayya, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, IX, pp. 81-96). Besides the difference in Śikhara, pillars play a very important part in South Indian temples. But, it is curious that, though South Indian art influenced the art in the East, pillars never became important there.

[337] Dr. Agarwala thinks that the Kapōteśvara temple built by the Ānanda Kings of the 4th century is built on an apsidal plan similar to that of the Buddhist Caitya at Kārli, and that this model inspired the architecture of the Durgā temple at Aiholē in the 6th century A.D. (*A New History of the Indian People*, Ch. XXII, p. 456).

[338] The *motifs* used in sculpture were often common throughout India. The trefoil and the Swastika appear even in the Indus valley culture. The Mithuna (amorous couple), which has given rise to unfavourable comments from foreigners, is only a decorative *motif* sanctioned by the Śilpa Śāstrās.

lapuram have sculptures, the themes being *Purāṇic* like the descent of the Gāṅga. Story-sculptures like these are peculiar to the Pallava art and are not found in any other part of India. These form 'large, bas-relief scenes carved on the natural face of a cliff or a huge rock standing in the open air'.[339] The sculptures in the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple at Kāñci similarly represent scenes from Pallava history. Another characteristic sculpture is that of Śiva as Naṭarāja[340]—a concept which never obtained the same importance in North India. In a shrine at Māmallapuram, the panel at the western end of an upper cave temple has as the central figure a representation of Naṭarāja trampling on a demon. The sculpture of Naṭarāja was further developed in the Cōḻa period. It may be noted that the shrine of Naṭarāja at Cidambaram was specially favoured by the Cōḻas. We have sculptures of Naṭarāja in metal work of a high class. The South Indian bronzes are world famous and particularly the eminent French sculptor, Rodin, praised the bronze Naṭarāja of Tiruvālaṅgāḍu as the most perfect representation of rhythmic motion that had been produced anywhere in the world. The earliest examples seem to go back to the tenth century and these sculptures continued down to the Vijayanagar period. All of them closely conform to the canons prescribed in the Śilpa Śāstras.

The earliest paintings in South India are those at Sittannavāsal and are of the time of the Pallava king, Mahendravarman.[340a] Painting was, however, an old art. Saṅgam works refer to paintings. But, no early paintings have survived. Dubreuil, who has made a close study of these Sittanavāsal paintings, declares that their 'charms consist in the versatility of design and in gradation of colouring with the halftones and the light and shade'. He goes on to say 'It was left to the artists of South India to crystallise into immortal form the rhythm of dance and the energy of dynamic movement'. It may be noted that the art of painting in the Ajanta caves reached its highest level under the Guptas, and this art spread to Sigiriya in Ceylon by the end of the fifth century. It is not unreasonable to believe that Ajanta art also must have left a lasting impress on South Indian painting. Though the Sittannavāsal art is Jain, the first examples of mural paintings of the Hindu type in South India are the fragments of beautiful fresco paintings discovered by Prof. Dubreuil in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci. The frescos discovered by S. K. Gōvindaswamy in the Tanjore temple built by Rājarāja Cōḻa continue on the same lines. The Rāmaswāmi temple at Kumbakōnam has fresco paintings taken from the *Rāmāyana* which were executed during the period of the Nāyaks. Travancore murals are also essentially Hindu, though they show the influence of Buddhist art. The earliest of these are at the cave temple of Tirunaṇḍikkara which may be ascribed to the early ninth century. The latest are those in the Padmanābhasvāmi temple at Trivandrum, which date to the eighteenth century. Influences from the north again operated in the seventeenth century. The Rājput school of painting, which developed under strong Muslim influences, though descended from the classical frescos of Ajanta, was imported to Tanjore under the Mahratta kings. But, it died out after 1860. Hereafter, paintings in South India like those of Ravi Varma were under the influence of western styles.

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[339] *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 33, p. 3.

[340] On the symbolism of the Naṭarāja image, see Coomāraswāmi, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 127.

[340a] This is disputed by some scholars.

Let us now glance at a few other influences which have operated on South India. Jewish immigration into Western India is said to have taken place in the first century A.D. after the sack of Jerusalem by the Romans in 71 A.D. But, the first historical evidence of Jewish connection with India is the charter[341] granted to Joseph Rabban which gave him and his descendants certain lands and privileges. This was issued at Cranganore by Bhāskararavivarman (11th century A.D.). The Jews, however, had no influence on South Indian culture. There are two classes of Jews in Cochin—the Black and the White. Both have forgotten their mother-tongue, and speak only Malayāḷam.

Another influence was that of Islām. By the seventh century, the Arabs had extended their power in Western Asia. Trade with India slipped into their hands. Arab settlers began to live on the West Coast from the ninth century A.D. Particularly, great trade was developed with the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom which imported horses from them. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom welcomed Arab merchants.

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[341] *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, p. 334.

Such was the prosperity of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom owing to trade that the Muslim historian, Wassāf, says[342] that it 'is so situated as to be the key of Hind'. The Arab agent lived at Kāyal which according to Marco Polo, was a 'great and noble city'. Arab travellers visited various parts of India. But it is hard to say if this contact had any result[343] other than the growth of the Māpilla population arising from the marriage of Arab settlers with Indian women. Establishment of Muslim kingdoms in North India and in the Deccan, and invasions of South India by the Muslims led to South India being also influenced to some extent by Muslim culture. Devarāya II of Vijayanagar even gave appointments to Muslims. Such was the Hindu spirit of toleration that in A.D. 1537 a mosque for Muslims was built by a Hindu.[344] New articles like shawls and carpets, new perfumes, new styles of cooking like the pulāv, use of paper, the system of Unāni medicine and new styles of art in the mosques are some of the results of this impact. Some Persian, Arabic and Urdu terms passed into the South Indian vernaculars. Words like 'salām' and 'sabhāṣ' are found in the *Tirupugal* of Aruṇagirināthar (fifteenth century). On the other hand, the Muslims in South India have also been influenced by the surrounding culture. Some Muslim classes like the Labbais speak only Tamil. There arose Muslim writers in the South Indian languages. We have instances in Umaruppulavar (seventeenth century) who composed his *Sirāppurāṇam* in Tamil and Javāduppulavar who composed in Tamil the *Muhaiuddin Āṇḍavar Piḷḷai*

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[342] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Her Own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 32.

[343] The first advent of Islam in Southern India dates as far back as the 8th century, when a band of refugees to whom the Māpillas trace their descent came from Iraq and settled in this country. The Zamorin of Calicut, who was one of the chief patrons of Arab trade, is said to have encouraged conversion to Islam in order to man the Arab ships on which he depended. Another community of Muslims in Southern India, the Rowthers, ascribe their conversion to the preaching of missionaries whose tombs are held in veneration by them to the present day. The most famous of these was Syed Nādir Shah (969-1039 A.D.) who, after many wanderings in Arabia, Persia and in Northern India, settled down in Trichinopoly, where his tomb is resorted to as a place of pilgrimage.

[344] *Epigraphia Carnatica* IV Kr. 95. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, earlier, had allowed the Arabs to build mosques for their use.

Tamiḻ. A Muslim saint, Mastān Sāhib (eighteenth century), was deeply influenced by Hindu philosophy.[345]

When Christianity began in South India is a point of controversy. There is the west coast tradition that Saint Thomas came to Crānganore in A.D. 52, founded churches in Malabar and then went to the Coramandel where he was martyred at St. Thomas Mount. The truth of this tradition has been disputed.[346] Garbe would trace the origin of Christianity in Malabar to the immigration of persecuted Christians from Persia in the fourth century A.D. It is, however, certain that it existed here in the sixth century A.D. as Cosmas Indikopleustes refers to it.[347] The first historical evidence of its existence is the grants by Sthānuravi to the Christians at Kōṭṭayam. Sthānuravi was a contemporary of Āditya Cōḻa and could be assigned to the ninth century. Some writers have traced the Hindu doctrines of devotion to God and use of monasteries to Christian influence. This inference is unnecessary, as the doctrine of Bhakti is very old, and the use of Maṭhas was well known to the Buddhists and the Jainas long ago. It was only after the coming of the Portuguese that Catholic Christianity spread in the country. This was largely due to the work of Jesuit missionaries. Venkaṭa II of Vijayanagar allowed them to build churches. A Jesuit missionary, Robert de Nobili, in the period of the Nāyaks of Madurai (seventeenth century), adopted the saffron robe like the Hindu sanyāsi, learnt Samskṛt, Tamiḻ and Telugu, and tried to carry on proselytisation in Madurai by appealing to Indian sentiment. Father Beschi (eighteenth century) who was called Vīramāmunivar composed a Christian epic in Tamil modelled after *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam* called *Tempāvaṇi* (1769 A.D.). Abbé Dubois describes a

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[345] The practice of adoring saints, (pīrs) must have been due to Hindu influence. A pleasant sight is the cordial gathering of Muslim, and Hindu pilgrims at the Dargāh of the saint, Mīrān, at Nāgōre. This saint was Shah Al Hamid (1532-1600 A.D.) who was born in Manikpore (North India) and settled down at Nāgōre.

[346] A recent attempt to support it is that of the Rev. Father Daniel in his *The Syrian Church of Malabar* (1945). The Rev. Stephen Neill discusses the question in the *Spectator*, Dec. 2, 1945.

[347] Cosmas Indikopleustes, an Alexandrian merchant, travelled in Ceylon and the West coast of South India in 547 and noted the presence of a Nestorian Church at Quilon.

Christian festival, which he saw, as just like a native car festival. The Portuguese introduced into South India tobacco and the cashew-nut tree and European novelties like mirrors and coaches. The mixed caste of Eurasians begins to appear as an element in the South Indian population. It is not necessary to trace the importance and many-sided influence of the contact with the West both on India and on the West itself.[348]

It remains finally to estimate whether there was any mutual influence exerted by South India and by the foreign lands with which it was in contact. The earliest contact of South India was with Western Asia. Kennedy dates[349] this contact to the seventh century B.C., but Sewell would assign it[350] even to the fourteenth century B.C. It is now well established that the Hebrew word 'Thukiim' meaning peacock is derived from the Tamil word 'Tōkai', Dr. Caldwell thinks that the ancient Tamils had no foreign commerce and that only foreigners carried on trade with them. This conclusion is negatived by literary evidences of travel by sea undertaken by merchants. For a long time from now, trade was carried on by Indian ships. *Periplus* refers to the ships used by the people for coasting voyages and big ships used for travel on the open seas. The ship coins issued by the Andhra king, Yajñasrī Śātakarṇi, and the clear inference that several colonising expeditions to the East Indies from India left from the coast of South India would indicate that this maritime activity continued for a long time. The powerful merchant guilds of the Cōḻa period—the nānādeśīs—travelled to all countries. Commercial intercourse flourished as far as China on the east and the Persian Gulf on the west. It is only under the Pāṇḍyas that the oversea trade fell into the hands of the Arabs. When Solomon imported peacocks from India, the sea route to India was already well known. When the Queen of Sheba visited Jerusalem she had with her[351] 'camels that bear spices and very much gold and precious stones'. Prof. Elliot Smith remarks[352] "it is surely something more than a mere coincidence that the period of the greatest maritime exploits of the Phoenicians, in the course of which, according to many authorities, they reached India or even further east should coincide with those of the great pre-Āryan maritime race of India whose great expeditions . . . were primarily for purposes of commerce between the Persian Gulf and the East Coast of India." In the same way, there must have been commercial contact with ancient Egypt. But, it is difficult to say whether these contacts had any deep results. The view that the Brāhmi script might have been derived from a Semitic source is denied by writers who trace it to the script of the Indus Valley. Lassen held that Egyptian mummies were wrapped in Indian muslins (which at that time could have come only from South India). But, a microscopic examination has revealed that the mummies were wrapped not in cotton but in linen. Very far-fetched are the views of Purnalingam Pillai who regarded[353] Tutan-Khamen as the Tamilian hero, Tūtan Kāman, or of M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer, who regarded Jesus Christ as a Tamilian. The Greek word Oryzos has been derived from the Tamiḻ arisi (rice) and the Greek word Zingiber is derived from the Tamiḻ 'iñjiver' (ginger root).

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[348] Besides the result of European influence on our customs, manners, dress, food etc., an important result has been the development of a middle class who are in touch all over India through the medium of the English language.

[349] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1898, pp. 248-87: Kennedy even supposes that the Draviḍians had a colony in Babylon. Recent excavations in Mysore area prove that even in Aśōka's time the people here lived in houses of wood. They used long swords, spears and axes, besides bows. Their dress was ornamented with beads or semi-precious stones. Their graves were built within stone circles, the entrance to which was through a small circular opening which was generally on the eastern side. Scholars have noticed the resemblance of these graves which are seen even now with similar ones in Syria, Palestine and even the Caucasus, and along the coasts of Europe, which show link between South India and the West by sea or land.

By the first three centuries of the Christian era, South India developed a prosperous trade with the Roman Empire. The find of Roman coins in South India is in abundance in the second century which must have seen the climax of this trade. Huge hoards of these coins have been found in the old mouths of the rivers. A large number of Roman coins of the second century A.D. have been found as far north as Kondapur in Āndhra Deśa. It is noteworthy that Ptolemy (second century A.D.) refers to the Āndhra kings. The fashionable world of the Roman Empire hankered after luxurious products brought from India.[354] Drugs, spices and muslins were in great demand. Pearls became the rage amongst fashionable ladies. Lollia Paulina, wife of Emperor Gaius Claudius, appeared publicly covered with pearls worth £ 300,000 sterling. Emperor Nero decked his shoes with pearls. Exports were paid mostly by specie. The import of money into India was estimated by Pliny as over a million sterling. Tamil̠ poems[354a] refer to the 'well-rigged ships of the Yavanas, (which brought gold and took away spices). The *Periplus* refers to the great trade with Dimirike (Tamil̠agam). But, this contact never seems to have had any effect other than commercial. It was formerly believed that the Romans introduced the cult of Augustus in South India and had a temple of Augustus. But, this reference seems to be only the Roman mutilation of the word 'Agastyeśvara'. Roman colonies existed, it is true. There were Roman body guards engaged by the Tamil̠ kings like the Pāṇḍyas.[354b] Yavana women attendants handed to these kings Western liquor.[354c] Yavana carpenters are said to have been engaged in the building of Kāverippaṭṭiṇam[354d] Yavana vases and lamps were used. At Arikameḍu, was discovered (1945) a warehouse assigned to the first century A.D. near which were found specimens of the red glazed pottery of Italy. The Pāṇḍyan king, according to Strabo, sent an envoy to Emperor Augustus. But, there were no deep effects on culture. No Roman word ever passed into Tamil̠ or any South Indian language.

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[351] The *Bible, Kings,* Ch. X, p. 2. Indian products were exported to the Kingdom of Solomon in the 10th century B.C.

[352] The *Migrations of Culture,* pp. 86-7.

[353] *Tamil India,* p. 22.

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[354] "Pepper fetched an enormous price in the markets of Europe and was so highly prized that when Alaric the Goth levied his war indemnity from Rome in A.D. 409, his terms included the delivery of 3,000 lbs. of pepper."—Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 461. More details with regard to the trade with Rome are found in Warmington's *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India.*

[354a] *Aham*, 148. The *Maduraikkāñci* (ii. 536-44) refers to the extensive imports and exports and the work of the busy customs officials.

[354b] *Mullaippāṭṭu*, 41-6.

[354c] *Neḍu-ṉal-vāḍai*, ll. 101-2.

[354d] *Maṇimekhalai*, Canto, XIX.

Ceylon being geographically a part of India, it is not surprising that there was frequent contact between Ceylon and South India. King Vijaya, who is said to have come to Ceylon from Bengal as early as the middle of the sixth century B.C., is mentioned by the *Mahāvamśa* as having married a Pāṇḍya princess. Though the Sinhalese language is Āryan, the script is derived from the grantha script of South India. The great wars between the South Indian kingdoms and Ceylon began with the expedition of Cōḻa Karikāla to Ceylon and included various events like the restoration of Mānavarman to the throne of Ceylon by Narasimhavarman I (seventh century), the conquest of the northern half of the island by Rājarāja I (eleventh century), the interference of King Parākramabāhu I of Ceylon in the Pāṇḍyan civil wars (twelfth century) and the conquest of north Ceylon by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya from Parākramabāhu II (thirteenth century). But, intercourse was not always hostile. Ceylon received its culture from India. If the *Silappadhikāram* account can be believed, King Gajabāhu of Ceylon visited the court of the Cēra Seṅguṭṭuvan when the latter dedicated a temple to Pattinī Devī. Many believe that Gajabāhu introduced the Pattinī cult[355] into Ceylon. A metal image of Pattinī Devī assignable to the tenth century is found in Ceylon. Poets of the saṅgam age refer to great trade with Ceylon. Large numbers of Tamils settled in North Ceylon, making Jaffna their centre. They kept up religious contact with the mainland. Copper images of the four samayakuravas dating to before the fourteenth century have been found in Ceylon. Dr. Coomāraswamy thinks[356] that the figures of "some of these Śaiva saints are superior to any South Indian example," but, all figures are in the Drāviḍian style. King Wickrama Rājasimha of Kandy, the last Tamilian prince of Ceylon, was dethroned in 1815 by the British.

South India was in close touch with South East Asia long before the Aryans came.[357] Some writers think that the people of Malaya were descended from the pre-historic tribes of India, who were displaced by the Drāviḍians. Prof. Von Ronkel has traced several Malay words to South Indian languages.[358] Early trade with this region is testified to by the saṅgam literature. The *Paṭṭinappālai* refers to Kaḍāraṃ (Kaṭaha in Central Malaya). The *Manimekhalai* refers to trade between Kāverippaṭṭiṉam and Sāvakanāḍu (perhaps Java). On the basis of the *Silappadhikāram*, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri believes that there was a flourishing seaport called Toṇḍi set up by the Indians in the East Indian Archipelago.[359] Numerous colonies have gone from South India to this region. In the first century A.D., colonists from South India established the kingdom of Fu-nan. Dr. R. C. Majumdar observes[360] 'inscriptions written in Samskṛit verse and in South Indian alphabet show that Samskṛit language and literature were already highly developed on the soil of Fu-nan'.

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[355] This cult is now obsolete in South India. But, it is said to be still widely prevalent in the villages of Ceylon.

[356] *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 167.

[357] Chinese accounts show that the Hindu kingdoms in Indo-China and Indonesia were in contact with South India as well as with China.

We have a line of kings in Cambodia who assumed like Pallavas the appellation of 'Varman' after their names. The Śaka era was extensively used as in South India. The kings worshipped Śiva in the form of Naṭarāja. Śiva was the most popular god and liṅga worship was prevalent. Many South Indian works dealing with Śaivism were popular. There were also debased forms of Śaivism. The Chinese chronicles mention a temple where the kings performed human sacrifice once a year. Big temples arose on the South Indian model. Sūryavarman II (twelfth century) built the great Viṣṇu temple—Aṅgkōr Wāt—in South Indian style. This temple has sculptures representing scenes from the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivamśa*. As in South India, it was the blended Hindu culture which had been brought over. *Vedic* sacrifices were performed. There were *Purāṇic* recitations. Administration was modelled on the *Artha Śāstra*. Most of the Samskṛit inscriptions are in the South Indian Pallava Grantha script. D. R. Chatterjee quotes Permentier as saying that ornamental details in Cambodian art are closely connected with the Pallava art.[361]

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[358] The Malay version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* shows the influence of the Tamil version. Ligor contains bronze images of Ganeśa and Naṭarāja in South Indian style.

[359] A note on '*Tamil Land and Eastern Colonies*' in the *Journal of the Greater India Society.*

[360] *Kambūja-Deśa*, p. 41.

[361] *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia.*

The first dynasty of Campā (South Annam) was founded by South Indian colonists. The earliest Samskṛit inscriptions in the East Indies were issued by them. Both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism prevailed. But the former was predominant, and we find several liṅgas and Naṭarājas. The Bhagavatī cult is also found.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar believes that the Śailendras who set up their power in North Malaya and later established the empire of Śrī Vijaya were immigrants from Kaliṅga. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri would, however, derive them from the Pāṇḍyan country. The Śailendras kept up their contact with South India. King Cūḍāmaṇi Varmadeva was allowed by the Cōḻa Rājarāja I[362] to set up a Buddhist monastery at Nāgappaṭṭinaṃ. The large Leyden grant was issued to ratify the purchase of two villages by King Māravijayōttuṅgavarman who presented them to this Vihara.[363] But, unfriendly relations followed. The Cōḻa Rājendra I had to send (1025) a naval expedition which defeated the Śailendra king, Saṅgrāmavijayōttuṅgavarman.[364] Dr. Majumdār thinks that the Cōḻas occupied the empire of Śrī Vijaya for some time after this. Cōḻa Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1118) who had diplomatic relations with Kambūja and Pagan (in Burma) and also sent an embassy of 72 merchants to China in 1077, renewed friendly relations with the Śailendras. A Śailendra king sent an embassy to the Cōḻa king to consult about matters connected with the monastery built by his ancestors at Nāgapaṭṭinam (1090).

Some other dynasties of Java were also connected to South India. The earliest Samskṛit inscription in Eastern Java is the Tugu Rock inscription. This record which is in the Pallava grantha script deals with a king called Pūrṇavarman. In Central Java, King Sānjaya's Samskṛit inscription dated Śaka 654 (A.D. 732) shows that his family belonged to South India and that he was a great devotee of Śiva. The Śaivite cult in Java must have been widespread. Fa Hien noticed Pāśupatas here early in the fifth century A.D. An inscription of 760 A.D. in Central Java mentions a temple of Agastya in which there was a black stone image of that saint. Taking this in conjunction with the fact that the inscription of 732 A.D. mentions Kuñjara-kuñja, Agastya's hermitage in South India, it is quite possible to infer that there was a cult of Agastya worship there. We must never forget that Agastya was a saint closely connected with South India. The Hindu temples in the Dieng plateau in Java are supposed to show affinity to the Rathas at Māmallapura. The Javanese shadow play with puppets called Wayang was introduced by Hindu colonists. It still continues there. It is supposed to resemble the Pāvaikkūttu of the Kerala country.[365] Cultural contact with Kerala (seen in the worship of Bhagavatī in Campu) is also evident in Java in the worship of Hariharaputra. A king of Java, Jayanāga (1309-1328), had the title Sundara Pāṇḍya Vikramōttuṅgadeva and his seal consisted of two fishes as in the Pāṇḍyan land.

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[362] Leyden Grant, l. 118.

[363] *Indian Antiquary*, XXII, 45; VII, 224.

[364] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IX, Cp. 24.

South Indian influence extended to other islands also. A Tamil inscription of the eleventh century refers to a guild of Tamil merchants in the East Indies. The Samskrit inscription of Mūlavarman of Borneo, (perhaps A.D. 400) which refers to a yāga performed by him, is believed by Vogel to be written in South Indian Pallava characters.

South Indian influence on Burma begins with the immigration into that land of immigrants from the Āndhra area who were called the Talaings. Buddhism came to Burma from missionaries who arrived from South India and Ceylon by sea. In those days, journeys by sea were very common. Fa Hien went by sea from Tāmaralipti[366] to Ceylon and from there to Java and thence to China. A Tamil inscription of Siam assignable to the eighth or ninth century A.D. mentions a South Indian trading corporation. In the thirteenth century, a merchant from Kerala made a gift to a Viṣṇu temple built by a South Indian merchant guild at Pagan in Burma.[367]

Christian asserts that the people of Yap, the most westerly island of the Carolines, speak a language which appears to be a form of speech allied to that of the Drāviḍians and subjected to the influence of Malay, Japanese and Polynesian speeches.[368]

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[365] See Bake, *'The Javanese Shadow Play'—Modern Review*, LXX, pp. 317-20.

[366] Tāmaralipti is believed by some to be the relic of an old Tamil settlement in Bengal.

[367] *Epigraphia Indica*, VII, pp. 197-8.

[368] *The Children of the Sun*, pp. 51-2.

Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri has pointed out[369] that even by the first century B.C. products of South India had begun to reach China by sea. It is therefore evident that this maritime trade must have come into existence even before. Narasimhavarman II, the Pallava King, is said to have had diplomatic relations with the Emperor of China.[370] A colony of South Indian merchants[371] lived in a Chinese port of Formosa. Cōḻa sailors visited China. The Cōḻa kings sent embassies to the Chinese Emperor in A.D. 1015, 1033 and 1077. Chinese merchants visited Kāñci. In the second half of the thirteenth century, China was under the Mongōl Emperor, Kublai Khān. There were contacts between him and the South Indian princes like the Pāṇḍyas. Bukka I of Vijayanagar sent an embassy to the Emperor of China, Tai-tsu, in 1374. But, in spite of this contact, the effects on culture are not striking.

The culture of South India appears thus as a mosaic in the making of which different strands of different types and colours have entered, and in which the whole appears as a beautiful and harmoniously designed fabric.[372] It has been said that India's special gift to the world has been this capacity for effecting a synthesis of different physical and social types and customs so that, as Risley says, 'a general Indian personality appears which we cannot resolve into its component parts'. India had been, like Greece, Western Asia and Egypt, the centre of a great civilisation. But, unlike those states, her civilisation still continues to be vigorous. The secret of this vitality lies in India's capacity to harmonise and synthesise different cultures. In the making of this great Indian culture, our ancestors in South India have played a very important and noble part, and the magnitude of this achievement cannot be overestimated.

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[369] Winternitz Memorial number of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1938. Many Buddhists went to China from South India and Ceylon.

[370] Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 116-7.

[371] Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri, *'The Cōḻas*, 2nd edn., p. 608.

[372] Tagore remarks that our culture combined the transcendental thought of the Āryan with the emotional and creative art of the Drāviḍian (*A Vision of India's History, Visvabharati Quarterly*, 1923). We must never forget this unity of culture which distinctly marks out Indian culture and art in the world and the unity of ideas expressed in scriptures, deities and social organisation, all of which reinforce the geographical unity created by natural boundaries.

APPENDIX I

Music in North India and South India

An important characteristic of South Indian music is that it is based on a system of seventy-two melakartā rāgas from which there are derived numerous other rāgas. But, in spite of this characteristic and differences in the nomenclature of the rāgas several rāgas are common both in the north and the south. The following list illustrates this:

South Indian Name of the Rāga	*Its North Indian Equivalent*
Kalyāṇi	Yaman
Māyamāḷavagauḷa	Bhairon
Suddhasāveri	Durgā
Śankarābharana	Bilāval
Subhapantuvarāli*	Sōhni
Mōhana	Bhupāli or Bhūp
Hindōḷa	Mālkōs
Pūrvikalyāṇi	Pūrbi
Tōḍi or Hanumatōḍi	Bhairavi
Varāli	Tōḍi
Nādanāmakriyā	Kālangḍa
Mukhāri or Naṭabhairavi	Asāveri
Hamsānandi	Sōhini
Gamanapriyā	Mārva
Sāveri	Jōgiya
Āberi	Bhimpalās
Kānaḍa	Kānaḍa
Sūryakānta	Lalita
Kurānji	Kausiya
Madhyamādi	Śārang
Rāmapriyā	Śrī
Harikāmbhōji	Kamāj
Karaharapriyā	Kān

Navrōz, Darbār and Ārabi perhaps came to the south from the north. Behāg, Jinjhūti, Hamīr Kalyāṇi and Yamunā Kalyāṇi certainly came from the north. Dvijāvanti also came from the north where it is called Jayajayāvanti. Husaini, which derives its name from Sultan Husain of Jaunpur, has come from the north. Kāfi has also been imported from the north, though the northern form shows some of the characteristics of the Karaharapriyā of the south. The Tilang of the north shares the characteristics of Madhyamādi and Calanāta of the south. Of course, we must always remember that there are bound to be slight differences in the notes even where the rāgas are common.

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* But, some equate this with Tōḍi of the north and equate Sohni with our Hindōlam. There is a Hindōl of the north which corresponds to our Sunādavinōdini.

Hindu genius has also classified the rāgas according to the times suited for their singing and the moods expressed by them. Thus, according to some writers on Karnāṭak Music, Kalyāṇi, Tōḍi, Śāranga, Pūrvi Kalyāṇi, Nādanāmakriyā, Śankarābharana, Nāṭa and Śrī are best sung in the evening; Bilahari, Danyāsi and Bhūpāla, in the morning: Madhyamādi, at noon and Āhiri, at night. Some rāgas like Pantuvarāli, Kāmavardhani, Varāli, Devagāndhāri, Rāmakriyā, Darbār, Dvijāvanti, Navrōz, Behāg, and Yamunā Kalyāṇi are suited for all times. Joy is expressed in Mōhana, Kalyāṇi, Kedāra, Hindōla and Bilahari. Sorrow finds vent in Tōḍi, Punnāgavarāli, Śrī, Hanumatōḍi, Naṭabhairavi, Sāveri and Mukhāri. Reverence finds scope in Ārabi, Māyamālavagaula, Subhapantuvarāli, Bhūpāla, Kāmbhōji, Ānandabhairavi and Kāmavardhani. Love is best expressed through Behāg, Gamanapriyā, Jinjhūti, Sūryakānta, Cakravāka and Karaharapriyā. Entreaty is rendered through Harikāmbhōji, Danyāsi and Hamsadvani. The rāgas for anger are Aṭāṇa and Kānaḍa, while power and majesty is found in Suddha Nāṭa, and Nīlāmbari is best suited for lullabies. Calm is found in Nādanāmakriyā, Śankrābharana and Madhyamāḍi. Hamīr Kalyāṇi gives scope for merriment. Hindustāni music has also a similar classification. Alain Danielou, in his *Northern Indian Music* (2 vols., 1955), has some observations on the emotional appeal of the Hindustāni rāgas and the times when they should be sung, according to North Indian conventions. Division according to gender as Rāgas and Rāginīs is distinctly northern.

The northern Khyāl is similar to the southern Kriti; but, the Rāgamālikā of the south is simpler than the northern Ṭumri (mainly used for love songs) which mixes up different rāgas. From the north has come to the south the type called Tillāna which makes use of syllables of rhythm instead of svara-notes. Mahārāṣṭra has contributed the types called Abhanga, Ōvi and Diṇḍi.

But, there are also forms peculiar to the north in the Drupad in which the song is rendered first at a particular speed and then the speed is increased till it becomes fourfold and the song is sung in all the three octaves and the Tappa (a favourite of Muslim singers) with a marked rhythm and melody.

Mrs. Cousins holds that "all Western music is formed from Dhīraśankarābharana (Major Scale), Kalyāṇi (Harmonic Scale) and Gaurimanōhari (Melodic Minor Scale)."

The Tamiḻ Isai Saṅgam has done some work in investigating the paṇs* in the *Dēvāram*. Swāmi Vipulānanda, earlier, had identified Indoḷam with Suddha Danyāsi, sevvaḻi with Karaharapriyā, Kausikam with Suddhasāveri, Gāndhārapañcamam with Mōhana and Takkesi with Maṅgalakauśika. The discussions in the Tamiḻ Isai Saṅgam, on the other hand, tended to identify these paṇs with Nādanāmakriya. Yadukulakāmbhōji, Bhairavi, Kedāragauḷa and Kāmbhōji. The discussions also equated Kolli, Sīkāmaram, Senturiti, Vyāḻakuṛiñci, and Pañcamam with Navrōz, Nādanāmakriyā, Madhyamādi, Sourāṣṭra and Āhiri. Naṭṭappāḍai was identified by a majority with Nāṭa. But, no agreement was arrived at regarding Kuṛiñci and Kollikauvāṇam. Prof. Sāmbamūrti identifies Puṛanīrmai with Bhūpaḷa, Andāḻikuṛiñci with Sāmā, Paḻampañjaram with Śankarābharana, Megharāgakuṛiñci with Nilāmbari and Sādāri with Pantuvarāḷi. It is clear that this paṇs represent the current rāgas whose original names had changed.

APPENDIX II

South India shares along with the rest of India in many ritual customs and superstitions, several of which have found expression also in folklore. Valuable studies of some of the most important *motifs* are found in Penzer's edition of Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The following are examples.

Sacrifice (1-116 n.1), Multilation (III 21 n; IX-154), Blood sacrifice complex (IV-65 n, 64 n) Mystic Trees (III-154; I-144 n.1, VI-9n.1; VIII-7n 4), Secret Symbols (L-82 n), Nail Marks (V-193), The Svastika (1-190 and 193; VI-52 n), Serpent Worship (I-203-4; II-307 n.1 and n2; 311 n.1), Animal Legends (1-26, 76 n2, 84 n2, 129, 130, 144 n2; II 57 n.1, 127 n2; III 92 n, 104 n2, 187 n3, 272 n.1, IV-249, n; V-43 n.1, 101 n2, 102 n2, 109 n2, 130 n.1, 157 n.1; VI-277;

VII-21 n3), Betelnuts (VIII-318 n, 289 n2, 272, 314 ff), Evil Eye (1-216; II-298) Art of Theft (1-118-n2; II-183 n.1; III-153; V-61 n.1, 64, 142 n2, 143 n, 158 n; VI-37 n.1, VII-164 n.1, 201, 201 n.1, 203 n.1, 218 n2, 220; IX-78 n), Parakāyapravesam (1-38 n; II-45 n4, 212 n.1; III-83 n.1; IV-47; VI-74 n; VII-260 n3), Foeticide (II-229 n2; IX-162), Omens (III-306 n3, II-83), Demonology (II-61 n.1, 117; II-167; III-37; VI-59), Act of Truth (1-166; II-31; 33; III-179, 182; VIII-196 n), Cannibalism (IX-75 n.1), Use of camphor (III-260 n.1; VIII-246 n3) Other Superstitions (1-191; II-99 n, 105 n, 145 n; 111-131 n3, 152; IV-99 n2, 199 n2 and n3; V-100 n.1, 201 n; VI-24 n, 136, 149 n.1) and Fools (III-231 n.1; V-68 n, 16 n).

The contributions of Bloomfield in the *American Journal of Philology* cover a number of these *motifs*. e.g. Art of Theft Vol. XL, iv 97-133 and 193-229). A general survey covering the whole world is the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (ed. by Hastings). In this Gait deals with sacrifice (Vol. vi, pp. 849-53), Gone with mutilation (Vol. IX, pp. 62-3), D'Alivella with the Svastika (Vol. III, p. 657), Crooke with serpent worship (Vol. XII, pp. 716-19), Elworthy with the Evil Eye (Vol. V, pp. 608-15), Crawley with Foeticide (Vol. VI, pp. 54-57 and Vol. VII, pp. 739-44), Thurston with the omens and superstitions of South India (Vol. X), Crooke with Demonology (Vol. III, pp. 44-48 and Vol. IV, pp. 601-8) and Keith with the Act of Truth (Vol. IX, pp. 522-24). Crooke (*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. V, pp. 451-62) deals with secret symbols. The *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX (1880 March) has an article on the Svastika. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1917, (pp. 429-67), there is an article on the Act of Truth. Dymock deals with Mystic Trees in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, (Vol. II, pp. 80-91). On the subject of Fools in general, Clouston's *A Book of Noodles* (Booklovers' Library) is interesting reading. In *Frazer's Magazine*, (Vol. 2), Conway deals with Mystic Trees.

(*Concluded*)

Reviews

STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL THOUGHT of M. G. Ranade by P. J. Jagirdar, Reader in Political Science, Nagpur University. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, pp. viii and 148 Rs. 12-50.

This little book, its author says, 'is a search for the theories behind Ranade's writings'. It is divided into three parts. Part I Introductory is a readable and compact sketch of Ranade's life and work. Part II is entitled Social and Political and includes five studies and an Appendix on Western elements in the social thought of Ranade. Part III (Economic) contains three essays. There is a bibliography and Index.

The main interest of the book lies in its sustained demonstration that in his thought and writings Ranade drew upon western sources as well as our own traditional writings and tried to effect a synthesis between the two. The demonstration is clearly much more successful in the last part dealing with economic topics than in the earlier part, and Jagirdar is clearly conscious of this when he calls his attempt a search for the theories behind Ranade's writings. The search is diligent and at times far fetched. It often ekes out vague and obscure hints in stray sentences scattered over the voluminous writings of Ranade by extensive quotations from western sources particularly the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* and *Encyclopaedia of Social sciences,* Bury's *Idea of Progress* and other books on Social theory by Western writers. We see more of Jagirdar's wide reading and of his capacity for bringing it in some relation to Ranade's thought as he understands it than of Ranade's thought *per se.* We read statements like the following: 'Ranade's theory of the State is thus to be seen not directly but in its reflection in his writings and speeches' (p. 81); 'perhaps Ranade himself was not conscious of the relation between his economic and political ideas, was not conscious even of his belonging to the idealist school of political thought' (p. 96); (Ranade never wrote a systematic book on theory' (p. 97); 'Ranade must have held the state to be a product of man's social nature' (p. 101) and so on. It seems rather temerarious in the face of such obscurities to venture to compare Ranade with T. H. Green for instance and say: 'Ranade hints at a theory; Green independently states the same theory, and develops and refines it'. (p. 87). But much may excused for the loving and patriotic regard the author undoubtedly has for the great leader and publicist of Maharashtra. The book is well produced and should find many readers and a place in all libraries.

K. A. Nilakánta Sastri.

HOW THE BRITISH OCCUPIED BENGAL, A corrected account of the 1756-1765 Events. Ram Gopal. Asia Publishing House, 1963, VI and 373 pages. Rs. 22/-.

The period covered by this book has been covered in detail many times over by earlier writers and the sources used by the writer are all printed and very well known, like Hill, Vansittart etc. Accordingly the corrections hinted at in the subtitle of the book are not fundamental and there is no marked originality in interpretation either. The claim put forward in the blurb that the author has brought out new material and done some demonstrations for the first time is, to say the least, highly exaggerated. The real merit of the book lies in its detailed reproduction of the scattered sources in the form of a continuous narrative with the necessary connecting links furnished by the author who is more a competent journalist rather than a critical historian. The book is readable and reasonably well produced though not free from printing errors. The bibliography does not give the date or place of publication of the works listed. B. K. Gupta's book on *Siraj-ud-daula and the East India Company*, 1756-57 published by Brill, Leiden in 1962, does not find a place in the bibliography though it seems quite likely that it suggested the theme to the author of the present book.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

SHIVAJI: THE PORTRAIT OF A PATRIOT by V. B. Kulkarni. Orient Longmans Ltd., Bombay etc., 1963. pages 236. Rs. 5/-.

Mr. Kulkarni, a journalist and author of repute, has presented in this booklet a very lucid and eminently readable account of the life and work of the illustrious Maratha leader and statesman. With a correct instinct the late B. G. Tilak made the Shivaji festival one of the main instruments for the promotion and consolidation of the Nationalist Movement in Maharashtra in the days of British rule, and in the present work, as its sub-title indicates, Mr. Kulkarni has made a successful attempt to recapture the nationalist spirit and present it vividly to his readers. He does not hesitate to read our present outlook into the interpretation of Shivaji's work and roundly affirms that Shivaji aimed at securing the Hindus a position of strength *vis-a-vis* Muslims, so that the two communities may live on equal terms. There are suggestions for further reading at the end of each chapter, but no attempt at detailed documentation. The book is clearly propagandist in the best sense of the term. The author sometimes changes the sequence of events, perhaps for effect, as when he talks of the sins of Aurangzeb including the reimposition of the Jizya, just before narrating the escape of Shivaji from Agra (p. 100 ff.). There are also some minor flaws. At p. 115 there is mention of 'the historian of the Marathas' without name—there are at least two claimants to such a designation, Grant Duff and Sardesai, if not more, and they are both mentioned at the end of the chapter in 'References' together with J. N. Sarkar. At p. 117 there is a quotation in l. 5 marking the beginning of a citation, but its end is not shown. There is a flagrant contradiction between 'Shivaji's dominion was not large' (p. 177) and 'the far-flung realm of Shivaji' (p. 178). In the Preface we find 'a man destiny' where obviously 'a man of destiny' is intended. The book is well produced, but a map is a desideratum.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

FORT WILLIAM—INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE (Public Series), Vol. IV, 1764-66. Published by the Manager of Publications, Government of India. Price. Rs. 17/-.

This volume reproduces the letters to and from the Court of Directors in the Public Department during the period 1764-66. A few relevant letters from and to the Governors as well as the Select Committee at Fort William have been included in order to provide a connected source material.

The period (1764-66) covered by this volume of correspondence constituted a critical epoch in the history of the British in India. The victory at Plassey had transformed the position of the English East India Company. From a mere trading body it had acquired the status of political power. The Nawab of Bengal became a pensioner of state, while the power of the Mughal suzerain had already begun to totter.

It was during this period that the epoch-making battle of Buxar was won by the British. The defeat of the Mughal emperor led to the grant of the Diwani to the British. Clive was consequently obliged to organise the government. Corruption in Bengal was put down with a firm hand; the finances of the Company were improved; order and discipline were restored in the ranks of the army. But his reforms did not have a lasting effect. After Clive left India in 1767, the old evils reappeared.

The correspondence contained in the volume throws light particularly on Clive's second administration of Bengal which is of considerable significance in British Indian History. From these letters we get a vivid picture of Clive's untiring efforts to introduce an element of responsibility in the Company's rule in Bengal and to curb the profiteering tendencies of its servants. An insight into the dealings of the British with persons like Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim on the one hand and the relationship of British Governors like Vansittart and Verelst on the other, can be gleaned from the published correspondence.

The Notes appended to the volume provide useful data regarding the various personalities and events figuring during the period.

K. K. PILLAY

POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN INDIA Edited by C. H. Philips, Publishers, George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

The question whether parliamentary institutions of the type evolved in Britain can function properly in a heterogeneous country like India has been frequently discussed. A Seminar held recently at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, concentrated on the study of this question, and the book under review provides the papers presented at that Seminar.

The first three papers seek to examine the nature of the Indian political heritage from early times. The fifth paper shows how until 1917 the British policy lacked a sense of direction and that in August 1917 the British Government committed themselves explicitly to the policy of preparing India for responsible government within the Empire.

The rest of the papers are devoted to an examination of Indian political practices since 1947. One central idea examined is the extent to which the institution of caste has influenced, the working of the representative system. Caste has proved itself to be a dominant factor in political life throughout the country except perhaps in Western Bengal. The extent to which caste dominates the political field and nullifies the effect of real democracy is shown from the examples of Mysore and Andhra Pradesh. This feature is particularly marked in the British instituted forms of local government, and Dr. Tinker in his paper on "Tradition, and Experiment in Forms of Government' analyses the decay of those institutions and "examines the recent attempts to replace them by a system of *panchayat raj*, which sets out to use the social group instead of the individual, as the basis of the democratic system."

The papers presented at the Seminar are on the whole interesting in so far as they deal with the problem of working democratic institutions. There are, however, some repetitions, which are perhaps unavoidable in a collection of seminar papers. Moreover, it is desirable that there should have been a summary of the solutions to the fundamental questions raised at the seminar.

K. K. PILLAY.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA—AN ASSESSMENT by Ram Gopal (Asia Publishing House) Rs. 18/-.

The author who is a journalist, connected formerly with the *National Herald* of Lucknow as a columnist, and is now joint Editor of the *Leader*, Allahabad, seeks in this book to examine the oft-discussed question whether India has progressed or declined under the British rule. The author professes that he aims at objectivity and impartiality in the presentation of the subject. But a close study of the book reveals that it is easier to postulate an ideal than to achieve it.

The hardships which resulted from the British rule of India are luridly brought out. How agriculture and industry suffered in the early days of the British rule are vividly described. Agriculture declined; fragmentation of land was a consequence; and the sufferings of the population were increased both by the severity with which the land revenue was collected and by the unscrupulous profits which some of the Company's servants made out of the needs of the people. Besides, "not only millions of weavers and spinners disappeared in consequence of British exports, but other skilled workers were also dislodged from their ancestral vocations". (p. 24) The only trade which developed stupendously till 1843 was the slave traffic. But regarding agriculture and industry, the attempts made by the Government during the closing years of the 19th century and in the first half of the present century should not be ignored.

It is undeniable that in their dealings with Indians the British officials were often guilty of arrogant behaviour. "The slightest fault of a servant was visited with blows or with the gross abuses" (p. 127). The policeman proved incorrigible. "Throughout British rule, he obstinately retained his traditional characteristics of bribery, exaction and oppression". (p. 145) But it is pertinent to ask the author whether in this respect conditions have radically changed for the better in Independent India. Moreover, what was the position in the Native States, where the British did not carry on the administration?

Equally severe are the author's strictures on the administration of justice in the British period. Justice was often denied; it was costly; but, to go farther and say that "inefficiency, negligence, callousness and corruption combined to produce what was known as judicial administration" (p. 195) is to exaggerate the position.

The bureaucracy in India had no doubt certain defects. At times it was corrupt and demoralised. It is true also that "some of the District Magistrates behaved with the arrogance and autocracy of a king" (p. 242). But as against this, the real merits of the Indian Civil Service should not be ignored. Despite many instances of official arrogance, petulance and ill-treatment of the people, by and large, the I.C.S. was an efficient organisation which enabled the British to control the affairs of the sub-continent.

The author has very graphically described the acts of repression adopted by the British in the present century. The worst of them undoubtedly was the atrocious Jalianwala Bagh tragedy. There is little doubt that such acts are to be condemned severely.

While one may admit the truth in the above-mentioned allegations, it is unfair to accuse the British for things for which they were not blameworthy. For instance, if Sati and female infanticide persisted, the fault was not that of the British. The Government had to face a delicate situation in so far as they were obliged to undertake necessary reform without offending deep-seated superstitions. It is unfair to condemn the government for what little they did to check these evils. If the people failed to appreciate the good intentions that motivated the British to attempt these reforms, who are to be blamed for it? In this connection it is significant to remember that so recently as on June 11, 1954 and on October 23, 1954, Sati occurred in Javi and Jodhpur respectively. (See Upendra Thakur: The History of Suicide in India, pp. 178-180).

Then comes the question of education. No doubt, for a considerable time the British did little in this direction. And even later the effort was not adequate to the needs of a vast country. Despite these, the British did make a beginning and achieved some progress in due course. Even though some of the administrators like Munro and Macaulay felt that the Western education would ultimately lead to the fall of British rule in India, they did not hesitate to introduce it.

The author has treated at some length the rise of nationalism in the country and has mentioned the Zamindary Association, founded in Bengal in 1837, the British Indian Society in the same Province in 1843 and ultimately the Indian National Congress in 1885. The influence of leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee, Sir Jamsetjee and V. Mandlik is also indicated.

But he has no word on the efforts of the British and the national leaders of India to bring about a peaceful transfer of power during the period of the Second World War. The efforts of Cripps Mission and the Cabinet Mission find no place in the history of 'British Rule in India'. A real piece of disservice done by the British to the subcontinent was the foundation it laid for its partition. The system of communal electorates and the encouragement given to the Muslim League at various stages really prepared the ground for the emergence of Pakistan.

There is no Bibliography in the book. The Index is unsatisfactory. It must, however, be said that the book is written in an easy flowing style.

K. K. PILLAY.

THE HISTORY OF SUICIDE IN INDIA—AN INTRODUCTION

by Upendra Thakur, M.A., D.Phil. (Cal.), Published by Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Oriental Publishers and Booksellers, Nai Sarak, New Delhi-6.

Suicide has always remained a baffling problem. Some have commended it; others have condemned it. The book under review is interesting, for it deals with the history of suicide in India.

But the great difficulty in undertaking a work of this kind is the paucity of reliable data. There have been so far no serious efforts on the part of our scholars to present a systematic study of suicide in our country from the ancient times to the present day. In Western countries, on the other hand, considerable progress has been made in this field. Scholars like Emile Durkhein, Harry Elpert, Henry Morselli, Prof. E. Westermarch, C. Lombroso and E. B. Hoag have made monumental contributions to the study of this problem. Unfortunately, in our country, no attempt has been made by our national Government in this direction even at present. Moreover, we have no reliable statistics on suicide prepared by the Government.

This pioneer attempt on the part of Dr Upendra Thakur is, therefore, quite welcome. The book consists of five chapters. The first chapter enumerates the different sources which form the basis of the study. The literary and archaeological sources provide certain data, while the foreign accounts and references in the records of the East Indian Company throw light on suicides of the later periods.

Chapter II deals with the various causes and influences that have prompted suicide. Suicide is, in the opinion of medical authorities, "a symptom of disease of the brain" in the majority of cases.

Religious tradition and social practice have also played their part in causing suicide.

Chapter III traces the history of suicides in India from early times to the present day on the basis of the available data. As A. B. Keith says, it is not clear whether the references in the Rig Veda, the later Samhitas and Brahmanas have any bearing on suicide. However, the Mahabharata and Ramayana are full of instances of suicide. Kautilya, on the other hand, condemns suicide in his Arthasastra. The Matsya Purana commends death by fire, poison, water or by fasting, while the Linga Purana recommends the merit of suicide at Kurukshetra. The Smritis also permitted death by entering fire or by drowning or throwing oneself from a precipice.

Though the Quran condemns suicide, yet in the medieval age suicides did occur among the Muslims of India. It is noteworthy that the Qutb Minar became notorious as a suicide tower.

The fourth chapter deals with the age-old institutions of Sati and Jauhar, which occupy an important place in the history of India. It is interesting to learn that Sati was widely prevalent among the ancient Greeks, Germans, Slavs and Egyptians, though among them it was mostly confined to princes and nobles. Sati existed among the Aryans in the Indo-European period, and later fell into disuse among the Vedic Aryans. No reference to Sati is found in India prior to the 4th century B.C. By about 400 A.D., when the Puranas were given their present form, the custom was gradually coming into vogue. In the medieval age, with the increase of political confusion, Sati increased and it was held in high esteem by the Hindus. Jauhar, another medieval institution, which flourished side by side with that of Sati, was common among the Rajputs. Jauhar was the immolation of every female of the family or even of an entire tribe. It was committed in order to avoid degradation, especially sexual dishonour at the hands of the enemy.

The last and the fifth chapter presents a comparative study of suicides in China, Japan, Burma, Russia and other Asiatic countries and also in the Western world. Besides the causes noticed earlier, religion combined with superstition, constituted a primary factor in promoting suicide all over the world. The Buddhist ideal of self-surrender was employed in China and Japan to support suicide. In China, hanging, leaping down from a wall and opiumpoisoning were common methods of suicide. Japan was pre- eminently a "land of suicide", while it was also common among the Karens of Burma.

In the West, suicide was prevalent among the Greeks and Romans in early times and among the Europeans as a whole during the middle ages. It is interesting to note that writers like Montesquieu and Voltaire, as well as the English Utilitarians supported it. The appropriateness of this chapter in a book dealing with the history of suicide in India is open to question.

The book forms a valuable addition to our knowledge, though it cannot but be stated that it is only a preliminary study. Much more data have to be collected before a comprehensive account is furnished. There are some repetitions in the book and a lack of cohesion at places. The Select Bibliography and Index are good.

K. K. Pillay.

INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN: A Study in Diplomatic Relations 1876-1907 by D. P. Singhal, Published by the University of Queensland Press.

Occasionally monographs appear which restrict the scope of a subject rather unreasonably. The book under review 'India and Afghanistan—1876-1907' is an instance of this defect. The book is in fact concerned with the history of the diplomatic issues involved in the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia and its repercussions on Afghanistan and India. Naturally the study should have commenced with 1837, when Persia, aided and influenced by Russia laid siege to Herat. In order to ward off the Russian and Persian influence in Afghanistan, Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, sent Capt. Alexander Burnes to Kabul, and this in its turn, ultimately led to the 1st Afghan War. It is but proper that this study begins with that epoch. The author's contention that "the available materials on the subject are so abundant and complicated that it has been necessary to limit the subject to India's diplomatic relations with Afghanistan between 1876 and 1907, the most formative period in the history of Indo-Afghan relations", (p. xii) is hardly justifiable.

It is true that the sources of information on the British side are ample. But, as the author himself admits, these accounts often lack objectivity. He has tried to make full and critical use of the official documents and private papers, particularly the Political and Secret Letters to and from India as well as the Lytton and Ripon Papers. It would be desirable to utilise also the documents in Afghanistan and Russia, limited in number though they are, which throw light on these questions. For example, the reported Skobeloff Plan for a Russian invasion of India and General Roberts' discovery of Russian correspondence at Kabul should have been made use of to the fullest extent.

A crucial question which emerges from a study of the diplotic relations of the period is whether the British apprehension of Russian peril in the 19th century was real or imaginary. It is now known that the Russian menace to India was not real. Later events have indicated that all speculations concerning 'threats to India' were unfounded. But the pertinent question is what the men of the hour thought of it. To say that "no Indian or British authority—Lytton least of all—considered the danger of Russian invasion from that side a real one" (p. 46), seems to be far too sweeping. In this connection it is important to remember that it is the belief more than the fact that often determines policy. Several political leaders, particularly of the Conservative Party in England, did believe the Russian peril a real menace. Lord Salisbury who was primarily responsible for the inauguration of the Forward Policy, did believe that there was a political danger, though he held that the menace of a Russian advance on India was a chimera. He feared that "Russia would first try to obtain influence at the court of Kabul and then use it to threaten the British power in India." (p. 188).

But the handling of the Afghan question by the British politicians and administrators was remarkably unsteady. The Liberals and Conservatives held opposite views and consequently there was a conspicuous lack of consistency in policy. Moreover, in the execution of the policy, difficulties arose on account of the two fold authority. The broad outline of external policy was determined by the British Cabinet but the responsibility for its execution lay with the Indian Government.

The author's estimate of the personalities who figured prominently during the period of his study is fair and balanced. He pays a well-merited tribute to Abdur Rahman. "Afghanistan owes a tremendous debt of gratitude to Abdur Rahman who guided her destiny in an hour of extreme danger with remarkable political perception, diplomatic shrewdness and perseverence." (p. 178). Lord Ripon's policy of pacification is also given its due recognition. "Of all the foreigners who helped to evolve the state of Afghanistan, Ripon stands out well above the rest for his sympathetic understanding of the Afghan problems at a time when it was easy to give way to prejudice and pressure". (p. 178).

A few appendices have been provided. But some more, containing extracts from certain crucial documents, could have been added with advantage. The Bibliography is good. The map showing Russian expansion in Central Asia during the 19th century is helpful for the study of the subject.

K. K. PILLAY.

PREHISTORY AND PROTOHISTORY IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN: by H. D. Sankalia, Professor of Proto Indian and Ancient Indian History, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, with a forward by R. V. Sathe, Vice-Chancellor, University of Bombay. Published by the Registrar, University of Bombay, Bombay-1, 1962. Pp. 316 + 36 plates Price Rs. 39.50.

This book which is the final outcome of the Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji lectures delivered by its author, Dr. H. D. Sankalia under the auspices of the University of Bombay in 1960 is a comprehensive and authoritative survey of the pre and proto-historic cultures in India and Pakistan. The author's enduring services and contributions to the study of that branch of Indian Archaeology viz., pre and proto-history of the country, which was one of conjecture and speculation, if not one of complete darkness, before the commencement of regular archaeological excavations and research in the last two decades have won for him recognition as a frontrank pre-historian. Though in recent years a few publications have come out on the subject written by scholars like Gordon, Wheeler and others, the need for a comprehensive and critical volume covering the whole range of the subject has been a hard felt need, particularly because most of the publications were either descriptions of a particular culture or a sequence of cultures in a particular region or an incomplete general survey because of the non-availability of all the necessary material or difficulty in examining them systematically *in situ* after intensive explorations and excavations.

The first attempt to bring out an up-to-date survey and examination of the pre and proto-historic cultures of India goes to the credit of Dr. B. Subba Rao, a brilliant pupil and esteemed colleague of Dr. Sankalia. The dedication of this volume to cherish his sacred memory is most appropriate and shows the nobility of the teacher.

In a lengthy introduction to the book Dr. Sankalia gives a survey of the different physio-cultural and chronological divisions of India and Pakistan in relation to their pre and proto-history before proceeding to their description. He also gives a general resume of the work done so far in the field of pre and proto-history of the sub-continent. He clarifies, at the beginning, the technical terminology, standardised for common usage and better understanding when studying the subject. A chronological table which shows the sequence of the different cultural stages by which early man in India progressed towards civilization, is added at the end of the introduction.

The Palaeolithic Cultures, divided into Lower Palaeolithic and Middle Palaeolithic are described respectively in the first two chapters of the book. A description of the Mesolithic cultures follows in the next chapter and the Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures in the last. Each of the four chapters of the book contains condensed and precise information of the stratigraphy, tool types, mode of occurrence, evolution (if any), associated finds, special features and a good number of illustrations which include maps, stratigraphical charts, photos and sketches of artefacts and pottery whenever necessary. The objective presentation of first hand information collected practically from all over the country is seen in all the four chapters.

The different aspects of the Palaeolithic Cultures are reviewed in seriatum in the first chapter, according to their geographical distribution. These cultures, which fall mainly into two broad divisions viz., the earlier 'Sohan tradition' characterised by the chopper-chopping tools and flakes recalling the Clactonian technique and the 'Pebble-butt hand-axe tradition' of the peninsula, however, present a general problem as to their evolution and correlation, both typologically and chronologically. The influence of one tradition over the other is still a problem for serious study with the help of proper evidence. Dr. Sankalia recognises this when he says that "a re-examination of the crucial sites in the Sohan Valley is necessary" (p. 276). The author also emphasises the need for a proper estimation of the so called 'Sohan element' reported in sites in North Gujarat, Orissa and the Singrauli Basin (p. 27). Scrapers, borers and points, which stratigraphically belong to the 'middle gravel' i.e., the alluvial silt formed during the Late Pleistocene, 'the second aggradation cycle' as the author puts it (p. 122), when compared to the artefacts of the Lower Palaeolithic cultures show a marked development in the mode and ways of the everyday life of early man. In the second chapter the author gives in a short compass the stratigraphy and tool types of the different Middle Palaeolithic cultures in India, in which the tools mentioned above predominate. Though the third chapter of the book is entitled 'Mesolithic Cultures of India' it is a chapter on the Microlithic cultures. The author's remark in the beginning of the chapter that "It is not true to say that we have got definitely Mesolithic cultures comparable to those in Europe or Africa, either in time or content or stratigraphy" (p. 126) is really true. In this survey an attempt is made to give the microlithic cultures a stratigraphical position so that they may be fitted into the general chronological sequences. The subject needs to be taken up for further study and research. While dealing with the microlithic cultures as such, the two statements of caution by the author viz., that "Nowhere in India microliths overlie the Palaeolithic and underlie Neolithic" and even such of the microliths found in different parts of the country "do not suggest or stand for Mesolithic stage of culture" (p. 126), should be borne in mind by scholars who take up the above subject before postulating their views. The final chapter, entitled "Neolithic and Chalcolithic Cultures" has interesting discussions for the reader. The first is how to distinguish the two cultures as separate ones in India, based on the study of the finds from sites and the second is the dating of the finds themselves. The finds from different sites as well as their dates, as shown in the book, are not the same everywhere and the finds do not belong to the same period in all the sites. But still it is a fact that the excavations in numerous sites show that there is no overlap or mixing of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Cultures. Though there is some difficulty in dating these finds and in giving them a place of succession in a chronological sequence of antiquities, it is all the more important to note that these evidences alone can help one in reconstructing the beginning stages of Social and Economic set-ups in this country.

The author is very cautious in his writing and has reserved consideration of some of the problems in the pre-history of the country to the last. Certain limitations on the subject which this volume is supposed to cover are also admitted. For the author excludes a detailed review of the Indus Civilization and the Baluchistan pottery as well as a discussion on the megaliths and rock shelters and paintings since, as he says, "both these are well discussed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler and the late Colonel Gordon in their respective works" (Preface, p. xii).

The author stresses the need for excavating pre and protohistoric sites not only to settle the problems unsolved but also to establish, on firm basis, the relative chronology of the different cultures. While referring to the Neolithic question, he says, "Except for surface finds here and there nothing much is known, and typology is not a sure guide, as it is considered so often." (p. 278). This is a fact which holds good for the studies not only on the Neolithic question but on all such similar problems in Indian pre and proto-history.

The book runs to 315 pages with an introduction of 22 pages and includes 36 plates. At the end of the book, there are two long charts, one showing the distribution of the stone age cultures and climatic phases in India (excluding the Punjab and Kashmir Valley) in a chronological scale. The second chart shows the chronological evolution of the cultures from the beginning of pastoral stage to the threshold of urban civilization as evidenced by the excavated and other finds from sites all over India.

This valuable publication is indispensable to every student of the pre and proto-history of India and Pakistan.

T. V. Mahalingam.

AN EARLY HISTORY OF VAISALI (From the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Vajjian Republic, circa 484 B.C.) by Yogendra Mishra, M.A. Ph.D. Motilal Banarsidass, Jawaharnagar, Delhi-6; pp. 302; Price Rs. 15. Foreign: Sh. 30.

The present monograph, the result of the researches carried out by the author under the guidance of the late Dr. A. S. Altekar and dedicated to his memory, traces the early history of Vaiśāli in North Bihar, historically one of the most important regions in India. The name Vaiśāli is not met with in the Vedic literature; and its early history is gleaned mainly from the epics and the Purāṇas. A great centre of trade and commerce, Vaiśāli is famous for the experiment, by the Lichchhāvis, in the form of government. It is also memorable as the birth place of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra and a favourite resort of the Buddha. The present monograph is the first systematic and well documented work on the early history of that region.

The work is broadly divided into three parts, Books I, II, and III. The first Book comprising chapters II to VIII portrays the history of Vaiśāli under the monarchical form of government and is largely based on ancient Indian historical traditions. The story of the rise, consolidation, ascendancy and expansion of the Vaiśālian monarchy is lucidly narrated, followed by short accounts of the reigns of shadowy kings from Sudhriti to Budha, the resurgence of the monarchy under Triṇabindu, the foundation of a new Vaiśāli by Viśala and an account of his successors from Hemachandra to Sumati. The account of the relations of Vaiśāli with Lankā during the period is informative and interesting. Book II consists of only one short chapter dealing with the history of the region from the end of the rule of king Sumati to the foundation of the Vajjian republic. Paucity of records or references testifying to the history of this period makes it a comparatively dark age.

The third Book which forms the major part of the work elaborately deals with the various constituent clans of the Vajjian republic, its political and external relations, its constitution, administrative system etc., besides the condition of Buddhism and Jainism in the Republic and the contacts of the Buddha and Mahavira with it. The social and material conditions, the state of education in the Republic and the factors that led to its eventual fall are also reviewed in detail.

An exhaustive bibliography and a useful index are provided. The author deserves congratulations for the well documented and lucid presentation of the history of Vaiśāli. A map of the political geography of the kingdom could have been usefully given at the end.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

THE EVOLUTION OF THEISTIC SECTS IN ANCIENT INDIA UPTO THE TIME OF SAMKARACHARYA: by Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Visvabharati University, Santiniketan (1962). Progressive Publishers, 37, College Street, Calcutta-12; pp. 205; Price Rs. 12.50.

This handy volume which is devoted to an examination of the origin and growth of theistic sects in ancient India is a significant contribution, in recent times, to the study of early religious cults in the country. Divided into three sections, the work deals first with the formation of the Śaiva, Vaishṇava and other minor cults and then with the condition of these cults under the Scytho-Kushāṇas and during the age of early Tantricism. Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya feels that the sect of Vāsudeva-Krishṇa with *bhakti* as its pivot is anterior to the Rudra-Śiva sect (pp. 16-17) and that the Pāśupata sect of the Śaivas existed even in the fourth century B.C. in North-Western India and thinks that Rudra-Śiva was a god in early Indo-European pantheon also (p. 22). The postulation of the view that there were originally several Vāsudevas, more than one of whom claimed identification with Janārdana Vishṇu is interesting and reveals the difficulties through which the cult of Vāsudeva-Krishṇa had to pass in the early stage. On the authority of the expressions, *Kamsabhaktah* and *Vāsudevabhaktah*, in the *Mahābhāshya* it has been derived that the former refers to the follower of Śiva (Kamsa being taken as a partisan of Śiva) and the latter to that of Vāsudeva-Krishṇa. This interesting view is worth further examination. Śamkarshaṇa who was originally outside the Vaishṇava pantheon appears to have been absorbed into it by the second century B.C., making early Vaishṇavism essentially a religion of synthesis. In addition to these two principal streams—Śaivism and Vaishṇavism—a large number of people believed in the fertility cult (Śāktas) and the worship of the solar deity, (Sauras) apart from many a primitive and popular cult.

While surveying, in the second section, the state of these cults under the Scytho-Kushāṇas, the author shows that it was under the Scythian patronage that the new Lakulīśa subsect grew up and that it did not admit the Śūdras within its fold. This is followed by a discussion on the origin and growth of two sub-sects in Vaishnavism—the Pāñcharātra sect and the Gōpāla sect. It is said that Śāktas also have grown in importance during this period with the help of the Śaivas and that the tribal folk like the Puklindas, Śabaras etc., of the Vindhyan range were admitted into the Śākta fold. The Sauras too, especially the Magian Sun-sect, flourished in north-western India; so also the Kārttikeya sect which was 'an amalgam of several minor sects'.

The third section on Tantricism covers the period from the rise of the imperial Guptas to the period of Śankarāchārya and shows that it was during this period that tantric doctrines gained ground in Buddhism and were prevalent in South-east Asian countries as well. The Tantric ideas had considerable influence on Āgama-Śaivism. The Vāsudeva Vishṇu sect with the Pāñcharātra cult at the forefront continued to be prominent. On account of the wide prevalence of Tantricism, the Śāktas had horrible practices.

The author deserves congratulations for the careful accumulation of relevant data from a mass of literary and archaeological evidence on this complex subject and his lucid presentation of the same. The book is provided with a useful and fairly exhaustive bibliography and an index. One would, however, wish that at least a few of the plastic specimens cited here and there as corroborative pieces of evidence had been illustrated.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

EARLY SCULPTURE OF BENGAL: by S. K. Saraswati, Sambodhi Publications Private Ltd., 22, Strand Road, Calcutta-1. 1962. Pp. 128 + xxiv.

This is a reprint of an earlier publication by S. K. Saraswati on the early sculpture of Bengal brought out in 1937. As many fresh discoveries have been made since then the book has been thoroughly revised and it seems as though it is a new work.

This is a concise and scholarly monographs on the art of sculpture in pre-Pala Bengal. It is brought out that artists in Bengal in the pre-Gupta period were largely influenced by the Kushana idiom. A separate chapter is devoted to a study of the Gupta sculptures in Bengal, in which, besides plastic art, the art of bronze casting is dealt with in detail. A notable feature of the work is a detailed study of the Paharpur sculptures. The large mass of sculptural material unearthed at Paharpur is divisible into three groups on grounds of style; and each group has been analytically treated in a separate chapter. The terracottas, crude and polished, which formed the household sculpture have also received due treatment.

Necessary references calculated to help further study are copiously furnished. The illustrations have been carefully selected, from among a mass of specimens. This well got up and handy volume must serve as a model for similar productions on the sculptures of different regions and schools in India.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

VĀDIRĀJA'S YAŚODHARACARITA with Lakṣmaṇa's Sanskrit Commentary. Edited by K. Krishnamoorthy. Karnatak University, Dharwar. 1963. Pages 234 Rs. 5/-.

Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, who is well known to Indologists as the translator of the *Dhvanyāloka* and as a keen student of Indian literary criticism, has now given us an excellent critical edition of an important Sanskrit Kāvya dealing with the popular Jaina story of King Yośodhara and his faithless queen Amṛtamatī. The author of the poem is the famous philosopher Vādirāja belonging to the Nandi Sangha of Jaina teachers. He was born and educated at Simhapuram in Tamilnad, which may be either modern Singavaram in Tanjore or Singatta-kuricchi in Trichy; but his literary activities were mainly in the Karṇāṭaka country. He was patronized by the Chalukya Emperor Jagadekamalla Jayasimha II (1018-42). Vādirāja has to his credit three major works: the *Pārśvanāthacarita* (composed in A.D. 1025) which in twelve cantos describes the different births of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṃkara, the *Nyāyaviniścaya-vivaraṇa* which is a commentary

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on Akalaṅka's work on Jaina epistemology and the *Yaśodhara-carita*. The *Pramāṇanirṇaya* and the *Ekībhāvastotra* are generally ascribed to him. Of these the *Nyāyaviniścayavivaraṇa* is the most important work of Vādirāja; it is an elaborate, exhaustive and comprehensive commentary, and besides its importance for its logical exposition, it enabled scholars to reconstruct the original text of Akalaṅka which was otherwise not available. The present work *Yaśodharacarita* shows that Vādirāja has an honoured place not only in the field of philosophy, but also in the literary field.

Vādirāja is a poet of real merit; his style is graceful and lucid. He is fully aware of the artificial traditions of Sanskrit poets; but is free from many of the extravagances of the artificial poets. Though it is a didactic poem, its aesthetic value is very high.

The text is presented here with the Sanskrit commentary of Lakṣmaṇa (c. A.D. 1550) which is simple and clear; it is of interest to note that he quotes not Pāṇini, but the *Kātantra* and Śākaṭāyana. Besides the English translation, Dr. Krishnamoorthy gives a very long Introduction discussing exhaustively all the problems connected with Vādirāja and his works. Prof. A. N. Upadhye has added an illuminating Foreword to this excellent edition.

Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja.

AGRARIAN RELATIONS AND EARLY BRITISH RULE IN INDIA, by Gupta, S. C. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963. Price Rs. 26/-.

This work, originally a thesis for the Doctorate degree of the Delhi School of Economics, deals with the agrarian structure and adminnistration of what were known as the ceded and conquered provinces which now form part of the State of Uttar Pradesh. It covers the period, 1801 to 1833, and is an analytical probe into the agrarian system of that region. During this brief span of three decades the British Government erperimented with a new and unque system of land revenue in this region—a system which was essentially different from that of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal and the Ryotwari System of Madras and which sought to combine the best in both these systems of land tenure. Going to the fact that this ideal system was in operation for hardly a decade, 1822-31, and that it covered only a small region, it had escaped the notice of economic historians. The present study highlights the salient features of this system and points out how it was a forerunner of the policy of abolition of intermediaries and recognition of peasant proprietorship that India has been following independence. The author attributes the failure of this theoretically sound system to the fact that in the then existing conditions the administrative machinery was inadequate to undertake all the work involved in a meticulous classification of soils for fixing rent, computing working costs to arrive at the net produce and the difficult task of examining, preparing and maintaining a complete record of rights in landed property. This needed a modification and a compromise of the original system which resulted in the evolution of what is now known as the Mahalwari land revenue system.

Starting with an analytical study of the land revenue assessment and collection machinery immediaely preceding the British rule, the author proceeds to give a descriptive account of the strong village communities which formed the social fabric of the region and then evaluates the impact of different economic and political forces which had led to the moulding of this particular system of land revenue. The French Revolution, the rise of the Ricardian theory of rent, the utilitarian influence on British policies towards India, the Industrial Revolution and the basic economic and ideological changes which it brought to bear on British commercial policy, have all had their share in it. On the basis of a review of this segment of economic history of the region from the vantage point that the passage of time affords and on that of ample recorded material concerning the conditions of the period, the author is able to assess and evaluate, with clarity, the role of each of the forces in the evolution of the new system.

Dr. Gupta's work is a good piece of research and a valuable contribution to the literature on the economic history of our country.

M. G. Lakshmi.

THE PĀÑCARĀTRAPRĀSĀDA PRASĀDHANA (Edited and annotated by H. Daniel Smith), published by T. S. M. Varadarajabhattar, 93, T. P. Koil Street, Madras. 1963; Pages xxviii +200, Price Rs. 3.

Two parallel traditions in religious worship are held sacred by the 'Śrīvaiṣṇavas, viz; the tradition of the Vaikhānasas and that of the Paāñcarātras. In the apocryphal Nāradīyasamhitā it is said that the five kinds of '*rātra*' or knowledge are *tattva, muktiprada, bhakatiprada, Yaugika* and *Vaiśeṣika.* In other words, they are concerned respectively with ontology, liberation, devotion, Yoga, and the objects of sense. How the word *rātra* meaning night came to denote both a doctrine and a chapter or work dealing with that doctrine is not clear. In due course, however, the term *rātra* became synonymous with *tantra* and *samhitā* so that Pāñcarātra became a designation of the ancient Vaiṣṇavite system, just as the term Ṣaṣṭi Tantra became a designation of the Sāṃkhya system.

The work under review, the Pāñcarātraprāsādaprasādhana, (=PPP.) may be deemed a partial fulfilment of the hope expressed by F. Otto Schrader in his introduction to the Pāñcarātra that special monographs may be produced on each of the several major topics discussed in the extant Pāñcarātrāgama texts. The bulk of this book originally formed the second part of the dissertation prepared by the editor, H. Daniel Smith for which the Ph.D. degree was awarded by Yale University in 1960. The dissertation in question was entitled 'The Temple Building Activities of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas in South India according to available extant Pāñcarātrāgama Texts with special reference to the Padma Tantra'. The source material, having a bearing on the theme of PPP., lay scattered in nearly 215 samhitas. A method, therefore, had to be evolved for presenting the relevant material in a handy form without obscuring the truly immense sweep of the literature on the subject. The editor chose a representative and popular extract of ten chapters on temple building from the *Kriyāpāda* of the Padmasamhita, and to this Sanskrit text have been added notes culled from and collated with parallel sources. The Sanskrit text is in the Devanāgari while the notes are in English or are transliterated into the Roman script.

The nature of the theme of these extracts may suggest that the present work can be subsumed under the traditional '*Silpaśāstrá;* but such is not the case. The '*Silpaśāstra* works are designed to act as practical guides to the artisans in their labours; they give elaborate directions for the engineering and construction of temple edifices as well as for the fashioning of icons. On the other hand, the Pāñcarātrāgama texts are concerned mainly with the liturgies accompanying the construction. The importance of these latter texts consists in the fact that they alone can convey an idea of the holy enthusiasm that fired the faithful in preparing edifices where the Lord in His image form, *Arcā,* may be worshipped in appropriate dignity.

What led to the choice of the *Kriyāpāda* of the Padmasamhitā for publication as an integral part of the author's thesis is the clarity of the outline and the detailed discussions contained in this text. Also, the Padmasamhitā is one of the most popular and authoritative among the Pāñcarātra canonical works. Here, for the first time, in the present edition has a major portion of the Padmasamhitā been published in the Devanagariscript.

It is important to stress the fact that PPP. is a critical edition of the Padmasamhitā extract. Several manuscript recensions and two printed editions in the Telugu script have been collated for preparing a readable text. Where honest doubts have cropped up regarding readings, those judged best have been always selected, and alternate readings recorded in the footnotes. The tendency among research scholars to inflate the footnotes by superflously noting near synonyms has been studiously avoided. The more or less elaborate, explanatory and critical footnotes, and the descriptive and classified bibliography at the end render the present edition a model worthy of emulation by workers in similar fields of research. For instance, our editor draws attention, in FN No. 46 on II, 30, to a typical Pāñcarātra touch, viz; the notion tha Vedic rituals are transcended by temple worship. This view is part of the orthodox defence against the Vaidikas who have always tended to treat the Pāñcarātra system of thought and worship as heterodox. The FN. No. 61, on II, 41, informing us that 'Sāstā is a horse deity called Aiyanār in Tamil, seems to require revision; in Kerala, while the term Aiyanār is current for Śāstā, the latter has been identified not with a horse-deity, but, mythologically, with the offspring of Hari-Hara or Viṣṇu-Śiva and, historically with a form of the Buddha. The editorial notes on II, 54 elucidating the Pāñcarātra position on caste distinctions strikes one as not altogether well-informed. The metaphysical equality or even identity of human spirits, of *Jīvātman* with *Paramātman,* has never prevented the development of opprobrious caste distinctions in India. Perhaps this phenomenon has been governed far more by social and economic causes than by religious and philosophical considerations. The verses II, 60 and 61 enjoining that temples to Rudra shall be erected far away from inhabited villages apparently reflect Śrī Vaiṣṇava bigotry and animus against Śaivism.

While the readings chosen for the printed text on the whole command respect, in one or two cases the editor's judgment appears to be questionable. For instance in I, 10, *tumām* is better than *Acyutam,* the speaker being Śrī Bhagavān. In I, 19 the rejected reading *daivajñena* makes decidedly better sense than the printed word *devayajñe.* In a work that has reached an unusually high level of accuracy and usefulness it is somewhat disconcerting to note rules of normal *saṃdhi* violated in a number of instances. Random examples are furnished by I, 14; III, 31; V, 29; and X, 37. A few among the notable features of the PPP. are the detailed table of contents, an explanatory Foreword, and, as already observed, a select, descriptive, bibliography that enables the daring reader to pursue this subject of study purposefully and independently. In these circumstances, the Editor's hope that his efforts may have rendered the PPP. useful to the Sanskrit-reading public and may constitute a small contribution to Pāñcarātra scholarship sounds excessively modest.

A. G. Krishna Warrier.

KĀLIDĀSA-SAMĪKṢĀ, edited by Dr. E. R. Sri Krishna Sarma, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupathi. 1962. Pages ii+122; Price Rs. 4.

The volume under notice contains the proceedings of a Seminar on the works of Kālidāsa held under the auspices of the S. V. University in January, 1962. The title chosen for the volume inevitably raises expectations of fruitful critical studies on the varied facets of Kālidāsa's opulent genius. Of course it is hard to fulfil all these expectations. There can, however, be no two opinions as to the correctness and timeliness of the step taken by the University in convening a Seminar of this kind. The tendency to take

Kālidāsa for granted and to dismiss his glorious works with a few well-worn phrases has to be sternly resisted, and persistent efforts have to be made to evaluate the master and his achievements in decisive epochs of national evolution and growth such as the one in which we live today.

Some of the speeches made in the Seminar and the papers read create the impression of being rather vague. For instance the remark (p. 116) that Kālidāsa's poetry does not lend itself to analysis is not helpful; in fact, the Seminar that occasioned the remark suggests that the contrary is the truth. It is of course true that the analysis of a poet's genius and work has got to be creative, to be significant at all. The mere collection of statistics regarding un-Pāninian usages occurring in Kālidāsa's works or the Gṛhya ceremonials referred to therein, the metres employed or even the etymologies offered by him may, at best, provide curious information and wholly fail to promote the central purpose which a Seminar on Kalidasa may worthily place before itself, viz; to uncover the secret springs of Kālidāsa's poetic inspiration, to evaluate his poetic achievements, and to test the validity of his interpretation of the culture which he inherited and brought to unique fulfilment in his own works. Relevant to this purpose are the papers like those on the Psychology of love according to Kālidāsa, the Upaniṣadic thoughts as revealed in Kālidāsa, and the discussion on the Raghuvamsā as a Mahākāvya. Several ideas expressed under these titles strike one as somewhat naive; e.g. the effort to define love in para. 2 on page 90. In the talk about 'Sakuntala's unselfish love for the trees, plants, etc, the truth of her unselfconscious and harmonious life in the hermitage should not be missed. Was not Kālidāsa really concerned to paint his heroine's unsophisticated life in the hermitage of Kaṇva rather than to suggest that she was deliberately practising "Unselfish love to the trees, etc"? The study of this subject seems to have ignored Tagore's profound interpretation of Kāmadahana in the evolution of human love as depicted in the Kumārasambhava, and his exposition of the chastening effect of pain and suffering on love as suggested in the Śākuntala. The paper on the Meghasandeśa does not analyse the poem with a view to discovering its merits as a perfect lyric in which content and form seem to have attained ideal unity. Pious assertions that the poem is unique, etc., hardly meet the needs of the situation.

The painful effort to point a moral in the course of discussion on supreme works of art like the Meghadūta seems to be largely misconceived and results from confounding aesthetics with ethics.

On the whole, one gets the impression that the level of achievement attained in the Seminar on Kālidāsa's works is none too high; but, perhaps, as an eminently desirable first attempt, the present venture may be commended unreservedly.

A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER.

THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM OF MUGHAL INDIA (1556-1707): by Irfan Habib; Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963. Pp. ix, 453. Rs. 20.00.

This book attempts a detailed and analytical study of the agrarian system of Mughal India. This is by no means an unexplored field and many a scholar, notably W. H. Moreland, has shed a flood of light on it. Nevertheless Dr. Habib's work based on a study of original sources has been able to add to our knowledge of agrarian problems of the age by marshalling together a mass of Persian M. S. material and reinterpreting many of the sources used by earlier historians in the light of the new data.

The core of the book is the land revenue system of the Mughals, but it is presented on a background of the economic conditions of the period. The organisation and structure of the rural society of the times, the development of agriculture and trade and the condition of the people have been gleaned from diverse sources and pieced together to form a readable narrative. On the subject of land revenue the main contributions have been in clarifying the origin and growth of the zamindari system and bringing out the regional variations in revenue practices which obtained in the Mughal empire. Finally, attention is focussed on the agrarian crisis which accentuated the decline and fall of the empire.

The work provides a refreshing rethinking on many of the conclusions of the earlier European historians. In this process the rich repertory of historical sources of the Mughal period has been ransacked and subjected to closer scrutiny. The profuse commentaries on the sources in the footnotes supporting the conclusions in the text form interesting reading. The author has shown great objectivity in his treatment over a large part of the field, but this commendable quality has apparently deserted him in his treatment of the Marathas. It is surprising that he should have given so much weight to the prejudiced and ill-informed observations of a casual traveller like John Fryer, to the exclusion of other more authentic sources of Maratha history. The book is on the whole a scholarly and well documented work with a good bibliography and index.

V. R. Pillai.

FAMINES IN INDIA, 1860-1945: A Study in Some Aspects of the History of India by B. M. Bhatia; Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963. Pp. ix, 367. Rs. 20.00.

The present book is a modified version of the author's doctoral dissertation. It gives a connected account of famines that ravaged this country from 1865 to 1908. A chapter on the Bengal Famine of 1943 has also been appended. The author has attempted to assess the incidence of these famines and analyse the causes of their frequent occurrence. He also examines critically the administration's handling of the situation.

The story of successive famines and scarcities is narrated in great detail against the background of the state of the economy during the period under study. This is followed by a critical review of the famine relief measures of the central and provincial governments, and their failure to grapple with the basic problem of agricultural development. In conclusion, the author underscores the need for an increase in the production of foodgrains and the stabilisation of prices.

Famines in India contains a wealth of useful material but its analysis and interpretation leave much to be desired. The general approach is subjective; the author dwells at length on the failings of colonial rule, but dismisses the growth of population in an *obiter dictum*. The significance of an increase of 144·3 million in India's population in the second half of the 19th century as against 50 million in the preceding five half centuries has been completely lost sight of. The criticism of Government's famine relief measures appears to be unnecessarily severe and does scant justice to the enormous efforts of the Government to relieve suffering and prevent the recurrence of famines. Perhaps a more balanced picture would have emerged had an attempt been made to work out the financial implications of a more liberal relief policy and compare it with the resources at the disposal of the Government. The author's claim to make a new approach to this subject (p. xiii) is hardly substantiated. The documentation is defective in several particulars and the sources of the tables have seldom been indicated. Notwithstaning these limitations, the present volume is a welcome addition to the literature on Indian economic history.

P. G. K. Panikar.

TARA BAI AND HER TIMES by Brij Kishore, Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Price Rs. 16·50/-.

Tara Bai Mohite (1685-1761), a "stormy petrel and no dove of peace", emerged into history at a critical time for the Marathas when they were engaged in a mortal struggle with the imperial Mughals. Their fortunes during the period 1700-07 were shaped by her. She rallied the people around herself to save the noble legacy of Shivaji. A good organiser and diplomat, she got little time, in the midst of her adventures, to display her administrative genius.

Neither the best nor the worst, she was yet a remarkable woman who could not be ignored by her contemporaries. However as Mr. K. R. Qanungo observes in the Fore-word, her "misfortune was that she lived too long to be useful for her country and her people". Personal ambition and feminine obstinacy overcame her patriotism and transformed her into a traitor to her own land. Saviour of her people, she played the Fury at a later stage, undoing her own earlier achievements. Her intrigues materially affected the course of Maratha history. An enigma to friends and a source of constant anxiety to the Peshwas, she had a base perversity that blew nobody good.

This is the first time that an authentic record of this tragic heroine appears, based primarily on Persian and Marathi sources, hitherto untapped. A detailed bibliography enhances the value of this work and, on the whole, the author has, objectively and with considerable discrimination, utilised the available material. He has successfully filled a long-standing gap in Maratha history.

P. K. K. Menon.

THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING SOCIETIES, A Study Conference Reported by Sureshchandra Shukla, Central Institute of Education, National Council of Educational, Research and Training, 33, Chhatra Marg, Delhi-6, 1963. Price Rs. 1·60, 4 sh. or 80 cents (Limp Cover) Rs. 2, 5 sh., or $ 1. (Hard cover).

With the expansion of knowledge in every field the actual content of education assumes vital importance, especially in underdeveloped countries. Meaningful concepts will have to be explored and incorporated into the main body of theoretical knowledge. A study conference was held in March, 1963 attended by scholars in various humanities, to enable the formulation of valid educational theory and programme of research, after an exchange of considered views. It was felt in general that adequate attention has not been paid to the historical, philosophical and sociological aspects of education and that the relationship of modern western education to nationalism deserves particular study so far as Asia had, until recently, "represented a minor Act in the European drama".

In the course of discussion Dr. Hamel put forth the provocative theory that in culturally divided Indonesia "the nationalist charisma is devoid of positive content" and that nationalism only tends to disrupt the internationalist solidarity of mankind. Mr. Anirudh Gupta said that in Nepal there has been large scale development of modernised form of education after 1951 but it could not be easily answered whether the educational activity has tended to promote democratic attitudes and skills conducive to industrialisation. Mr. G. Mehta pointed out that in China at present Confucian thinking has been broken and that the Intellectuals are being remoulded but, at the same time, the consciousness of the dangers of extremism has led to zig-zags in higher education in the country. As regards India, the discussion initiated by Dr. Premnath led to the general thesis that the authoritarian type of education does not give the necessary training for freedom and that structural modifications would be necessary for the promotion of democratic attitudes and skills. Dr. Thapar referred to the fact that in the intellectual tradition of India there was either conformity or rebellion rather than any continuous dissent, on the part of individuals, from within society. Mr. Joseph Gusfield stressed that education is a social dynamic in under-developed countries but the sources of teacher recruitment and the content and methods of their training would decide whether education is to be a social dynamic or social static.

Education in the rural socio-economic context was surveyed by Dr. Joshi and Mr. M. R. Rao. Mr. D. N. Abrol's study revealed that the educationally advanced states in India have exceeded the Plan outlays while those educationally weaker, tend to fall behind. Some schemes like the opening of new colleges enjoy effective local support while there is little demand for others like Basic Education. The economics of education was reviewed by Mr. Nasim Ansari who assumes that a political elite, determined to bring about economic growth, are already present in society and that the role of education in bringing this elite into existence should be the concern of the sociologist and the educationist. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri felt that higher education is not meant to meet the artificial demands arising from non-academic considerations. Dr. Kuppuswamy dealt with education, occupation and status in the midst of social changes though it was felt that he overstressed the connection between occupation and caste which might not have been so rigid in the past as he suggested. Dr. Shah said that in an agrarian society as in India the function of education may be to change rather than maintain the traditions of a culture. But education provides mainly a basis, and not the motive power of change.

According to Dr. Shukla, traditional stocks of industrial skill in India have not been incorporated into the labour force of the new industrial system. It was argued in the course of discussion, that traditional technique could not grow into modern technology though it was also felt that the divergence between the two should not be unduly exaggerated.

There is a social as well as individual demand for education which is actively related to the socio-economic conditions that give birth to it. The effect of education on the structure of society and the form that it should adopt in a society subject to rapid changes are bound to be fascinating studies.

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The discussions, objective and at a high level, are indeed intellectually stimulating and fully reveal the earnestness of those who participated in them. The central Institute of Education is to be congratulated for having made an exchange of opinions possible which may influence educaional theory and activity.

P. K. K. MENON.

THE KUNJALIS, ADMIRALS OF CALICUT by Professor O. K. Nambiar, Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Rs. 16.00.

This work is the revised and enlarged edition of *Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen*, first published in 1955. It is the story, covering a century, of continuous naval conflict between the Zamorins and the Portuguese. The Kunjali Marakkars, according to Moplah tradition, were local converts to Islam; originally marine merchants of Cochin, they settled at Ponani, one of the ports of the Zamorins and took up the leadership of Muslim resistance to the Portuguese. The eldest of the Marakkars was appointed, on a hereditary basis, as the Admiral at Calicut. At the end of a century of struggle, control over the Indian ocean finally passed to the Portuguese on account of the vacillating policy of the Zamorin and the defection of Kunjali, the Fourth, an "overgrown vassal". Though the struggle was for freedom of the seas, it gradually assumed a religio-political colour.

The book opens with an account of eastern trade routes and the beginnings of Portuguese adventure and gives us a glimpse of Calicut and its Pepper Politics at the turn of the fifteenth century. There was too much reliance on foreign help, apart from the political disunity that characterised Kerala at that time and the Portuguese took advantage of it and finally emerged triumphant, after a series of bloody incidents and unscrupulous manipulations.

The book is a general account of the atrocities of the Portuguese Pirates in a cruel age and is not essentially centred round the Kunjali family. As such, a change in the title of the book, in its second edition, seems hardly justified. In the preparation of this work, the author has utilised the historical material available in the archives in Europe. We feel however, that a reference to all such relevant documents at the end of each chapter would have considerably enhanced the value of the work as a guide to future research scholars. Similarly, a map would be welcome, to support the 'Introductory' chapter.

Eminently readable, this book is written in simple unaffected style and it gives a picture of Kerala in the sixteenth century. It is enriched by twelve plates reproducing contemporary Portuguese portraits and maps.

P. K. K. MENON.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path,* Bombay.
3. *Asia Major.*
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala,* Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin,* Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India,* Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery.*
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library,* Madras.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* London.
10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London.
11. *The Ceylon Historical Journal.*
12. *Epigraphia Indica,* Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University,* Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review,* Patna.
15. *Indian Archives,* Delhi.
16. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Calcutta.
17. *Indian Review,* Madras.
18. *India Quarterly,* New Delhi.
19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,* Waltair.
20. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* Patna.
21. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Bombay.
22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,* Allahabad.
23. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India,* Bombay.
24. *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Baroda.
25. *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras.
26. *Journal of Sri Venketeswara Oriental Institute,* Tirupati.
27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society,* Lucknow.
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay,* Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly,* New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society,* Bangalore.
31. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal,* Birmingham.
32. *University of Ceylon Review.*

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